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THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

VOL. VII.

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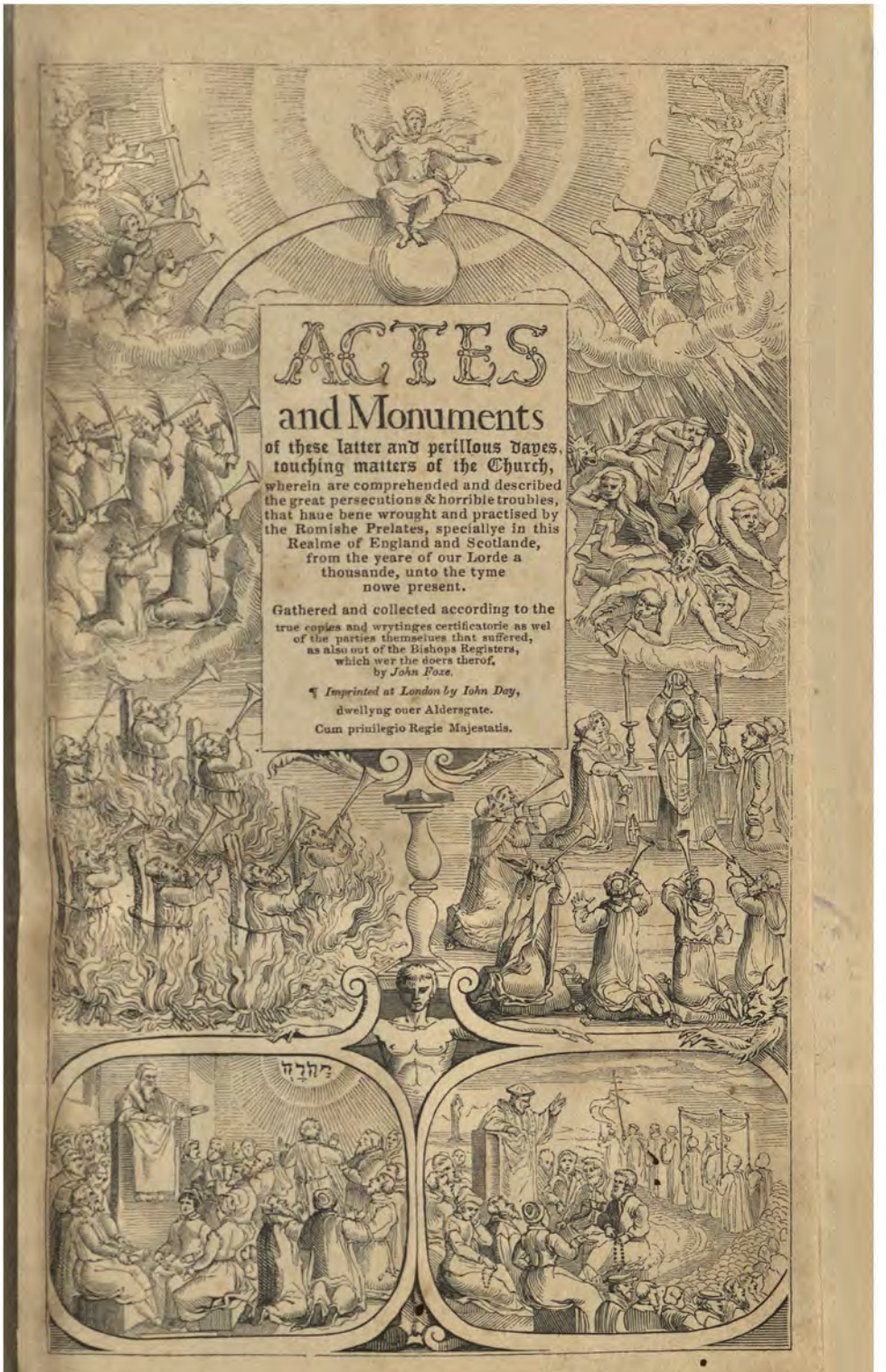

ACTES and Monuments

of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church,

wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, specially in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, unto the tyme nowe present.

Gathered and collected according to the true copies and wrytinges certificatorie as wel of the parties themselues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof. by *John Foxe.*

¶ *Imprinted at London by Iohn Day,* dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.

Cum priuilegio Regie Majestatis.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

BY THE

REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,

AND VICAR OF NORTHALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

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AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH.

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS

VOL. VII.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK XI;[1]

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.

The History of Dr. Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's in Wales,

Mary. A.D. 1555.

WHO MOST CONSTANTLY GAVE HIS LIFE FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH, MARCH 30TH, A.D. 1555.

THE day after Laurence's death, which was the 30th of the month of March, followed the worthy and constant martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Ferrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of christian martyrs, that suffered after master Hooper. This aforesaid Ferrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of queen Mary, unto the shedding of his blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in king Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies, after the fall of the duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Caermarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adversaries, and what were their names, in their articles against him, in order here followeth.

Fifty-six articles against Ferrar in king Edward's time.

(1) See Edition 1559, p. 423. Ed. 1563, p. 1084. Ed. 1570, p. 1721. Ed. 1576, p. 1470. Ed. 1583, p. 1544. Ed. 1597, p. 1403. Ed. 1684, vol. iii. p. 165.—ED.

Mary.
A.D. 1555.

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AGAINST BISHOP FERRAR.[1]

George Constantine; David Walter his servant; Thomas Young,[2] chanter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbishop of York; Rowland Meyrike doctor of law, who was afterward bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, etc.

Through the procurement and instance of these his adversaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his bishopric, and to bring him in a præmunire. The copy of which articles we thought here good to express, and so after them to set his answers to the same.

Articles and Informations to the King's Honourable Council, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee, against the blessed man of God, Master Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's.

Abuse of the Authority to him committed.

Imprimis, When the said bishop first came to his diocese, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commission, omitting the king's majesty's style and authority, and grounded his said commission upon foreign usurped laws and authority; by force of which authority his said chancellor did visit certain deaneries of his said diocese, and monished the chanter and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in derogation of his highness's supremacy.

II. Item, That the said chanter and chapter, perceiving the faults of the said commission, took the same from the registry into their custody, refusing to appear by virtue thereof, and, by secret and charitable ways and means, did admonish the said bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said commission, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the same; opening also unto him the effect of the statute made in the twenty-eighth year of our late sovereign lord Henry the Eighth. Which monitions notwithstanding, the said bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing or inexcusable ignorance, about the 20th day of August, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans the vicarage of Pen Brynn, instituting him by authority of the old foreign usurped law, making no mention of the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

III. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar-general to the said bishop, did, upon a lawful title, and by the king's highness's supreme authority, admit and institute one John Gough into the rectory of Haysguard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highness's seal ecclesiastical appointed for that office, with the "teste" of the said bishop, and subscription of the said chancellor, a mandate to induct accordingly; by virtue whereof the said John Gough was inducted by the official there, into the real possession of the same rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the registrar of the said diocese, at the request of the foresaid chancellor, did signify the premises, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed bishop: who, notwithstanding, did institute and cause to be inducted one Harry Goddard unto the same parsonage, making no mention of the king's majesty's authority or supremacy; in contempt and derogation of the same his highness's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign usurped authority, contrary to the form of the statute, etc.

(1) See the Harleian MSS. Number 420, art. 17—27.—Ed.
(2) Son-in-law to Constantine.

IV. Item, The said bishop, immediately after the unlawful institution and induction of Goddard aforesaid, molested the said John Gough, lawfully instituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he articled. Among which articles was contained, "Item, interrogatur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard:" so taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highness's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and statutes of this realm. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

V. Item, He hath commonly made his collations and institutions, as he did his first commission, in his own name and authority, without expressing the king's supremacy.

VI. Item, He made under his seal one collation, two institutions, and three mandates to induct, in one vacation of one benefice, three several persons, without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby, except good foresight, as well of justices of the peace as of the friends, had not been, there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the intituled incumbents in that behalf.

VII. Item, The said bishop, decreeing "caveats" to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, instituted and caused to be inducted without trial of any title or due order of law.

VIII. Item, He directeth his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacons nor their officials; contrary to the law and custom used in that behalf: notwithstanding he hath been counselled to the contrary, of men that be learned.

IX. Item, Having no manner of knowledge or practice in the law, he sitteth every day in harvest, and other times, upon causes, without assistance of learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, which is no notary, to his scribe; neither observing the law, nor yet reasonable order. And therefore doth no good, but trifleth the time, as may appear by his acts, if he have them to be showed.

X. Item, He, and his officers by his knowledge, useth to dispense with marriages, to be solemnized without banns; contrary to the laws and ordinances in that behalf.

XI. Item, Whereas one Thomas Prichard, a chaplain of his, solemnized matrimony in a private house without banns, and that betwixt a priest, and a sister of her that was appointed to be married with the said priest that day (he also being a parson, and leaving his cure unserved that day, being Sunday) and notwithstanding that one of the king's council in the Marches of Wales informed the said bishop of the same misdemeanours, requiring due reformation thereof, he hath done nothing therein but put the same chaplain in office, and made him his commissary-general since that time, bearing a special favour to the rest of the offenders.

XII. Item, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his household servant, was accused of one Sage Hughes, to have been father of her child; the said bishop, without purgation of his servant, caused him to sue the parents of the said Sage of infamy, first in his principal consistory, and from thence before a commissary of his, being his household chaplain, and at the last took the matter before himself, so railing against all his officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the law, that honest men of Caermarthen, where he then sat upon the cause, judged him to be, or at the least to have been, distract of his wit, and by this partial handling, the cause remaineth unfinished, and the child without father.

XIII. Item, Whereas one Jenkin Ph * * * accused William Chambers, a servant of the bishop's that found this William in adulterous manner with his wife, by reason whereof the bishop expelled the wife out of his house, the said infamy not purged, the parties have been both again in the bishop's house and service since that time, to the evil example of others.

XIV. Item, By his unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the benefices of Llangattwg, and Llanfihangel, by the indiscreet handling of the same, there were raised the number of four hundred people or more, which bickered sundry times together, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the discreet means of sir Roger Vaughan, knight.

XV. Item, By his like unlawful collation of the prebend of Llan Bister to one Stephen Greene, a chaplain of his, by covenant and promise to maintain the

Mary. A. D. 1555. suit, by whose crafty and indiscreet handling of the same, there was raised in the county of Radnor, the 19th day of August last past, about three or four hundred men, to like danger, but that the matter was stayed by John Bradshaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice, justices of the same county; who, with great danger to themselves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing a hundred of the offenders to ward.

XVI. Item, Such as he oweth displeasure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter against them; and being divers times required the copy of his proceedings against them, to the intent they might answer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all such persons the copies of his proceedings.

XVII. Item, He and his officers wink at the manifest and open crimes of his fautors and adherents, to the evil example of the whole diocese, and abuse the censures of excommunication and suspension, making it an instrument of revenging, against such as they do not favour.

XVIII. Item, Having received payment of the king's majesty's subsidy, due in October, the fourth year of his grace's reign, of the aforesaid chanter of the cathedral church of St. David's, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the residentiaries there, before Christmas last, he, unjustly, of a prepensed mind and purpose, afterward certified them for recusants; to their undoing, if they had not been admonished of his cruel purpose, and provided lawful defence for the same.

XIX. Item, The said bishop, celebrating matrimony in his own person, dispensed, contrary to the book of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy communion; the parties both being young and lusty persons, having no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstain. At which celebration the bishop communicated not himself: and further, the communion was celebrated by a chaplain of his, with superstitious blowings, kneelings, and knockings, both of the chaplain that ministered, and of all the company, only one other priest communicating for the manner.

Maintenance of Superstition contrary to the King's Ordinance and Injunctions.

XX. Item, Whereas the official of the archdeacon of Caermarthen, in his visitation within Caermarthen, found, contrary unto the said ordinance, an altar set up in the body of the church, for celebration of the communion, and caused the said altar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the middle of the church; the bishop, after the same, commanded the vicar of Caermarthen to set the table without the chancel again, for the ministration of the communion.

XXI. Item, He, being often in Caermarthen and other places, in the chancel, at the time of holy communion, not only tarried there himself, neither communicating nor ministering, bareheaded and uncoiffed, reverently kneeling; but also permitteth the people there to continue, the chancel and choir full, kneeling and knocking their breasts: which manner is yet used in all the diocese, without any reformation or gainsay of him or any of his officers.

XXII. Item, Whereas superstitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the king's majesty's Injunctions; the said bishop, meeting many with beads in their hands, never rebuked any of them.

XXIII. Item, The said bishop, being in the pulpit, and seeing corpses there within the church, with a great number of lights upon them, never spake against any of them.

XXIV. Item, Whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday or holy day (only cause of necessity excepted), he, having two children himself born without danger, caused one of them to be baptized on the work-day; and, by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is used, as it hath been customed, in all the diocese commonly, contrary unto the book of ordinance in that behalf.

Covetousness.

XXV. Item, From his first coming into the diocese, he hath had, and yet hath, his only study, labour, and practice, to survey land, and to look for mines, etc.; neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his book and preaching.

XXVI. Item, He keepeth no manner of hospitality, but hath his servants'

table in one parlour with him, lest any stranger should approach his servants, being at their meat. *Mary.*

XXVII. Item, He is commonly talking, not of godliness, but of worldly matters; as baking, brewing, enclosing, ploughing, mining, of mill-stones, discharging of tenants, and such like, not only at his table, but also most commonly at other places. A. D. 1555.

XXVIII. Item, He hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents these hundred years and more, and occupied with tillage; which, he saith, he will enclose; and being sued to of poor men because of quietness, he answered, "The crows shall eat the corn, rather than ye shall have any profit thereof."

XXIX. Item, When the vicars choral of St. David's, for relief of their hospitality, had an island of his called the Bishop's Isle, for forty shillings rent; he hath let it to a chaplain of his for five pound by year. And whereas, at the suit of the said vicars, it was granted by the bishop, in the whole chapter, that the vicars should have it for [certain] years at forty shillings rent, and pay twenty pounds entry; he now, covetously, and against his promise openly made, denieth the same, except the vicars would give fifty pounds.

XXX. Item, He caused the curate of St. David's to warn their tenants out of their said lands, in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people, which were wont to have God's word preached there; and so they said to the curate at that time.

XXXI. Item, To the ploughing of a pasture not above ten days' work, in Lent, anno 1549, he had thirty-two ploughs in one day; and those ploughs the priest bade in the church, contrary to the statute of Gomortha[1] in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of gentlemen in that country.

XXXII. Item, Whereas the king's majesty of godly remembrance, Henry the Eighth, appointed at Brecknock a schoolmaster, usher, reader of divinity, a minister, and certain scholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed sixty pounds twelve shillings of the pensions and revenues of Brecknock; the bishop, finding it so furnished, hath neither reader nor minister there, covetously converting their stipends to his own use.

XXXIII. Item, The bishop was twice in one day presented in the great court, holden in the town of Caermarthen, for enclosing and covetous encroaching of the king's highway.

XXXIV. Item, He covetously occupieth purchasing of lands, buying of cattle, merchandise, and other things; being indebted a notable sum to the king's majesty, as may by his accounts in the court of Tenths and First Fruits appear.

XXXV. Item, Whereas one Lewis John Thomas, putting from him his lawful wedded wife, upon Christmas Even last past, without banns had marriage solemnized with a concubine of his, in a church within three miles of the bishop's abode at that time; the bishop, since knowing the premises, hath not only, of a covetous mind, entered familiarity with the said Lewis, and bought a piece of land of him, but also ever since hath (to have his lands good cheap) left both the parties and priest unpunished; using him so familiarly, that whereas a sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the same fact, the bishop commanded the said sumner to let him alone; and so they all remain unpunished.

XXXVI. Item, Whereas the whole chapter of St. David's (as it was thought) was in assured amity with the bishop, they all being his officers or chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a writ of "Quo warranto" in the King's Bench, keeping the writ with him secretly, at the least three months; not delivering it, but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being seven days' journey distant from London.

XXXVII. Item, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful possessions; stirring thereby much contention, and so notably known, to the offence of the country.

Wilful Negligence.

XXXVIII. Item, Whereas the bishop aforesaid was appointed in August, anno 1547, and consecrated in September following, he never came into the diocese himself, nor sent or appointed any officer there before the month of

(1) "Gomortha" or Comorth, see old Statutes.—Ed.

Mary. April, anno 1548; to the great disorder of the king's majesty's subjects, lack of reformation, and ministration of justice.

A.D. 1555. XXXIX. Item, During his visitation, the said bishop did not endeavour himself to see reformation, but rode surveying of lands, appointing vain inclosures, and such other things; which are no part of the office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

XL. Item, The visitation finished, he neither appointed his officers to examine the clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be studied in the same visitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinances of this realm.

XLI. Item, The bishop, since his coming to the diocese, never ministered the communion, saving only at two times, that he ordered certain deacons; but in every thing (but that he otherwhiles preacheth excepted) ordereth himself like no minister, nor man of his vocation.

XLII. Item, He hath so alienated himself from study, that he preacheth indiscreetly, discrediting the office; not only untruly reporting the Scriptures, but also, preaching the ten commandments, in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of stuff, the pith of his matter was matrimony of priests.

XLIII. Item, The 13th day of September last, he ordained certain deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but him that asketh forgiveness; and being admonished friendly by a letter better to declare the same, because that divers were offended with that doctrine, he hath hitherto deferred so to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in these parts.

XLIV. Item, Since the first day of August, anno 1549, unto the feast of Candlemas last, he hath preached but two or three sermons, of which one was preached at Aber Gwili, upon St. Stephen's day last, to a great audience that understood no English, being but a mile from Caermarthen, an English town, and chief of his diocese.

XLV. Item, Since his ordinary visitation, which was finished in July, anno 1548, he hath neither preached, nor caused to be preached in the towns of Tenby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being English towns, not much distant from the place of his most continuance.

XLVI. Item, The churches appropriate to the bishop have no Paraphrases in English, and few of them Bibles.

XLVII. Item, The churches of the diocese for the most part, and the clergy almost every one, lack Paraphrases, notwithstanding there have been, these two years, and yet be, a great number of them to be sold in the diocese.

Folly.

XLVIII. Item, To declare his folly in riding: he useth bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurs, a Scottish pad with a little staff of three quarters long, which he hath not only used superstitiously these four or five years, but in communication oftentimes boasted, what countries he hath compassed and measured with the same staff.

XLIX. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he saith, it is comely, wearing of a hat, and so cometh in his long gown and hat, both into the cathedral church, and to the best town of his diocese, sitting in that sort in the king's great sessions, and in his consistory; making himself a mock to the people.

L. Item, He said that he would go to the parliament on foot: and to his friends that dissuaded him, alleging that it is not meet for a man in his place, he answered, "I care not for that, it is no sin."

LI. Item, Having a son, he went before the midwife to the church, presenting the child to the priest, and giving his name Samuel, with a solemn interpretation of the name; appointing also two godfathers and two godmothers, contrary to the ordinance: making his son a monster, and himself a laughing-stock throughout all the country.

LII. Item, He daily useth whistling of his child; and saith that he understood his whistle, when he was but three days old. And being advertised of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered, "They whistle their horses and dogs, and I am contented; they might also be contented that I

whistle my child:" and so whistleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected. *Mary.*

LIII. Item, In his ordinary visitation, among other his surveys he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a seal-fish tumbling. And he crept down the rocks to the water-side, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, persuading the company that laughed fast at him, that by his whistling he made the fish to tarry there. A. D. 1555.

LIV. Item, Speaking of scarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetousness of fishers, who in time of plenty took so many, that they destroyed the breeders.

LV. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wished that what metal soever it were made of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.

LVI. For a conclusion, the said bishop in all his doings since he came to his diocese, hath behaved himself most unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a minister of justice, an abuser of the authority to him committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of superstition, a maintainer of superstition without any doctrine of reformation; for a liberal and hospitable, an unsatiable covetous man; for a diligent overseer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly wisdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger: and further, for a peacemaker, a sower of discord. And so, in all his behaviour, a discrediter and slanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men that had hope that he should do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his diocese, nor hath belonging unto him, any learned preacher. But such learned preachers as he found in the diocese at his entry he so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their livings, against his quarrelous inventions and unjust certificates.

After these wrangling articles and informations were given up, then was the bishop called for to answer; the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton and sir John Mason, knight, who likewise received the bishop's answers to the foresaid articles, the copy and effect of which answers hereafter follow. Wotton and Mason commissioners.

The Answer of Robert, Bishop of St. David's, to the Articles ministered unto him.

To the first article he saith, that after lawful monition in the king's majesty's name and authority, from the said bishop (being then at London), given to the chanter and chapter of St. David's, for visitation at a certain day there to be entered; the said bishop himself, for such purpose coming into the diocese, knowing also that the chanter, and one of the canons of that church, and, late before, commissaries in that diocese, had not only by their own evil example and winking at the faults of others, or neglecting to correct the same, left there, among priests and others, much detestable whoredom; but had also spoiled the cathedral-church of crosses, chalices, and censers, with other plate, jewels, and ornaments of the church, to the value of five hundred marks or more, for their own private lucre (the church remaining even yet very vile and in great decay); and had also made further under their chapter-seal many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, sede vacante, without the king's license or knowledge: therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, bachelor of law, by Dr. Tonge and Dr. Nevison to him commended, as a man sufficient in faithful truth and learning, to be his chancellor; to whom he granted and sealed a commission for that purpose, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draft and form thereof: but the king's majesty's style of supremacy was fully set forth in the same commission. Whether there were any default of formal words in setting forth of the king's authority therein, he is not certain; for he committed the doing thereof to his chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the bishop saith, that he did never ground the commission upon any foreign usurped laws or authority; neither did his said chancellor, by force of such authority, visit any deanery of the said diocese, nor give any monition to the chanter and chapter there, by force of that commission, for any like intent The first article.

Mary. A.D. 1555. or purpose; but only offered, in the king's majesty's name and authority (to the said bishop committed), to enter visitation of the chanter and chapter of the cathedral-church, at another day to be executed by the bishop himself, for reformation of the chapter-church and ministers there, according to the king's gracious ordinances and injunctions in that behalf. But the aforesaid chanter and canon of the church, before the sight of any commission, stubbornly answered the said chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to visit them, except he were one of their chapter. And further, desiring to see his commission, he delivered the same into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And so it may appear that he did nothing by force of that commission.

Second article. To the IInd article he saith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheless he, not knowing any default in the said commission, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of preaching, and visiting the whole diocese in his own person, by the king's majesty's authority, for the conservation of God's peace and the king's, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to arise in other places, did neglect and lay apart the stubborn behaviour and ungodly doings of the said chanter and canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches toward him and his said chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done; fearing else that, through their unquietness, some tumult might have risen among the people there; and did also make the said chanter his chancellor, and canon his commissary, according to their ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he saith, that he made collation to sir John Evans of the vicarage of Pembrin (what day or time he remembereth not), not by any old foreign usurped authority, but by the king's authority only, making full mention of the king's style and authority in the same collation.

Third and fourth. To the IIIrd and IVth he saith, that whereas he had granted to George Constantine the office of a registrar, who brought unto him a commission for the chancellorship, to be sealed and delivered to the foresaid chanter of St. David's, desiring the said bishop to seal it, he utterly refused so to do, because the said George had put therein a clause of admitting clerks into benefices: the which authority the said bishop would not in any wise grant, reserving the examination and admission of clerks only to himself, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the said George, and the chanter, promised the said bishop by their faith and truth, before three or four honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of institution into benefices, but only to those clerks whom the bishop did first examine and admit, and send unto them to be instituted and inducted; upon which promise the bishop sealed the said commission. And after that time, the parsonage of Haysguard being void, and, by the reason of lapse, devolving to the bishop's gift for that time, he conferred it to one sir Henry Goddard, with a collation of institution by the king's authority, not extolling any foreign usurped authority. In the which collation or institution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and all foreign powers and authority, with the full style of his majesty's supremacy. And this collation of the church of Haysguard he gave, before he understood or knew that his chancellor had given out the like; and he surely thinketh his collation was the first. That notwithstanding the said George Constantine, and the said chanter, having a vowson determined by reason of lapse, admitted and instituted one John Gough, to the said parsonage of Haysguard, by virtue of their expired vowson, and sealed his institution with a wrong seal (because they had not the right seal of office to that purpose), contrary to their former earnest promise and the bishop's right, and without any manner of warning or foreknowledge thereof to him given; which thing by them untruly done, the said George Constantine nevertheless came to the said bishop's house and there did write with his own hand the letters of induction for the said sir Henry Goddard priest, comprising in the same the whole sum of the institution or collation which the said bishop had made; and the same George did seal the said letters of induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the chanter's former wrong doings, but so departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and showed the bishop what they had done before, concerning the parsonage aforesaid. And further, the said defendant saith, that he did not molest the said John Gough, but lawfully did call him in

the king's majesty's name, not for any title of patronage, but to know whether he were parson of Haysguard, and how he was thereto admitted and instituted and inducted, and by what authority he presumed to preach there without the king's majesty's license; with other like lawful demands: whereunto he sturdily refused to give answer; and saith, that the article contained in his accusation, saying thus: "Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard," was not ministered unto the party in that sort, so far as he knoweth, but in these words or like, "Quomodo intravit in rectoriam," etc. *Marg.* A. D. 1555.

To the Vth he saith, that albeit George Constantine the registrar, did wilfully withdraw his bounden service due to the king's highness and to the said defendant in the king's name, refusing to attend either by himself, or his sufficient deputy, for writing of records and other instruments, yet the said defendant made his collations and institutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by any others, save only the king's authority; according as he hath declared in his answer to the first article; expressing in them the king's supremacy with the bishop's own name and seal of office, as he ought to do, according to the provision of the king's statute in such a case. Fifth article.

To the VIth he saith, that the vicarage of Pen Brynn being void, he, as right patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans clerk, with letters of institution and induction; and after, when the king's presentation came to him for one David Jenkin, clerk, he desired fourteen days' respite at that time, either to show ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the law, or else if he showed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk; which condition was, by sir Thomas Jones knight, Dr. Meyrike, and the said David Jenkin, received, and an institution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of sir Thomas Jones knight, for safe custody of the king's clerk's behoof, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the said defendant, if he failed to show. Within which time the said defendant did show an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said defendant's behalf; and so that institution and induction was never by the said defendant put in execution. Nevertheless, the said David Jenkin (contrary to his promise and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the said sir Thomas Jones knight) took advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said defendant, advertised him to admit one John ap Powell clerk, presented by virtue of a vowson which the lord chancellor judged to be good; and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not abar the other man's right. And so this defendant made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby, to his knowledge. And further he saith, that there was no business nor unquietness about the possession of the said vicarage; but this defendant, giving place, was content to lose his right for that time. Sixth.

To the VIIth he saith, that as he now remembereth, he never decreed any caveats to be made in benefices, neither did institute or cause to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him litigious. Seventh.

To the VIIIth he saith, that because the archdeacons be absent from their offices, and have not had faithful diligent officials, he hath directed his mandates to them or their officials, or to other lawful persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth. Eighth.

The IXth and Xth articles he denieth as very untrue. Ninth and tenth.

To the XIth he saith, that whereas sir Thomas Jones knight, advertised him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private house, betwixt a certain priest and a woman whose sister had refused the same, the said Prichard leaving his own cure unserved on that Sunday, this defendant did put the same Thomas Prichard to penance for so doing, marrying them without banns. And whereas he made the said Thomas Prichard, who is a bachelor of law, his commissary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to justice. And the said defendant did never favour nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the matrimony was solemnized in a private church, and that the cure was that day unserved. Eleventh.

To the XIIth he saith, that it is slanderous, and utterly untrue. And that one sir John Hughes, priest, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his stepmother) a Twelfth.

Mary. harlot at eleven years of age, and after married her openly to another man, being minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her husband again, and kept her, alleging a former contract. And when the said John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the said bishop, in open court at Caermarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon thereof, yet the said Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which latter crime he denied: nevertheless she proved with child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his; the midwife and others being witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, George Constantine, as a wicked bolsterer of the said priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid chanter, first uttered that Meredith Thomas was father of the said child: which matter was ordered in the ecclesiastical court according to justice, without any partial affection of the said bishop, or of any other, to his knowledge.

A. D. 1555.

Thirteenth. To the XIIIth he saith, it is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

Fourteenth. To the XIVth he saith, that by lawful sequestration in the king's majesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of Llangattwg and Lanfihangel to two honest men, for the behoof of the king's first fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent; and further, he did not meddle nor minister any cause of unquietness in that behalf.

Fifteenth. To the XVth he saith, that he made a collation, lawful (as he supposeth) of the prebend of Llan Bister, to Stephen Green his chaplain, without any covenant or colour; and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

Sixteenth. To the XVIth he saith, all is untrue as far as he knoweth.

Seventeenth. To the XVIIth he saith, it is untrue for his own part; and his officers, as far as he knoweth.

Eighteenth. To the XVIIIth he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recusants justly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the king's whole subsidy of their whole dividends, as it standeth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons resident.

Nineteenth. To the XIXth he saith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones knight, one of the king's majesty's honourable council of the Marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the communion for the causes abovesaid, betwixt master Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Prichard priest, administered the holy communion there without any superstition, to this defendant's knowledge; and the married persons not disposed to receive the holy communion, he could not compel them against their consciences; and saith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the article.

To the slanderous and untrue title of Maintenance of Superstition, etc., he saith, that he did not maintain any superstition, contrary to the king's ordinances and injunctions; but, abhorring in his heart all superstition, hath travailed and doth travail to abolish the same by true doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the king's peace, among his people there.

Twentieth. To the XXth he saith, that George Constantine, in the third year of the king's majesty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in Caermarthen church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the bishop, fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to set up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

Twenty-first. To the XXIst he saith, that he hath been divers times in the choir of Caermarthen, and hath tarried there in the communion-time, not communicating himself; and that in every church where he cometh on the holy-day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the choir, bareheaded, as well at matins before the communion, as at even-song after, without any superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the communion's sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneel nor knock to the visible show, or external show of the sacrament. And the choirs of Caermarthen and other

places there, are not close at the sides, so that the people may come in and forth at their pleasure. Moreover, the king's ordinances do not authorize him to rebuke the people for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for merey in Christ.

Twenty-second article. To the XXIId he saith, that in the time of rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he, teaching the people the true form of prayer according to God's holy word, and declaring the prayer upon beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not, for fear of tumult, forcibly take from any man his beads, without authority. And touching the not reproving of such as he should meet, wearing beads, he remembereth not that he hath so done, unless it were in the rebellion time: at which time he durst not rebuke such offenders.

Twenty-third. To the XXIIId he saith, that he—being in the pulpit, his face towards the people—did not see the lights, if any were set up about the corpses behind his back till after that he came down from the pulpit. But he, with George Constantine and the aforesaid chanter, sitting in the church in Caermarthen to hear causes, and seeing the vicar with other priests, with song and lights bringing a corpse up to the church, called forthwith the vicar and priests, and rebuked them in open court, as cormorants and ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre's sake.

Twenty-fourth. To the XXIVth he saith, that he caused the one child, being born with great peril of death to the mother, and itself lying for dead a certain space after, to be christened on the working-day: the other child was christened on the working-day, because both father and mother, and all other people there, were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

To the title of Covetousness, he saith, his doings prove the contrary; as his neighbours know.

Twenty-fifth. And the XXVth article he utterly denieth.

Twenty-sixth. To the XXVIth he saith, that his hall at Aber Gwili being ruinous, he useth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himself and his servants and all manner of strangers; and besides twenty persons in house daily. What other hospitality he keepeth, honest neighbours can testify.

Twenty-seventh. To the XXVIIth he saith, that his talk is according to his hearers; that is to say, reverently and truly of faith, love, and honest life, according to the Scriptures, to like auditors; and to other unreverend and rash turmoilers of Scriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this article, but when he hath honest occasion so to do.

Twenty-eighth. The XXVIIIth he saith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their lands; but, whereas he is destitute of necessary provision, and would have part of his own domain from certain freeholds, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it without brawling: wherefore he suffereth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the crows should eat it, etc. he never spake any such word.

Twenty-ninth. To the XXIXth he saith, that whereas his predecessor, bishop Barlow, did let to farm the Isle of Ramsey to one William Brown, after whose hands this defendant received it into his own possession, the vicars of St. David's being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Green for forty shillings the ground, as it was before, and three pounds more for seals, conies, and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the vicars choral had therein, who did refuse, when this defendant did diligently, upon reasonable conditions, offer the same unto them: and this defendant made no promise unto them, as is contained in the article.

Thirtieth. To the XXXth he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertised his bailiff to warn the freeholders, and others having his domain to rent, during pleasure, to leave it at a lawful day to this defendant's necessary use; and did not cause the curate to do as is contained in the article, to his remembrance.

Thirty-first. To the XXXIst he saith, that he knoweth not what the priest bade in the church, nor how many ploughs there came, undesired of this defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no man's labour but for his money.

Mary. A. D. 1555. To the XXXIId he saith, that he knoweth not any such appointment of schools and revenues there; but he found there (after the departing of bishop Barlow) a schoolmaster, an usher being a priest, and twenty scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge. He did never convert any penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

Thirty-third. The XXXIIId he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

Thirty-fourth. To the XXXIVth article he saith, He never purchased more than three parcels, whereof one was two shillings and eight pence by the year; the second, three shillings and four pence; and the third, six-and-twenty shillings and eight pence, or thereabout, by year: the rest he denieth.

Thirty-fifth. To the XXXVth he saith, that he never bought of Lewis John Thomas his land good cheap, but after forty years' purchase; not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the Article against the said Lewis John. Neither bade he the sumner to let him alone; but, as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the sumner to cite him: and so he was cited in this defendant's house, occasioning him to break his bargain. To the which Lewis this defendant said these words: "If you would give me your land with a house full of gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a leman." Then the said Lewis affirming the latter woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this defendant, he caused the said Lewis to be called to the consistory for trial, where it hangeth yet; and also by lawful process excommunicated the first woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the court to claim or to confess marriage with the said Lewis; and so she standeth this day at the point of "significavit."

Thirty-sixth. To the XXXVIth he saith, that whereas the chanter, and Rowland Meyrike, with other canons there, would not obey the king's godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a school for poor men's children, a lecture of divinity, sermons on the Sundays, repairing of their church and mansion-houses, decent order and ministration there; but stubbornly counted themselves (with the chanter) to be a body politic, without regard of the bishop and his lawful monitions, being himself named in their shire statutes, "decanus et quasi decanus;" having also their dean's stall in the choir, with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-house, with a key of their chapter-seal; being also, by the king's majesty's commission appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a book of their statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, nor show unto him their records and monuments, for declaration of the king's right and his. For which cause this defendant, by writ of "Quo warranto," lawfully called them to answer; which yet lieth asleep, to the loss of the king's majesty's right. The time of delivery of the said writ, he remembereth not.

Thirty-seventh. The XXXVIIth he saith is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the Title of Wilful Negligence; he saith, that he hath used to his power willing *diligence.*

Thirty-eighth. To the XXXVIIIth he saith, that he, being attendant, according to his bounden duty, to serve the king's highness during the time of the parliament, from the first unto the last day; then, immediately after, repaired into his diocese; and he might not trust Rowland Meyrike the chanter, and George Constantine, to execute faithfully the jurisdiction; because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing misdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And saith further, that one cause why he appointed not an officer, etc., was for that he lacked his letters of authority of jurisdiction.

Thirty-ninth and fortieth. The XXXIXth and XLth he saith are untrue.

Forty-first. To the XLIst he saith, that how often he did minister the communion he doth not remember; but in all other things, so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation; as far as he believeth, he goeth like a minister.

Forty-second. To the XLIId he saith, that he hath not alienated himself from study, neither preached indiscreetly, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: but he hath been very much hindered both from study and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed persons. And that he did set forth the doctrine of honest marriage, as well of all other men as of priests, even as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

To the XLIIId he saith, that, reciting the words of Luke, "If thy brother have offended against thee, blame him; and if he repent, forgive him; and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day be converted unto thee, saying, I am sorry; forgive him:" he said further these words in effect: "It appeareth by this place of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him. Forty-third article.

To the XLIVth he saith, that he hath preached right often at Caermarthen, as well as at other places; and, he saith, that a great number at Aber Gwili do understand English very well. Forty-fourth.

To the XLVth he saith, that after he had preached first at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Swansea, Laugharne, Tenby, Pembroke, Hereford, St. David's, Cardigan, with other notable towns; he hath, since that time, preached to a great many other poor churches, but not in Tenby nor Pembroke: but for Hereford, he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the persons before named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another learned man to come into his diocese to preach, George Constantine, by his discouragement, advertised him from this defendant. Forty-fifth.

To the XLVIth he saith, that in all his churches appropriated, there are both Bible and Paraphrases, so far as he knoweth: and if the priests there would not show him the lack thereof, yet should the officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay. Forty-sixth.

To the XLVIIth he saith, that George Constantine covetously engrossed into his hands a great number of Paraphrases; and this defendant hath admonished the clergy to buy every one, for his discharge: and if the said George, being official of two archdeaconries, and other officials in their office, would declare unto him what churches do lack Bibles or Paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lieth. Forty-seventh.

To the title of Folly, he saith, that his desire is in true simple manner of his words, deeds, and other honest behaviour, through God's grace to show godly *wisdom.*

To the XLVIIIth he saith, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion, with honest use of saddle, bridle, stirrups, staff, and other like necessary or convenient things; and saith, that he used a saddle made after the Scottish fashion, with stirrups of iron unvarnished, and like spurs; and black bridle without studs, the bit and snaffle white, as other men's be. Forty-eighth.

To the XLIXth he saith, that when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat, to bear off rain and snow, and in summer to shadow him from the sun, without any vow of superstition or offence of the people. Forty-ninth.

To the Lth he saith, that all is one to him, to ride or go, as cause requireth; and whether he said as is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth use to go afoot. Fiftieth.

To the LIst he saith, that, after lawful prayer, it pleased God to give him a son begotten and born in honest marriage, whom he therefore caused to be named Samuel, presenting him to the minister to be received into Christ's church, as a poor member of Christ. By the holy sacrament of baptism was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man; and also two wives, being before at variance, desired both to be godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people. Fifty-first.

To the LIId he saith, that he doth use with gravity all honest-loving entertainment of his child, to encourage him hereafter willingly, at his father's mouth, to receive wholesome doctrine of the true fear and love of God; and saith, that he hath whistled to his child, but said not, that the child understood it; and that he answered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article. Fifty-second.

To the LIIId he saith, that he was never surveyor, but went to see Milford Haven for honest purpose, and not to survey it; and for that he, at the sight of a seal, whistled in his fist, such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. And it is not true, that he stood whistling an hour to the seal, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any such answer made by him, to his knowledge. Fifty-third.

Mary. To the LIVth he saith, that if he did say, "The destroying of the fry letteth plenty of fish," he thinketh the same not against reason; but he remembereth not to have said, as is contained in the article.

A.D. 1555. To the LVth he saith, that he remembereth not that ever he said as they allege.

Fifty-fifth. To the slanderous, untrue, and ungodly conclusion, he saith, that George Constantine, with other his adversaries before named, and their adherents—

Fifty-sixth. not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true ministers—have too much slanderously, with false tongues, contumelious words, and spiteful deeds, laboured by all means to discredit and deface the king's gracious authority to him committed; who, ever since he came to the diocese, hath endeavoured himself to show his faithful ministry by his true honest doings, and to use his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of truth, reforming of superstition, free of hospitality, diligent in overseeing with godly wisdom, peace, and mercifulness; as he trusteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able justly to charge his adversaries with all the faults herein by them most unjustly and slanderously against him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that George Constantine, with other his adherents, are not ashamed maliciously to object (for the intent to slander him) molesting of preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath molested none, but hath justly brought under Significavit one Morice, a preacher, living lewdly, for his stubborn behaviour and malicious contempts; even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath, to his knowledge, justly certified Hugh Rawlins, parson of Tenby, for his wilful recusancy of two other parsonages, shamefully deceiving the king's majesty by colour of commission, as appeareth by the same. And as for the railing contemptuous preaching of Rowland Meyrike, and the unlearned arrogant preaching of the chanter, he referreth to discreet hearers, which were offended thereat, as they showed this defendant. And this deponent brought into his diocese both learned preachers, and learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Constantine, with his adherents, hath wearied away.

After these answers thus exhibited by the virtuous and godly bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his foresaid adversaries, to wit, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee: then came in for witness, upon the said articles and informations, George Constantine, and the chanter of St. David's: against whom the bishop laid first exceptions, then also exhibited matter justificatory, the tenor and process whereof here followeth in order to be seen—first, concerning the exceptions, and after, the matter justificatory.

Exceptions general, laid and proposed on the behalf of Robert, Bishop of St. David's, against all and singular the pretensed Witnesses, produced on the behalf of Hugh Rawlins clerk, and Thomas Lee, upon their untrue surmised Articles, by them exhibited unto and before the King's most honourable Council, by the device and procurement of the Chanter, and George Constantine, with Rowland Meyrike clerk, against the said Bishop.

First, the said bishop saith and allegeth, that by law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the depositions and sayings of the said witnesses, or any part thereof, because they are infamous, false, perjured, and, in some part of their depositions, discording, partial, conducted, subornate, instructed, and, for favour of the informers and their bolsterers, have deposed of malice more than the articles whereupon they were producted do contain; and beside, and without the compass of the same articles, and in divers other parts of their depositions, they depose *unum et eundem præmeditatum sermonem*, as by their said depositions doth appear, unto the which the said bishop referreth himself as much as it shall be expedient for him, and none otherwise: and further, for other causes particularly and specially, as is declared in the Book of Exceptions.

Mary.
A. D. 1555.

Exceptions against the unlawful Proceedings of Hugh Rawlins, Clerk, and Thomas Lee, Promoters of the foresaid untrue Articles, in executing their Commission for Proof of the same.

Item, The said Thomas Lee, for himself and the other promoter, did, contrary to justice, at the execution of their commission, examine certain of the witnesses himself, in the house of his brother-in law, George Constantine; and the said Lee, and David Walter (the bishop's mortal enemy, and servant to the said George Constantine), did write these depositions upon the articles at their own pleasures; and also, after the device of the said George Constantine, and the chanter, and Rowland Meyrike, the bishop's mortal enemies, and the very devisers and procurers of the informations, and bolsterers and bearers of the promoters in the suit thereof. These are the names of the witnesses so examined, which are already known: David ap sir Richard, of Gettus, a perjured and an adulterous person, standing in the number for two witnesses, written in two places of the book. Item, ap Ruddz of Kennarton, Griffith ap Howel, Guyne of Kennarton, Lewis David clerk, David ap Harvey clerk, sir Gough, alias Morgan, etc.

Item, One John Draper of Caermarthen, and an adherent of the foresaid adversaries and enemies to the said bishop, did also, contrary to the tenor of their commission, examine certain witnesses; and had to his clerk one William Davids, servant in livery unto the foresaid Griffith Donne, the bishop's utter enemy: by which shameful partiality they have written more matter, more words, other terms and sentences, than some of the deponents have deposed or could depose. Humfrey Toy, the fifth deponent; Rice Gough, the fourteenth deponent; William ap Jenkins, the fiftieth deponent; John Benguy, the sixty-eighth deponent; Richard Parson, the thirty-ninth; which are already known what manner of men the promoters are.

Item, The said Hugh Rawlins was not present at the bishop's sermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting-off the commission for the proof thereof: for the foresaid adversaries did devise the same, and gave it unto the said Rawlins to promote, choosing him for the same purpose; knowing him to be a man willing (and setting his whole delight) to work mischief, both with word and deed, who abuseth his tongue most shamefully, with most unfitting words, ever railing upon the said bishop to every man that will hear him, without either respect or reverence of the king's majesty's authority to the said bishop committed. And the said Rawlins hath four or five benefices, above the value of two hundred marks a year, and is resident upon none of them, but spendeth his living to the hinderance of other men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro, without either man or boy waiting on him; more like a light person than a man of such livelihood, and of his vocation, being a preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd fellow, of all that know his behaviour, insomuch that when a certain man objected unto the adversaries, that it was ill done to put so lewd a fellow as Rawlins to promote their cause, they answered and reported his honesty with these words: "We know Rawlins to be a very knave, and so meet for no purpose as he is to set forward such a matter;" of which report there is a sufficient witness. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his spiteful tongue; for he speaketh as boldly in this surmised matter to all the council, as though it were true, and much for the king's profit.

Item, The other promoter, Thomas Lee, is a merchant, who hath sold his ware, and spent his money; and now, for want of other business, is become a promoter of the foresaid articles, having his costs and charges borne by the said principal adversaries, as it is alleged in the bishop's exceptions, which shall be proved, if commission might be awarded for the purpose.

And thus much concerning the exceptions against his pretensed accusers: next followeth the matter justificatory exhibited by the said bishop, in defence of his own cause, as by the effect here appeareth.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Certain Articles ministered by Robert, Bishop of St. David's, against a surmised Information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the King's Majesty's most Honourable Council, against the said Bishop.

Inprimis, viz. that there ought none advantage to be taken against the said bishop, of the contents of the said pretensed information, for the causes particularly following. And first, whereas it is objected against the said bishop, in the first, second, and fifth articles of the same information, that he (contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in the derogation of his highness's supremacy) passed a certain commission, institutions, and collations to benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the king's highness's authority; whereas of truth the said bishop, if he had passed out the commission, institutions, and collations in his own name, and without the king's majesty's style, as is surmised (as he did not), yet had he offended neither the laws nor statutes of this realm therein, as doth and may appear evidently in the same statutes and laws, to the which he referreth himself.

Proved by the statutes.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third article of the said pretensed information, that the chancellor of the said bishop did admit and institute John Gough into the rectory of Haysguard, and gave a mandate for the induction of the said John, under the king's majesty's seal ecclesiastical, for the diocese of St. David's, with the test of the said bishop, and subscription of the said chancellor, which thing so deduced, if it be true, yet the said bishop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the chanter (then his chancellor unworthy) showed himself therein very ignorant of the king's statutes of parliament, wherein it is expressly provided, that in such cases the ordinary ought to pass all such institutions and inductions in his own name, and under his own seal; and not in the king's majesty's name, nor under his seal. And further, of very truth, the said chancellor, in admitting and instituting the said clerk to the said benefice without the knowledge and consent of the said bishop, did exceed his commission, for as much as the said bishop, at the granting of his commission of his chancellorship unto the said chanter, had restrained him expressly from the admitting and instituting of any clerk to any benefice within the said diocese, except the same clerk were first examined, found worthy, and admitted by the said bishop himself to the same benefice.

Proved by the statutes.

Item, Whereas in the fourth article of the said information it is contained, that the said bishop, after the admitting and instituting of the said John Gough, as is aforesaid, objected articles against him, amongst the which it was contained in effect, "Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard;" true it is that the said bishop, without molestation of the said Gough otherwise than law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the title of the said fruits and patronage of the said benefice, in contempt of the king's majesty's royal crown and dignity, and without any derogation of the king's majesty's laws and statutes of this realm, did interrogate the said John Gough, how he held the said benefice, being admitted and instituted to the same without his knowledge or consent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet every ordinary should know how pastors are admitted to any cure within their diocese.

Act. adduci possunt.

Item, Touching the contents of the sixth article of the said information, the said bishop allegeth that the vicarage of Pen Brynn, in the diocese of St. David's, being void, he, as patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans, clerk, with letters of institution and induction; and afterwards, when the king's presentation came to him for one David Jenkins, clerk, he desired fourteen days respite, at that day either to show ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the law, or else, if he showed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk: which condition was by sir Thomas Jones, knight, Dr. Meyrike, and the said David Jenkins, received; and an institution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of sir Thomas Jones, knight, for safe custody for the king's clerk's behoof, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the said bishop, if he failed to show: within which time the bishop did show an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said bishop's behalf; and so that institution and induction was never put in execution by the said bishop.

Nevertheless the said David Jenkins (contrary to his promise and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to sir Thomas Jones, knight) took advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said bishop; after which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said bishop, advertised him to admit one John ap Howel, clerk, presented by virtue of a vowson, which the lord chancellor adjudged to be good, and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not abar the other man's right. And so the said bishop made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates; doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no business nor unquietness about the possession of the said vicarage; but the said bishop giving place, was content to lose his right for that time. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Item, Whereas sir Thomas Jones advertised the said bishop, that Thomas Prichard, clerk, had celebrated matrimony in a private house, betwixt a certain priest and a woman whose sister had refused the same (as it is deduced in the eleventh article of the surmised articles laid in against the said bishop), the said Prichard, leaving his own cure unserved that Sunday, he did put the said Thomas Prichard to penance for such his misdoings, and the said Prichard did such penance as was enjoined him to do. And whereas the said bishop made the said Thomas Prichard (who is bachelor of law) his commissary, it was for the respect of his learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office, according to justice, and none otherwise.

Item, In the fourteenth article of the said surmised information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the benefices of Llangattwg and Llanfihangel Cwm Du, and the undiscreet handling of the said bishop, there were raised a great number of people, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the said bishop, upon good and lawful considerations, and specially for that the king's majesty should be truly answered of his first-fruits and tenths of the said benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) sequester the said fruits in the king's majesty's name, and by his authority; and committed the custody thereof for a time unto two honest men, to the effect aforesaid, and none otherwise; without any occasion of tumult or gathering the people through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alleged in the nineteenth article of the information, that the bishop did celebrate matrimony in his own person, without receiving or ministering the communion to the persons married, it is true, for that the said bishop had travelled fourteen long Welsh miles, and not able to celebrate the holy communion fasting; and, for other reasonable and lawful causes him moving, did, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones, knight (one of the king's honourable council of the marches of Wales), solemnize matrimony betwixt master Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, without either receiving the holy communion himself, or ministering the same to the persons married; being as then not disposed so to do it lawfully and godly, without any such superstitious knockings or blessings, or other uncomely gestures, as is deduced in that article.

Item, Touching the contents of the residue of all the said articles contained in the said information, the said bishop, partly for the avoiding of tediousness, and partly for that some of them be untrue and mere false, some others general, obscure, frivolous, vain, and of none effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanswered unto.

Item, The said bishop allegeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been bishop, used any superstitions or papistry, as it is untruly surmised against him; but hath and doth, to the uttermost of his power, wit, and cunning, set forth, maintain, teach, and preach, the true doctrine of the gospel, and such laudable doctrine as he ought to do by the king's laws, injunctions, and proceedings; and for such a teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriously.

And whereas the said chanter and George perceived their depositions to be insufficient, they required, and had, commission into the country to examine further witnesses, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alleged in the bishop's exceptions above-mentioned. And whereas to the said Rawlins and Lee were awarded two several

Mary. A. D. 1555. commissions, they, by favour of the officers, and for sparing of costs, conjoined both in one, and had three months to make return, as appeareth by the copy of their commission, which hereunder may be seen.[1]

During all this time of the examination of the witnesses, the said bishop was stayed at London, upon the allegation of the said adversaries; which was, that if the said bishop should depart into his diocese, he would let them of their proofs.

And at the return of their commission it was signified unto the council what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixscore and seven; which sounded very heinous in the council's ears.

And about three weeks after, publication of their witnesses was granted; and after that, it was a fortnight ere the bishop could get a copy written of their depositions, because the book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the bishop desired time, first, to inquire of what condition the persons were, that had witnessed against him, and to make exceptions and matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a commission for the proof thereof; which was then granted. And now it is objected, that the bishop was appointed so to travail with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the bishop to do it in so short a time, these causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's, where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of law constrained to answer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great sessions at Caermarthen, in defence of his just cause against the pretensed matter of præmunire, which his adversaries of mere malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins' information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment; intending thereby to make the matter sound more heinous; notwithstanding that the same cause dependeth before the king's high council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pounds (which was arrearages) into the court of First Fruits and Tenths, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his adversaries wrought means to have made him

(1) *A Copy of the Commission awarded down into the Country, for the Examination of Witnesses.*

Edwardus Sextus, Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et, in terrâ, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput:—dilectis et fidelibus suis Georgio Harbert militi, Thomæ Jones militi, et Johanni Wogan militi, ac dilectis sibi David Vaughan, et Owino ap Owen armigeris, salutem. Sciatis quòd nos, de fidelitatibus et providis circumspectionibus vestris plurimum fidentes, assignavimus vos, quatuor, tres, vel duos, vestrûm, ac tenore præsentium damus vobis, quatuor, tribus, vel duobus, vestrûm, plenam potestatem et autoritatem capiendi et recipiendi depositiones et examinationes quorumcunque testium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins clerici, et Thomæ Leghe; de, et super, quibusdam articulis per ipsos Hugonem et Thomam Leghe concilio nostro exhibitis et præsentibus inclusis: necnon hujusmodi depositiones et examinationes in scriptis redigendi: et nos de hujusmodi examinationibus et depositionibus (cum sic per vos, quatuor, tres, vel duos, vestrûm, captæ fuerint) in crastino Ascensionis Domini proximè futuræ in cancellariam nostram (ubicunque tunc fuerit) sub sigillis vestris, quatuor, trium, vel duorum, vestrûm, clausis certificandi, remittentes nobis tunc articulos prædictos unà cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd circa præmissa diligenter intendatis cum effectu.—Teste me ipso, apud Westm. 9. die Martii, anno regni nostri sexto. Marten.

break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert, gentleman, who hath a parsonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very last day, because that money should not help to serve his turn; and so, by crafty cavillation, detaineth it still in his hand with a year's rent and an half more: for the said Edward Harbert is an adherent of the said bishop's adversaries. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Fifthly, The book of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse; and also the greatest part of their witnesses were utterly unknown of the bishop and all his: and also dwelling in so many sundry places of the diocese among the mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, Another great sessions was holden at Caermarthen in the month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his exceptions in shorter time.

The said bishop dispatched his man towards London the 23d day of October, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same suit, for the obtaining the commission for proof of this matter against his adversaries.[1]

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed martyr of the Lord in king Edward's days, with the whole discourse thereof; which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, bishop Ferrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in prison till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine: the process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid master Ferrar bishop of St. David's had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of king Edward, not for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, at length, after the decease of king Edward, by the coming in of queen Mary the state of religion began to be changed and altered; whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of Præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with master Hooper, master Rogers, master Bradford, master Saunders, and others aforesaid, the 4th of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but, because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The second trouble of Ferrar in the time of queen Mary.

(1) Two letters of bishop Ferrar, introduced here in some editions, will be found at p. 26.—Ed.

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The Answer of Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, before Winchester and other Commissioners.

At his first coming and kneeling before my lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table; and master Rochester, master Southwell, master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester:—"Now sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?"

Ferrar:—"If it like your honour, I know not."

Winchester:—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Ferrar:—"No, my lord, I know not."

Winchester:—"Lo, what a froward fellow is this?"

Ferrar:—"If it please your lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester:—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Ferrar:—"I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

Worcester:—"I pray your lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

Ferrar charged with the queen's debt.

Winchester:—"The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Eighth. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church."

Ferrar:—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's majesty, in the court of exchequer, my lord treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your lordship; you know it well enough."

Ferrar refuseth the pope.

Bourne:—"You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford."

Ferrar:—"That was I not."

Bourne:—"You were."

Ferrar:—"I was never; it is not true."

Bourne:—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Ferrar:—"That I did not."

Bourne:—"You did."

Ferrar:—"That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne:—"Ah! so said I: you went with Barlow."

Ferrar:—"That is true; but never from St. David's."

Bourne:—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York, Edward Lee."

Ferrar:—"That did I not."

Bourne:—"You did."

Ferrar:—"I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the archbishop of York."

Falsely charged to have supplanted his master.

Bourne:—"You supplanted your master."

Ferrar:—"That did I never in my life."

Bourne:—"By my faith you did."

Ferrar:—"Forsooth I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger; and that I obtained of king Henry the Eighth, for my true service, I thank God there-for."

"My lord," saith master Bourne to my lord chancellor, "he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any."

Ferrar:—"That is not so: whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne:—"He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money."

Ferrar:—"That is utterly untrue: I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life; and you shall never be able to prove that you say."

Ferrar stoutly standeth upon his truth;

Winchester:—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled), and said, "No, my lord, I am a true man; I thank God for it! I was born under king Henry the Seventh; I served king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the

Sixth truly; and have served the queen's majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Winchester:—"How sayest thou? wilt thou be reformable?"

Ferrar:—"My lord, if it like your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to king Henry the Eighth, and also to king Edward, and in that to the queen's majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it." and to his oath made to the king against the pope.

Durham:—"You had made another oath before."

Ferrar:—"No, my lord; I never made another oath before."

Durham:—"You made a vow."

Ferrar:—"That did I not."

Winchester:—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar:—"No, my lord, if it like your honour; that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife." Chastity is not to live without a wife.

Worcester:—"You were sworn to him that was master of your house."

Ferrar:—"That was I never."

Winchester:—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night."

Ferrar:—"I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it." Winchester's perjury touched.

Durham:—"Well! he standeth upon his oath: call another."

My lord chancellor then did ring a little bell, and master Ferrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, bishop Ferrar so remained in prison uncondemned, till the 14th day (as is aforesaid) of February; and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then, upon the 26th of February, in the church of Caermarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esquire, sheriff of the county of Caermarthen, was there personally presented before Henry, bishop of St. David's, and Constantine the public notary: which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones; and thereupon declared unto the said master Ferrar the great mercy and clemency, that the king and queen's highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said master Ferrar; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. After that, seeing the said master Ferrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following. Ferrar brought before Morgan, pretensed bishop of St. David's.

Articles devised against Bishop Ferrar.

First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or no?

Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?

Unto the which articles the said bishop required the said master Ferrar to answer upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission; and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the said bishop, taking no The answer of bishop Ferrar.

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ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, BEFORE HENRY MORGAN THE PRETENSED BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, GEORGE CONSTANTINE HIS REGISTRAR, AND OTHERS, THE LAST OF FEBRUARY, A.D. 1555.

This day and place, Morgan the pretensed bishop of St. David's sitting as judge, ministered unto bishop Ferrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said bishop Ferrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority. Whereupon the aforesaid pretensed bishop of St. David's did pronounce him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing: which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF THE SAID BISHOP FERRAR, BEFORE MORGAN THE PRETENSED BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretensed bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions abovementioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to custody, as above.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF THE SAID BISHOP.

On Thursday, as was appointed, which was the 7th of March, the said bishop personally again appeared; where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretensed bishop of St. David's, offered him again the said articles as before; the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect:

Articles again ministered against Bishop Ferrar.

First, That he willed him, being a priest, to abrenounce matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only; but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

Sixthly, That the catholic church, which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand.

Ferrar will not subscribe to them.

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and per-

tain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF BISHOP FERRAR.

Upon the which Monday, being the 11th of March, he, appearing again before the bishop, and the aforesaid notary George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the foresaid articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which articles and answers he did so subscribe—adding these words, as "tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse Episcopum Menevensem"—that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF BISHOP FERRAR.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, master Ferrar, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry the pretensed bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors (as he called them), which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly bishop, master Ferrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole, etc. All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him, contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power; namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen, master Leyson.[1]

Ferrar appealeth from the bishop to the cardinal.

Sentence pronounced.

(1) The tenor of his sentence, as well of his condemnation as of his degradation, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Bishop Ferrar.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Henricus, permissione divinâ Menevensis Episcopus, judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, in quodam inquisitionis et hæreticæ pravitatis negotio contra te Robertum Ferrar presbyterum (coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, et nobis super hæreticâ pravitate traditum, ac famâ et notorietate facti delatum), ac in eâ parte legitime procedendo, auditis, visis, et intellectis, rimatis, ac maturâ deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis, servatisque in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes: quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confessata, et ex parte tuâ coram nobis in eodem negotio sæpius recognita, asserta, et confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales, coram nobis judicialiter factas, errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones subscriptas, juri divino ac catholicæ universalis et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes, contrarias, et repugnantes, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, et dogmatizasse infra diœcesem nostram Menevensem, viz.: "Quòd licet cuicunque religioso etiam expressè professo et presbytero, post susceptam professionem et post susceptum presbyteratûs ordinem, ducere uxorem, ac cum eâdem tanquam cum uxore legitimâ conversari. Item: sacras religiones, ab ecclesiâ catholicâ institutas, eum scandalo damnasse et reprobasse. Item: quòd in eucharistiâ, sive altaris sacramento, unà cum corpore et sanguine Christi remanet substantia panis et vini. Item: quod Missa non est sacrificium Novi Testamenti, propitiatorium pro vivis atque defunctis. Et sacramentum altaris non esse in altari ministrandum, elevandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item: quòd homo solâ fide justificatur;" quos quidem errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones, juri divino ac catholicæ universalis et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi, obviantes, etc.

The Copy of the Sentence of Degradation.

In nomine Patris, + Filii, + et Spiritûs Sancti, + Amen. Quia nos Henricus, permissione divinâ Menevensis Episcopus, per viam inquisitionis in negotio hæreticæ pravitatis, cognoscentes te Robertum Ferrar clericum propter tuam manifestam contumaciam et obstinaciam per nos nunciatum fuisse et esse, in illud detestabile crimen hæresis multipliciter incidisse et commisisse: quod cum non solum grande, sed etiam damnabile et damnosum sit, et adeo enorme, quòd exinde non tantum divina Majestas offensa, sed et universa diœcesis Menevensis commota est, et ob hoc indignus officio sacerdotali et ecclesiastico sis redditus: idcirco nos, autoritate Dei Patris Omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, et nostrâ, te ab omni hujusmodi officio sententialiter perpetuo privamus in his scriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus (realiter et actualiter secundum traditionem canonum deponendum) et (degradandum, prout in ordinario pontificali continetur) degradamus, prout sequitur. In primis amovemus a te, etc.

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Thus this godly bishop, being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he, in the market place in the south side of the market-cross, the 30th day of March, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

Bishop Ferrar brought to the place of execution.

Touching the which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood (holding up his stumps), so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

A memorable example of constancy in this blessed bishop and martyr.

LETTERS OF DR. FERRAR, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

As touching the letters of master Ferrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in queen Mary's time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other troubles, in king Edward's time, certain letters he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, and to the earl of Warwick: which letters, although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story; yet because in the said letters is contained briefly and in few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that blessed bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired enemies; as in the said letters here following to the indifferent reader may easily appear.

The Copy of a certain Letter of the Bishop of St. David's, written belike to the Lord Chancellor, Dr. Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.

Most humbly showeth unto your honour, your poor orator Robert, bishop of St. David's, that whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrike, being both canons of St. David's, and George Constantine, registrar to the said bishop) hath exhibited unto your honour against him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also their pretensed weighty articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee hath had commissions into the country: therefore it may please your honour, of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said orator a like commission for the examination of witnesses, in defence of his truth and honesty against the aforenamed Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Meyrike, and all other persons, with their unjust articles, attestations, and sayings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said orator standeth bounden, and sureties with him, in the sum of a thousand marks, to appear before the king's justice, in the sessions at Caermarthen, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of Præmunire, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed adversaries, maliciously

surmised against him to his utter undoing: and furthermore that your orator, being in debt to the king's majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the foresaid adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be arrearages to a great sum (as well of the king's money as of his own rents), he can receive none thereof, his adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the people in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and arrearages, nor the priests their arrearages due to the king's majesty, as well for anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to license your said orator to depart into the diocese, for these affairs and others. And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesu for the perpetual conservation of your honour, to his glory.

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Bishop Ferrar with his sureties in a thousand marks to appear in a matter of Præmunire.

Besides this letter he wrote another likewise to the same lord (who was, as seemeth, Dr. Goodrick, lord chancellor afore mentioned), wherein he declareth the whole cause of his trouble, how it rose against him by his adversaries, as here followeth.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of St. David's, to the Chancellor aforesaid.

Right honourable, and my very special good lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and unity: this is furtherly to beseech your lordship, for the Lord's sake, not to be grieved, but benignly to hear and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to others but a light grief, to me is, in very deed, a right grievous offence to God, with no little hindrance of his holy word, and disturbance of the king's godly proceedings; and may be a great occasion of much inobedience and disorder of good life. Wherefore I am straitly bounden, for the true zeal that I ought to bear unto God's word of life, christian religion, the king's majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light, that their ungodly misdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right; insomuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in master chanter the canon, and the dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt, in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going backward of my old faithful brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the cross of Christ, or at least privy lurkers, under pretence of favour towards the gospel, to sting the poor followers thereof; seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for lucre's sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

Unkind dealing of George Constantine against Ferrar.

And as for their Præmunire, both George and they, at my first coming, ungently detaining from master Farlee[1] his commission for the chancellorship, would have faced me down with Præmunire, because it was written in my own name according to the statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with master Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office, for the amity of George, unto master

(1) This Farlee was chancellor to bishop Ferrar.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

chanter[1] his son-in-law, and to master Meyrike, the office of Cardigan. But, seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sin, and specially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, sore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation-time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

Young and Meyrike removed by Ferrar from office.

Also desiring to have sight of the book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the chapter seal, as my lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon, considering their ungentleness, I moved the Quo warranto, knowing right well, that if they should show any substantial grant under the king's seal for their corporation, it must therein appear the bishop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again; as I trust they will not. And yet, perceiving afterward that they had no special grant to show, or else such as they would not show, I myself, for the respect of unity, wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reason whereof the Quo warranto was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

The wrongs which Ferrar received by them.

But touching the certificate, the king's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay it both to my vice-chancellor and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiary for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodness, for the Lord's sake, to persist and continue my good lord and friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease; humbly beseeching your good lordship to accept in good part this my boldness, proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory.—Written at Aber Gwili, this 9th of March.

Your lordship's to command during life,

Robert Ferrar.

The History of one Rawlins White,

BURNED AT CARDIFF IN WALES ABOUT THE MONTH OF MARCH, FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL, REPORTED BY JOHN DANE, BEING YET ALIVE, WHO WAS ALMOST CONTINUALLY WITH HIM DURING HIS TROUBLE, UNTO HIS DEATH.

Forsomuch as we have here passed the history of master Ferrar, burned at the town of Caermarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the same the history also of one Rawlins White, a fisherman, who, both in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and also about the same month of March and year aforesaid, gave his life, like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff; the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

(1) This chanter was doctor Young.

Mary

A. D. 1555.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his neighbours. As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used; I mean in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of king Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before, by the iniquity of the time, had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher-out of the truth.

The desirous mind of Rawlins to search for truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: he had a little boy which was his own son; which child he set to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good book; in which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that, as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the trade or science which beforetime he had used: so that Rawlins, within few years, in the said time of king Edward, through the help of his little son (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose), and through much conference besides, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others: and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing, he became, in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this his good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the holy Scripture, God did also add in him a singular gift of memory; so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that, in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish; insomuch that he, upon the alleging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea and the very sentence: such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

This godly intent in setting his son to school.

Rawlins by means of his son came to the knowledge of Scripture.

The gift of memory in Rawlins.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, king Edward died, upon whose decease queen Mary succeeded, and, with her, all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before he was wont; and therefore oftentimes, in some private place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number; which number, no doubt, had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been. The extremity and force whereof, at the last, so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children; and by that means he should escape that danger which was imminent over his head.

Rawlins exhorted to shift for himself.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confessing and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he, upon their persuasions, should presume to deny his master Christ, Christ, in the last day, would deny and utterly condemn him: "and therefore," quoth he, "I will, by his favourable grace, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Promiseth to be constant unto death.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy; upon which apprehension he was convented before the bishop of Llandaff that then was, the said bishop lying then at his house beside Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

Rawlins might escape and would not.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he, by the aforenamed bishop, was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother (who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days), and other of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends, as commonly came unto him: insomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing.

Rawlins a year in prison.

A godly woman stirred up to relieve him.

Exhortation of Rawlins to his friends.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff-castle by the space of one whole year (as I have said), the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law: and thereupon gave him a day of determination; which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other bydwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings.

By no means could be reduced to return to popery.

When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending-for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood: "for," said the bishop, "Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions; and, that notwithstanding, ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, that if you will show yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but, if by no means we can persuade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you—and therefore advise yourself, what you will do.

Brought before the bishop of Llandaff in judgment.

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My lord, I thank God I am a christian man; and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a christian man ought to be." Many more words were in like sort between the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law a God's name," said Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God

that he would send some spark of grace upon him,[1] [meaning Rawlins] and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my lord," quoth he, "now you deal well, and like a godly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, "Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them:" and there be more than two or three of you. Now, if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go to; do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

The bishop prayeth to *his* God, and Rawlins to *his*.

By and by the bishop with his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands. And when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely," said Rawlins, "my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false God,[2] and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man; as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

Rawlins confirmed in doctrine.

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best, first, to have a mass, thinking that indeed, by so doing, some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

A mass said for conversion of Rawlins.

In the meantime poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the priest came to the sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacring-bell ring (as the use was), he rose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and, there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words: "Good people! if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

His words to the people.

The mass being ended, Rawlins eftsoons was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose: whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed; and from thence he was, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel; a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison. Rawlins in the meantime passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff-castle, and in all other places.

Rawlins still constant in the profession of God's truth. Sentence read, and he sent to prison.

Now, after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff (as is aforesaid) a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head-officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one Henry Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, "De hæreticis comburendis," the wife of the said Rawlins would, upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question. Immediately upon this advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they

The officers intended to burn him without a writ.

The writ awarded.

(1) The bishop of Llandaff proceedeth with prayer in condemnation of Rawlins; which commonly the popish persecutors are not wont to do.

(2) Popish bishops pray to a false god, and therefore are not heard.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins. Now, when the day was come wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding-garment, meaning a shirt, which afterward he was burned in: which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully. Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding-garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather-buskins, which he had used long afore. And thus being brought out of prison (as I have said), he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and glaves; which sight when he beheld, "Alas!" quoth he, "what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By God's grace I will not start away: but I, with all my heart and mind, give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this, for his holy name's sake."

Rawlins's wedding-garment.

His going to the place of execution.

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words: "Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice (I mean the place appointed for his death), and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but, in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground: and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

Rawlins somewhat moved at the sight of his wife and children; but wrestleth against his flesh.

The agony and fight of this christian warrior.

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast a chain about him; and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!"

Rawlins fastened to the stake.

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch: which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

His cheerfulness at his death.

Thus, when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting-to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the meantime Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted. At the last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and

A popish sermon preached at his martyrdom.

there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which his invection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerkly interpretation. *Marg.* A.D. 1555.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people; and hear not a false prophet preaching:" and then said unto the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text what followeth: did not Christ say, 'Do this in remembrance of me!'" After which words the priest, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace. His words to the false prophet.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire;" which being set to, the straw and reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he suffered or felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life. Constant patience of Rawlins at his burning.

It is recorded, furthermore, of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour. He had—of which thing I should have spoken before—about his head a kerchief; the hairs of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief), and also of his beard, were more inclining to white than to grey, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical. A sudden alteration of nature marvellous in Rawlins before his death.

It is also said by this reporter,[1] that a little before the fire flashed up to his body (as ye have heard), many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand; amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose and forced them to sunder. In the mean time the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was a heretic, and condemned by the church.—The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was, at the time of his death, of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

(1) The reporter of this story was one master Dane.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

THE SUM OF THE WORDS SPOKEN BY QUEEN MARY TO CERTAIN OF HER COUNCILLORS, MARCH 28, A.D. 1555, TOUCHING THE RESTITUTION OF THE ABBEY LANDS.

Before I pass over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of queen Mary, used to certain of the council the 28th day of the said month of March, touching the restoring again of the abbey lands; who, after she had called unto her presence four of her privy council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which councillors were these, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high treasurer of England; sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; sir William Peter, knight, secretary; sir Francis Englefield, knight, master of the wards); the said queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth:—

The names of the councillors called before queen Mary.

The words of queen Mary touching abbey lands.

"You are here of our council; and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

The queen maketh a conscience in keeping abbey lands.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them: and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

Surrendereth from herself the possession of them.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

Promises for restitution of abbey lands.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before), and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first unto the councillors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he, drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the pope; which copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Ambassadors from England to Rome.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be understood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the 19th day of the said month, the bishop of Ely and the lord Montacute, with seven score horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; for what cause, in story it is not expressed; but, by conjecture, it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of abbey lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

For it was not long after, but the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the church or abbey lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith, put the same bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet, to this day, was never put in practice. Wherein again is to be observed another catholic fetch, not unworthy, perchance, of marking. For whereas this kind of Catholics, by rigour and force, may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough.[1] This well appeared, and still doth appear, in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in presuming too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see. For notwithstanding that the pope's bull, coming down with full authority for restitution of abbey lands, did so thunder out most terrible excommunication, not only against them which detained any such lands, but also against all others that did not see the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them to match withal;[2] and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

The pope's bull for restitution of abbey lands.

Yea, and moreover, under a crafty pretence that the nobility and men of lands, at the first coming out of the bull, should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtilely abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people; affirming that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print, for restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: whereas, in very deed, the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by this intimation of queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and also by master Feckenham's ballet of "Caveat emptor," may appear; whereby it is easy for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion.

False dissembling in the pope's catholic church.

Feckenham's ballet of 'Caveat emptor.'

But to let this matter pass of the pope's bull, the time now serveth to entreat of pope Julius's death, forsomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid month of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good ears.[3] Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Benevento, a Florentine, named John de la Casa, dean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians; who, well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so

The death of pope Julius the Third.

(1) Note the nature of the papists: where they can overcome, they are lions; where they are overmatched, they play the foxes.
(2) Here lacked no good will in the bishops, but time as yet did not serve them.
(3) Read more of this in a book called A Warning to England.

Mary. far forgat both honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthiest immorality himself, and to boast openly of the same; A. D. 1555. but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre,[1] to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of a certain † Note here what a *holy* catholic church this is. nameless iniquity, saying, that he himself never used other: and this book was printed at Venice by one Trajanus Nævus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness, even under his nose in his own chamber; who could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in christian books.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto,[2] this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician afterward gave warning to his steward or orderer of his A porkish pope. diet, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service: "Where," said he, "is my pork?" And when his steward had answered, that his physician had forbidden any pork Monstrous blasphemy in the pope. to be served; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, saith these words; "Bring me," said he, "my pork-flesh, al dispetto di Dio," that is to say in English, "in the despight of God."

At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, "Keep," said he, "this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden; for I shall have guests." So when supper came, and, amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, etc.; whereupon one of his cardinals, sitting by, desired him, saying, "Let not your holiness, I pray you, be so moved with Pope Julius blasphemeth God for a peacock. 'O vocem Antichristo dignam!' a matter of so small weight." Then this Julius the pope, answering again, "What," said he, "if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple."[3] Behold here, good reader, by this

(1) Vide scriptum Pauli Vergerii contra hunc Archiepisc. [See Riveti "Jesuita Vapulans," cap. iii. § 8; also Jewel's "Defence of the Apology," Part IV. chap. iii. divis. 1. There is some doubt as to this book. See a note upon Sleidan, lib. xxi. vol. iii. p. 154. Francorf. 1786.—Ed.]

(2) The patronage, which pope Julius thought fit to exercise towards this renowned idol, was strongly reprobated by Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, in his tract, "De idolo Lauretano, quod Julium III. Rom. Episc. non puduit approbare: Vergerius Italiæ scripsit, Ludovicus ejus nepos vertit anno 1556." In a tablet, which in Vergerio's time was affixed to the wall at the entrance into the Holy Cottage, it is asserted that the apostles were accustomed to perform divine offices in it; that St. Luke made an image of the Virgin, which remains there to this very day, ("quæ ibi est usque hodie" are the words used); that angels removed the chapel, after having conveyed it through the air from the Holy Land, from spot to spot,—first on occasion of the robbers, with which the country was infested, and then, a second time, because of the excessive quarrellings ("maximas discordias") which were excited by the large receipts—to its present and final resting-place. The inhabitants were unable to account for its appearance amongst them, and were afraid that without any foundation the chapel would soon fall into ruins; but in the year 1290 (according to the tablet) the Virgin appeared herself in a dream to a holy brother, and acquainted him with all the circumstances connected with the building; upon which it was determined to send an embassy of sixteen respectable men into the Holy Land to visit the old site; and they found and reported that the old foundations answered exactly to the building, which had arrived at Recanati, etc. etc. "All this and much more, hardly to be matched," says Vergerio, "by the tales of the Koran or the Talmud, was considered as deserving or needing a long refutation," which it has fully received from his lively pen: see "Vergerii Opera adversus Papatum;" Tubingæ, 1563, ff. 309—50; or "Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles," vol. ii. p. 666, edit. 1671. The "Tractatus de Æde Lauretanâ" was printed at Venice, 1499. See Maittaire, Annales Typogr. vol. i. p. 696.—Ed.

(3) These anecdotes are included in "Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles;" vol. ii. p. 639. Edit. Francorf. 1671.—Ed.

pope, the holiness of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here what affection was borne to this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following: *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

A Letter from the Bishop of Winchester (being Lord Chancellor) unto Bonner, Bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the Pope's Funeral.

After my hearty commendations to your good lordship: The king and queen's majesties having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers (which I send you herein enclosed), used at mass times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocese, and sending word to the rest of the bishops, to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your lordship heartily well to fare.

From my house at Esher, the 10th of April, 1555.

Your assured friend and brother,

Stephen Winton, Chancellor.

Prayers commanded to be used in the Funeral Masses for the Pope, "apostolica sede vacante."

A collect for the pope.

Supplici te, Domine, humilitate deposcimus, ut tua immensa pietas sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui et pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, et tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum nostrum.

Secreta.

Tuæ nobis, Domine, pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gratum majestati tuæ pontificem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ regimini præesse gaudeamus, per Dominum nostrum.

Post Communionem.

Prayer for choosing the pope.

Preciosi corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine, sacramento refectos mirifica tuæ majestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis assumptione lætificet, qui et plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, et fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

A WOMAN OF ST. MAGNUS'S IMPRISONED FOR NOT PRAYING FOR THE POPE.

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up, and diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places; at which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus's church, at the bridge-foot in London, and there, seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and another that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. "Nay," quoth she, "that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who, by and by, carried her unto the cage at London-bridge, and bade her cool herself there.

Mary. A SPECTACLE FOR ALL CHRISTIANS TO BEHOLD, AND TO TAKE
A.D. HEED OF THE POPE'S BLASPHEMOUS DOCTRINE.
1555.

By many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel: as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples showed from time to time upon his adversaries.

A popish parson preaching to his parishioners.

In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingal, parson of Crundal beside Canterbury; who, upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid (rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of religion), began to make a sermon to his parishioners,

A terrible example of God's severe punishment upon Nightingal, parson of Crundal in Kent.

taking his theme out of the words of St. John: "He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him," etc. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm; saying, moreover, unto the people in this wise: "Now masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry; for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my lord cardinal Pole's grace, and he hath made me as free from sin, as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And so reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding, moreover, that he believed, that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin, as that night that he was born:—and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who both heard and saw the same, and it is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

Blasphemy to Christ's gospel punished.

JOHN AWCOCK, MARTYR.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said month, died in prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the fields; as the manner of the papists was to deny their christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

Now, forasmuch as having passed the month of March, we are entered into the month of April, to set down in order, out of public records, what happened in the said month, here followeth to be noted: that the 1st day of April, A.D. 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council. The 7th day of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about, with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15th of April a letter was directed to sir Nicholas Hare, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine master Flower (alias

Branch) what he meant, by wearing about his neck written, "Deum time, idolum fuge;" and whom else he knew to wear the like: praying them also to speak to Bonner bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion, according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute; so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

The 22d of April there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The 29th of April, master Robert Hornebey, servant then to the lady Elizabeth, was convented before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

A Declaration of the Life, Examination, and Burning of George Marsh,

WHO SUFFERED MOST CONSTANT MARTYRDOM FOR THE PROFESSION OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST AT CHESTER, THE 24TH DAY OF APRIL, 1555.

The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Dean, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents; who afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then, God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies (leaving his household and children in good order), went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders; as he himself reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Marsh first a farmer.

Made minister.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were, that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop; as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

Cotes bishop of Chester, a persecutor of Marsh.

The Handling, Entreating, and Examination of George Marsh, being sent first by the Earl of Derby to Dr. Cotes, Bishop of Chester.

On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of master

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strait charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to master Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, etc.

Marsh advertised by his friends to fly.

I, knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected; my mother, and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the meanwhile had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his holy Spirit, I never will) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troublous and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

Marsh in a perplexity whether to fly or to tarry.

This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened: to whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I, being thus with their advice and counsel, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

He consulteth with God.

In the mean time I ceased not, by earnest prayer, to ask and seek counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts), and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Dean Moor, about sun going-down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

His brethren charged to seek him.

This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of master Barton's servants seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smirhill the next day; who, being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus, intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

The marvellous providence of God in staying Marsh.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in no wise fly; but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether was better, to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to master Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind and conscience, afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

Marsh takes leave of his friends.

So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as my custom was), with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smirhill: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson; desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day; and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parties, and came to Smirhill about nine of the clock, and

Voluntarily offereth himself to his enemies.

presented myself afore master Barton; who showed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends which I had there at the same time, to master Barton, that he would take some one of them, or them all, bound by recognizance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said earl or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping; and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and a half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon. Marsh taketh his leave of his mother.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to come to my lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present sir William Norris, sir Pierce Leigh, master Sherburn the parson of Grappenhall, master More, with others; where when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, "Marsh." I brought before the earl of Derby.

Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me. But that I could not know.

Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, "No." Then he asked me what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my lord to his council, "This is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one." I answered, "By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none." Examined before him.

Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln.

Then said they one to another, "Those be of these new heretics;" and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grappenhall said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised. Blasphemous mouth of the parson of Grappenhall.

Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called "Apostolorum," the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Augustine and Ambrose do teach. And after a few words, the parson of Grappenhall said, "But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?" I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his sacrament. Marsh's belief in the sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced of the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ: whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had showed already; "for my knowledge is unperfect," said I: desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good christian man. Loth to answer to the question of transubstantiation.

So, after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remem-

Mary. A. D. 1555.

bering the saying of Paul, "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before: whereat he, being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but do it.

Marsh commanded to write his answers.

Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not: whereat he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

The earl of Derby commandeth Marsh to prison.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes; and, that done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

Another Examination of George Marsh before the Earl of Derby.

On Palm Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my lord and his council (saving sir William Norris and sir Pierce Leigh were not then present in place), amongst whom was sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council with me, saying: that answer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot, I would be conformable in other things. So, after many fair words, he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

Marsh again examined about the sacrament.

Yet keepeth himself close.

Marsh troubled in his conscience for being no more bold, touching the sacrament.

And so, after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done.

Prayeth for more boldness.

This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

Again examined before the bishops' chaplains about the mass; allegations against it.

And so, after a day or two, I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass did offend me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

Sacrificium missæ; quid sit.

They said, "sacrificium" or "oblatio" did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, "sacrificium laudis." Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was

not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living: and that the commixion of the body and blood of Christ, was health both of body and soul. The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people. So, after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church (which, as they meant, was the Romish church), I departed, not consenting unto them.

Sacrifice of the mass expounded by the papists.

So within a day or twain came to me master More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of king Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles: for then I did against mine own conscience: and so he departed.

The articles of Crome's recantation brought to Marsh.

So within a short space after, which was on Shere-Thursday, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

Four popish articles for Marsh to subscribe to.

The first was, whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and, with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

1. Mass.

The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

2. Transubstantiation.

Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

3. Receiving in one kind.

Fourthly, whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

4. Confession.

These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with mine answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ's institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

Marsh denieth the articles.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and much counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

Marsh exhorted to the catholic church.

Upon one of the Easter holydays master Sherburn and master More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things: with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for as for the Scriptures, master Sherburn confessed himself ignorant. I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame. I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, My soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

Sherburn and More examiners.

God's truth is not to be esteemed by prosperity or adversity.

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Then master More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of Luke xxiv. and Acts xx., where was but mention of breaking of bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind. That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution.

Christ's breaking of bread proveth not the receiving under one kind.

So, after much communication of that matter, master Sherburn said, it was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions. I answered as afore I had done to my lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take myself (said I) for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me. And so, after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

Marsh forsaketh kindred, altogether to stick to Christ.

Alphonsus' book brought to Marsh.

Master More, after this, brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time; willing me to read and take counsel of that book: and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pellican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed, contrary to the same; using for his strongest and surest arguments, the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish church. So, within a few days, master More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book. I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church: and showed him further, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, that Christ's church, nine hundred years after Christ, used the contrary.

Marsh's judgment of it.

So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God: and desired him to speak to my lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life; saying, I am sure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

Marsh carried to Lancaster castle.

I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Richard Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and somewhat further; counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid. To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying; If I knew mine own opinion to be good, I did well: and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreat me honestly.

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My bringers by the way showed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me: and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the jailor, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain.

Marsh to hold up his hand.

After that, the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hands with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth:

Communication between George Marsh and the Earl of Derby.

I said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his lordship.

He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London; and asked me into what land I would have gone.

The earl of Derby chargeth the realm of Denmark of heresy.

I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council—in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England; but as for Almain, he said, the emperor had destroyed them.

So, after such like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his lordship, being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

Lords who, in king Edward's time, agreed not to the acts of religion.

He answered, that he, with the lord Windsor and lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts; and that the nay of them four would be to be seen, as long as the parliament-house stood. Then my lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again the good hap and prosperity of the queen's highness, because she favoured the true religion: thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and said, that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

George Marsh to the Reader.

Forsomuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster (as by credible persons I am informed), some saying it was only because I would not do open penance; and some, because I could not agree with my lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there; some because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay-people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only: I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me: howbeit I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked

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by them, and answered by me afore and after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this: telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God will assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess his holy name; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and saith:

While I was (saith he) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

Peter's counsel to Christ to save himself.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session, many came to me to talk with me: some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such like counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, 'Master, favour thyself; this thing shall not be unto thee.' But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about, and said unto Peter, 'Come after me, Satan;' and, perceiving that they were a hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer; that I neither could, nor would, follow their counsel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word; but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

Marsh followeth Christ's answer to Peter.

Some others, yea even strangers also, came to me far unlike to these, who, after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words and some money too; and resorted to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God. At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me master Westby, master Ashton of Hill, master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him there-for!) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

Priests not always the greatest clerks.

Marsh strengthened in prison with the boldness of God's spirit.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion; and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was, indeed, a false forged lie of some wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warbarton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read

Marsh reproved for his loud praying and reading in prison. Warbarton, his fellow-prisoner.

all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read; wherewith others being offended, complained.

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth himself as followeth:

How the Bishop came to Lancaster, and of his Doings there, in setting up Idolatry.

The bishop, being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry; as holy-water-casting, procession, gadding, mattins-mumbling, children-confirming,[1] mass-hearing, idols-upsetting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel-preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily: so hasty in judgment, and calling men heretics, are our bishops in their lordly dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned; contrary to the express commandment of God's word, which saith, "Condemn no man, before thou hast tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou hast made inquisition, then reform righteously. Give no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to be confounded."

The bishop's coming to Lancaster, and setting up idolatry.

The bishop judgeth Marsh to be an heretic, before he heareth him.

And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the jailor, and rebuked him because he suffered one to fare so well; willing to have me more strictly kept and dieted: but if his lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

The unmerciful straitness of the bishop.

Also he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the schoolmaster and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the jailor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers show to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits (as Christ saith), no man can judge such for any other, but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion. God lay it never to their charges; but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will!

The schoolmaster of Lancaster rebuked for coming to Marsh in prison.

But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord for their constancy in preaching of the true faith; for so did their Pharisaical forefathers, if ye mark well the histories of the holy Bible. Pashur[2] was the head bishop of the temple, the ring-leader of false prophets, the chief heretic-taker; that is as much as to say, the out-thruster of true godliness. After that the dignity of priesthood was given unto him, he abused it; for he taught not, neither reproved by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not only struck, but also imprisoned, the holy prophet Jeremy; though *he* withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, steadfastly preaching the truth of God.

Popish bishops enemies to God's word.

Examples of persecuting bishops in the old time.

What mischief the ungracious bishop Jason wrought among the Jews, destroying all godliness, and setting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in 2 Mac. iv. How the execrable and blind bishops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never spake the truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly, to their utter destruction—how (I say) they pressed the truth in Christ and his apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it.

Bishop Jason.

Bishop Annas and Caiaphas.

And thus much hitherto concerning the prisonment of George Marsh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above named. Now proceeding further in the troublesome perse-

(1) As the Romish church continues to this day the idolatry of the mass, which ought to be made a service tending to God's glory, so it appears that even the holy rite of Confirmation was made an offence to some, in the manner in which it was administered.—Ed.

(2) Jer. xx. 1.

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cution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the bishop of the same diocese, which was Dr. Cotes; the effect whereof, being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

THE TROUBLES AND EXAMINATION OF GEORGE MARSH, UNDER DOCTOR COTES, BISHOP OF CHESTER.

Ye heard before, how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: who made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the schoolmaster, one Hensham the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who, with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ (as it were all singing one song), went about to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that church did; with many such like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

Great labour to make Marsh recant.

To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one; because it ever hath, doth, and shall, confess and believe one only God, and him only worship; and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

The church apostolic, and one.

The nature, condition, and notes of the true church.

And whereas they said, the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees·

Also those of the false church.

neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, counsels, and word of Christ, he being the Supreme Head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, troubles, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

Confutation of the false church, falsely defined.

He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

Examples declaring the true church. The false church greater in number.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, where-against all his adversaries were not able to resist.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF GEORGE MARSH BEFORE DR. COTES, BISHOP OF CHESTER.

Now, after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, etc., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop, but somewhat lower; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar, sat directly over against the said bishop.

The bishop with his colleagues sit upon Marsh.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last preceding, directly against the pope's authority and catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, "as," he said, "all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward the Sixth."

Marsh sworn to answer.

Marsh purgeth himself.

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him

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Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said king Edward: whose answers were every one noted and written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison again.

The bishop's clergy more able to examine than to dispute.

THE LAST AND FINAL APPEARANCE OF GEORGE MARSH BEFORE THE SAME.

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by his keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them; where, first, the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who, even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition toward the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not help; so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

The chancellor's oration.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the bishop's diocese? To the which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered, "Yea." Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he made in that place at his former examination; and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

Interrogatories put to Marsh.

"How say ye then to this?" quoth the chancellor.—"In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church; and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church."

Note here the great heresy of Marsh!

"I so said indeed," quoth Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus,[1] and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and

(1) Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men: *ergo* the pope is the supreme head of all churches!

he answered, "Yes, and divers others; but," said he, "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not," quoth he, "with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?" To whom George Marsh answered and said, "O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For whereas Christ, in the institution thereof, did as well deliver the cup, as the bread, saying, 'Drink ye all of this;' and Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Wherein the church of Rome erreth.

Then said the bishop, "Non disputandum est cum hæretico,"[1] that is, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; "being as they were," said he, "full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church."

To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy), that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die.—And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

Marsh cleareth himself of heresy.

Leach bid to stand from Marsh.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again:" and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant; and, amongst others, one Pulleyn a shoe-maker, said to him, "For shame, man, remember thyself, and recant." They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

Sentence of condemnation read.

The bishop stayeth in his sentence.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he

(1) So saith the Turk in his Alcoran, that no man must dispute of his law.

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durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with a glavering and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, "Yet, good, my lord, once again stay; for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay; and if it would be!"

God's mercy preferred before the queen's.

Another stay in reading the sentence.

"How sayest thou," quoth he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ; and so again he should deny me, before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and strait after said unto him, "Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship: and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him, "Farewell, good George," with weeping tears, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the North-gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

A dogged saying of the bishop.

Marsh delivered to the sheriffs, to strait keeping.

Brotherly zeal of good men comforting Marsh.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens who loved him in God, for the gospel's sake (whereof there were but a few), although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the said dark prison), call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well; and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings at another time; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

Amry and Cooper, sheriffs of Chester.

When the time and day appointed came[1] that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Cooper, with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution), to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they

Marsh led to his martyrdom.

(1) April 24, 1555.

might, as they thought, be saved: but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money; but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, "This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die." *Mary.* A.D. 1555. Marsh refuseth to receive money.

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and said further that he loved the queen); but, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he could not receive it upon that condition. Marsh refuseth the queen's pardon.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, "George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy:" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently. Not suffered to speak to the people. The martyrdom of Marsh at Chester.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord. Patience of the blessed martyr.

Upon this, many of the people said, that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly: which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a fire-brand in hell.

In recompense of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after, the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of a disgraceful disease. Whereupon, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public speech: albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret friends and certain aldermen for stopping the rumour of the people, this maidenly priest and bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance which declared but small virginity in him, and that the rumour was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the people. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more God's just revenging hand upon a persecuting bishop.

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cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning God's servants to death.[1]

This good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, besides his examinations, as before ye have heard: touching the which his examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of George Marsh to the Reader, touching the Matter of his Examination.

Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught; and as yet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerus, whose judgment in these matters of religion, I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us; and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; that whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ.[2] I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

Marsh curate to Laurence Saunders.

Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle master Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman): but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papists do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

The glory of the church standeth not in outward shows.

God, at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand; and after his great harvest, whereinto these years past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; for, as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, there shall be false

(1) The history is given more in detail in the First Edition, but from many indelicate and coarse expressions there used, one passage only is added: "Whereat one Brassy, being the coroner, and no heretic by the Romish profession, said with an oath, that surely the fact was so; for he, before that time, had taken the view of a mariner, who died upon the like disease, and, in every case, had such evident sores and tokens as the bishop had. More, particularly, might be said touching the last tragedy of this bishop, etc., but shamefacedness calleth back." See Edition 1563, p. 1122. —Ed.

(2) 1 Pet. iii.

teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects: and saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandize of us. And Christ earnestly warneth us, to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are all we Christians taught, that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, "Try all things, and choose that which is good." Also the evangelist St. John saith, "Believe not every spirit; but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not: for many false prophets," saith he, "are gone out into the world." Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touch-stone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not; for else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived: "Desunt fortassis aliqua." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

This[1] George Marsh was also curate of Langton in Leicestershire, of which master Saunders was the parson. He was learned, godly, and diligent in his office. He played not the hireling, as many hired parish priests did in those days, but, like the faithful servant of a full faithful Shepherd, kept his sheep from the poisonous infection of the popish wolves, by sound and diligent teaching. And when tyranny, with force, prevailed, then, by patient suffering, he vanquished their fury, and, by suffering death, as ye have heard, he confirmed his sheep and people in the truth taught.

A Letter Exhortatory of George Marsh, to the faithful Professors of Langton.

Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langhton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians), that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord;[2] and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor master Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word,[3] do not fall away like shrinking children and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers; but are willing and ready, for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body,[4] to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean, their native countries, friends, livings, etc.): but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.[5]

True salt discerned from the corrupt and unsavoury salt.

Whether of these—being that good salt of the earth,[6] that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution;—or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost his saltness; that is to wit, those ungodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of Antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 1122.—Ed
(2) Acts xi.
(3) Luke viii.
(4) Rom. i.
(5) Acts xxi.
(6) Matt. v.

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Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word;[1] whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock; that when the great rain descended, and the floods came and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock:[2] this is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof,[3] with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth; being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.[4]

True receivers of the word, who they be.

And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did:[5] for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord; as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must do:[6] for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation.[7] And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an ensample to comfort us:[8] for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him, we cannot be his disciples; for if we deny to suffer with Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him.

Mortification and bearing of the cross, necessary for all them that will reign with Christ.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. "It is verily," saith the apostle,[9] "a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled:" for after this life, the godly, being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest; whereas the wicked and ungodly, contrariwise, shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach.[10] These ought we to have before our eyes always; that in the time of adversity and persecution (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in use already), we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved.[11] For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.[12]

Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is graffed in us, which is able to save our souls,[13] and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For, as the apostle saith, "other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man's work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be showed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon, abide, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be safe himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire."[14]

Fire, in Scripture, what it signifieth.

By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire. By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are

(1) James ii. (2) Matt. vii. (3) Psalm ii. (4) Matt. xvi.
(5) 1 Thess. ii. (6) 2 Tim. iii. (7) Acts xiv. (8) Matt. v. vii. Mark viii.
(9) 2 Thess. i. (10) Luke xvi. (11) Heb. xii. (12) 1 Tim. 2.
(13) James i. (14) 1 Cor. 3.

meant such, as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution stand steadfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if so be that they go back and swerve when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost; but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.[1]

The place of Paul expounded.

Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon this sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ.[2] For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel.[3] We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual, and of three manners. The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which St. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God.[4] The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;"[5] read also Matthew xxv. The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice,[6] holy, and acceptable unto God; that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth "Our reasonable serving of God."[7]

Three sorts of sacrifices of the New Testament.

And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threateneth unto the Jews,[8] shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and infidelity or unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which, by the grace of God, was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall, to our utter destruction, return again unto us; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again, and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us.[9] For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to wallowing in the mire."[10] And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.[11] "For it is not possible," saith St. Paul, "that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance; forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him."[12] St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide steadfast in the known truth.

Exhortation to persist in the word of God, and not to abuse it.

The place expounded.

If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly;[13] as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Christ: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Christ anew, because that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such, can in no wise be renewed by repentance, for their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of

Falling from Christ.

To crucify Christ anew, what it is.

(1) 1 Cor. iii. Matt. v. Luke vi. Matt. iii. Psalm i. (2) 1 Pet. ii. 2 Cor. iii.
(3) 1 Pet. ii. (4) Heb. xiii. (5) Hos. vi. (6) Rom. xii. 7) Ephes. iii.
(8) Matt. xiv. (9) 2 Pet. ii. (10) Prov. xxvi. (11) Matt. xiii. (12) Heb. vi.
(13) Matt. xxvi.

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Cain, Saul, and Judas was; which, being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect: and, as St. John doth say, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end."[1] Also the apostle saith in another place. "If we sin willingly, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries."[2]

Wilful kicking against open known truth.

They sin willingly,[3] which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death; yet, notwithstanding, they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience), unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man should pray.[4]

Sin unto death.

Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us, on whom the ends of the world are come,[5] take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have so much spoken,[6] and given us so earnest forewarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness,[7] believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: and as our Saviour Christ saith, "If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins."[8] For unless we hold fast the word of life,[9] both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down,[10] and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use:[11] and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts; that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone.[12] For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that ground that beareth thorns and briers, is reproved and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.[13]

The fruitless fig-tree.

The good ground.

Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye, being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word, plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience.[14] And be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh,[15] and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended; or, with the cares of this world and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things, note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that be ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

Most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites.

To him that hath shall be given, and how.

Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto

Example of God's dealing with stubborn children.

(1) 1 John ii. (2) Heb. x. (3) Rom. i. (4) 1 John v. (5) 1 Cor. x.
(6) Apoc. xxii. Matt. xxiv. (7) Rom. i. (8) John viii. (9) Phil. ii.
(10) Matt. iii. (11) Luke xiii. (12) Matt. xviii. (13) Heb. vi.
(14) Luke viii. James i. (15) Matt. xiii.

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them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved,[1] and that ye, like very Gaderenites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye, with all diligence of mind, will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds.[2] And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads.[3] And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had,—so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

The more preaching with less following, draweth greater vengeance at God's hand.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain,[4] but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works; amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness; that is to say, things contrary unto true religion: for, then ought we to say with Peter, "We ought more to obey God than man." But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit,[5] which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea even the power of the wicked, which God causeth oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.[6]

We must also, by all means, be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority; and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.[7] Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms; and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God.[8] Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets."[9] Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.[10]

Praying for all estates. Forbearing our adversaries. Patience in suffering adversity and trouble.

And thus I commend you,[11] brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified;[12] beseeching you to help master Saunders and me your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake,[13] with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men; and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our christian brethren in the world; and

(1) Heb. vi. Matt. vi. (2) Acts xiv. 2 Tim. i. 2 Tim. ii. (3) Acts xviii.
(4) James ii. Gal. v. Tit. ii. (5) Rom. xiii.
(6) Acts v. Ephes. vi. John xix. Job xxxv. Rom. xiii. (7) 1 Pet. ii.
(8) Ephes. vi. 1 Tim. v. (9) Matt. vii. (10) 2 Pet. ii. Acts xx.
(11) This letter was written the year before, in the month of June. (12) Rom. xv.
(13) Coloss. iv.

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that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life.[1] Amen.

Salute from me all the faithful brethren: and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen.

The 28th of June; by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner,

George Marsh.

Save yourselves from this untoward generation.[2] Pray, pray, pray: never more need.

Another Letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved Friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's.[3] And as, in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. "For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee," saith God, "and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." "Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest." "Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?"[4]

Adversaries not to be feared. God's help always ready with his servants.

Spiritual toardness.

In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.[5]

A christian man's life is a perpetual warfare.

Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul; a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul, being delivered from the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles, so that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm; and in the end he was compelled to say, "I have finished my course; the time of my departing is at hand; I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartily desiring death."[6]

The manifold deliverances of Paul be examples for our comfort.

Persecution followeth christian godliness.

These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us; and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus the Captain and Finisher of our faith;[7] and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us, patiently bear the cross and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.[8]

(1) Phil. i. (2) Acts ii. (3) Col. ii. Phil. ii. 1 Pet. iii. Matt. x. Luke xi.
(4) Josh. ii. Rom. viii. (5) Ephes. vi. 2 Cor. xi. xii. Acts xxi.
(6) Acts xxviii. 2 Tim. iv. Phil. i. Rom. xv. (7) Heb. xii. (8) 2 Tim. iii.

Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God,[1] but Satan was, by and by, ready to tempt him; which thing *we* must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred Scriptures, the word of God (which is our heavenly armour), and sword of the Spirit.[2] And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living; not for the space of forty days[3] (as the papists do fondly fancy of their own brains), but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who, like a roaring lion, walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.[4]

The fast of Christ is to us example of sober living.

Neither can the servant of God at any time come and stand before God; that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them;[5] that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt and do mischief,[6] unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

When the servants of God stand before him, Satan cometh also.

Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked.[7] Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand captain Christ. Let us fast and pray continually.[8] For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy; that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcase may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit; and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

The shield of faith. The helmet of salvation. The sword of the spirit. Prayer and fasting. True fast, what it is.

This fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah.[9] For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with showing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think, with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast; and that we then fast, when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

Abuse of fasting among Christians.

To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required. First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.[10] Secondly, that we give liberally, putting aside all nigardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ;[11] insomuch that he affirmed with an oath, that she, of her penury, had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.[12] Thirdly, we must give without hypocrisy and ostentation; not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth us

Mercy to the poor. In alms three things required.

Alms without ostentation.

(1) Matt. iii. 4. (2) Ephes. vi. (3) Matt. i. (4) 1 Pet. v.
(5) Job i. 2. (6) Matt. viii. (7) Ephes. vi. (8) Matt. iv. xvii.
(9) Isa lviii. (10) 2 Cor. ix. (11) Mark xvii. (12) 2 Cor. viii.

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in his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth up to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. "What hast thou," saith the apostle, "that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?"[1]

Works of mercy do not merit with God, touching our salvation, any thing.

This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve, or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes. Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need:[2] for now is pride and persecution increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

Continual prayer.

To be faithful in temptation.

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall so require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham. Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in time of his trouble, kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt.[3] Phineas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel.[4] Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received a heritage.[5] David also, in his merciful kindness, obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom.[6] Elias being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael remained steadfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire.[7] In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

He exhorteth to zeal and courage.

And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome.[8] Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day are they set up, and to-morrow they are gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.[9]

Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras[10]) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city now were given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life, let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain Jesus Christ in the narrow and straight way; and be afraid of nothing, no not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

Straight is the way which the elect must walk in.

Death is a door to life.

If worldly men jeopard so much for earthly things, how much more ought we, for everlasting things!

Consider also the course of this world, how many there be, which, for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as, commonly, in wars; and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore! Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of imprisonment and hanging. So

(1) 1 Cor. iv. (2) Matt. xxvi. Heb. iv. 1 Mac. iv. (3) Gen. xxii. xli. Num. xxv.
(4) Joshua i. (5) Num. xiv. (6) 1 Sam. xxiv. 2 Kings ii.
(7) Dan. iii. vi. (8) Psal. xxxviii. (9) Acts xiv. (10) 4 Esdras vii.

much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where, for the time, is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all other our fellow-soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God; that we and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

Consider what I say; the Lord give us understanding in all things! Brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not; for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering; serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life.[1] Beware of all uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin; spend no more time in vice; be sober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble; love each other; and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And, above all things, cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and rule for evermore. Amen. Doctrine of good works.

Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God, which, by his grace hath called us from wicked papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution, will, of his mercy and favour, in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen.

At Lancaster, the 30th of August, 1555: by me an unprofitable servant of Christ, George Marsh.

A Letter of George Marsh to Jenkin Crampton and others.

To his well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster, George Marsh.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.[2]

After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men, for the most part, defile themselves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ;[3] yet do ye, after the ensample of Toby, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his five sons, be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen;[4] I do mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish ceremonies of the papists: but as the true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and verity,[5] according to his sacred Scriptures, which I would wish and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both St. Paul and Christ command you),[6] to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one

(1) 2 Tim. ii. 1 Cor. vii. 1 John ii. Col. iii.
(2) 1 Cor. xiii.
(3) Ephes. iv. Acts xi. Rom. i. Col. ii.
(4) Tob. i. Dan. i. 1 Macc. i.
(5) John iv.
(6) John v. 1 Tim. v.

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another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great famishment of souls, for want of the food of God's word.[1] And doubt not but that the merciful Lord (who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them,[2]) will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

And though ye think yourselves unable to teach, yet, at the commandment of Christ, now in time of famine (the hungry people, being in the wilderness far from any towns, who if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way), employ and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many.[3] And he that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adversaries, for either according to his accustomed manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, either get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.[4]

Lessons of christian manners.

Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provision for your households; chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children; but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the younger[5] and Susanna did teach their children, even from their infancy, to reverence God according to his law, and to abstain from sin; providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from him.[6] See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments: and though the plague of God chance unto you, yet remain ye steadfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him, all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. "I will be with you," saith he, "unto the end of the world." And cleave you fast unto him which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, yea, rose again from death, and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily; and as every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

Yours, George Marsh.

Another Letter of George Marsh to certain faithful Brethren in the Congregation.

Grace. Peace, what it is.

The same grace and peace, dearly beloved in Christ, do I entirely desire and wish unto you, which the apostle St. Paul wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his epistles; than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is, throughout all the epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and

(1) Matt. xxviii. (2) Matt. xviii. (3) John xii. Matt. xiv.
(4) Phil. i. (5) Tob. ii. (6) Tob. iii.

peace made between God and us, so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us. *Mary.*

A. D. 1555.

Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them yourselves, and be also established in the present truth; notwithstanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received how ye ought to walk and to please God. And as Barnabas, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when persecution ariseth, because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are his mystical body, to forsake the chief and principal delights of this life; and some of them, in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleasures of this life, and to commit themselves to painful exile, that if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, not only to be cast into prison, but also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

He exhorteth to steadfastness in the gospel.

Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders.

Men banished for the gospel in queen Mary's days.

Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the gospel, for which word we suffer as evil-doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesu with eternal glory. Wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, and so shall ye make us, even with joy, to suffer for your sakes, and, as the apostle saith, "to fulfil that which is behind of the passion of Christ in our flesh, for his body's sake, which is the congregation." St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own person, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood; but these his words ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall be persecuted, unto the world's end. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical body, which is the Church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Son's sake. Wherefore stablish yourselves, and be of good comfort; and be not moved in these afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For, on our parts, nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy unto us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apostle writeth of the Thessalonians, saying, "Now are we alive, if ye stand steadfast in the Lord." For good shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christ's flock to be their own; for, while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them also, in whatsoever affliction or adversity they be: but when they see the church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives; then can they have no rest nor joy. "Who is weak," saith St. Paul, "and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn?" But this affection is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

The meaning of St. Paul's words opened.

The condition of a true pastor.

And, forasmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is set before us, and, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers; and not, like shrinking children, faint and fall away from the truth now, in time of adversity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake; not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds

A christian man's life is a warfare upon earth.

The church is ever forewarned before affliction

Mary. A.D. 1555.

against the boisterous storms of persecution—as we have a notable example in the apostle St. Paul, unto whom God sent Agabus, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bands that he should suffer at Jerusalem: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and steadfastness, who, regarding nothing the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he, being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirsty enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Aristarchus and Lucas,[1] so ruling the heart of the under-captain Julius, that he courteously entreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself; and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joseph, and delivered him from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, insomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them; to their singular comfort. Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, and to have put him unto death to please the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword; God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord; and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all bands, and delivereth out of prison, and not that feigned God, St. Leonard. On that true God did St. Peter call; unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, "Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel," etc.

Peter delivered out of prison

These things are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the ensample of Christ Jesus; that we, all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A poor prisoner for Christ, George Marsh.

Another Letter of George Marsh to Robert Langley and others.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly; Amen.

After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with you to your costs; this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine examination and handling at Latham, and the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I did promise you: and this ye shall receive by my brother, or some one of the Bradshaws of Bolton, within this sevennight; willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the meanwhile to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith. Yours,

George Marsh.

(1) Acts xvii.

A Letter of George Marsh to a certain godly Friend.

Marg. A. D. 1555.

Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown; these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters; encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my trust, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ; being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which, enduring to the end, shall be saved!

And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, "Now are we alive, if ye stand steadfast in the Lord." For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, whereof some being but way-side hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved (but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them), and, no doubt, God will to your consolation gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong; let your heart be of good comfort; and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come: look for him therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Way-side hearers of the word.

Yours, George Marsh.

A Letter of a Godly Brother, one James Bradshaw, sent to George Marsh in Prison.

Grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ be with you alway. Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to see you take the cross so thankfully. Trouble and affliction do prove, try, instruct, confirm, and strengthen the faith, provoke and stir up prayer, drive and force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy, to gentleness, to soberness, temperancy, and to all manner of virtues; and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as well transitory as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one cross or other. And although some there be, that can shift for a while, and make provision for themselves for a time, by craft and subtlety and dissimulation, or by some falsehood in fellowship (as they call it); yet they bring themselves at length into the highest danger, confusion, and shame, both in this world, and in the world to come. And seeing that all the troubles and adversity in this world are a thousand times more light and easy, yea nothing in comparison of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful wicked enemies of God; all faithful and godly persons ought to bear and suffer their transitory affliction and adversity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; considering and remembering all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, Abraham of the Chaldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Isaac of Ishmael, Jacob of Esau, Moses of his people, David of Saul, and of his own son. As for

What good affliction worketh in the godly.

Examples of holy men suffering affliction.

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Job, he had not a drop of blood in his body. John Baptist, the holiest that ever was born of a woman, was, without any law, right, or reason, beheaded in prison, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

We have many thousand fellow martyrs and companions of our misery and adversity, in respect of whose imprisonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beasts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we suffer is but a blast of wind. Therefore now, whosoever is ashamed of the cross of Christ, and aggrieved therewith, the same is ashamed to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beseeching you to let me have your advice, because I do not outwardly speak that with my tongue, that I do not think in my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beseech the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping alway. Amen.

By your friend, James Bradshaw.

A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily to say.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures,[1] all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briers to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting: Amen.

Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look yourselves, first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same; that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners, but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table,[2] for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. "Come," saith he, "all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls."[3]

The Life and Story of William Flower,

WHO FOR STRIKING OF A PRIEST, WAS APPREHENDED, FIRST HAVING HIS HAND CUT OFF, AND AFTER MARTYRED FOR HIS CONSTANT STANDING TO THE TRUTH.

Flower first a monk and then a priest of Ely.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch—first, concerning his trade of life and bringing up—he was born at Snailwell, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school certain years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a

(1) This word appears to be synonymous with "knot:" from "knorr," (Teutonic) meaning knur, knoure, or knurl, a knot in timber.—Ed.

(2) 1 Cor. x. Matt. xxvi. (3) Matt. xxi.

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while, he was a professed monk according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained, using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the same house, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same house; and there did celebrate and sing mass a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions given in the same time by the authority of king Henry the Eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the said monk's habit and religion aforesaid, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snailwell, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children their primer and accidence about half a year together.

Flower at the suppression of abbeys, turning his religion, is made mass priest.

Then he went from thence to Lidgate in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he tarried and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the Six Articles; and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where, after he had made his abode in the country awhile, at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued; and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years together, and then from thence he went unto Bursley, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practised physic and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonshire, where, under a gentleman, he taught children their primers, and to write and read, a good space. And so, departing from those parts, he came to London; and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell where he was born: from thence to Braintree in Essex, then to Coggeshall, where he taught children a space, and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife; where he and his wife did ever since dwell together till this time: howbeit, for the most part, he was always abroad; and very seldom at home, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he, being at home upon Easter day about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; where he, finding and seeing a priest called John Cheltham ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith, being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same his doing (for that he judged him not to be a catholic minister, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word), did strike and wound him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, with his woodknife; the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest. In the which so doing as indeed he did not well nor evangelically, so afterward, being examined before bishop Bonner, did he no less confess his not well doing in the same; submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Flower marrieth a wife.

Cometh to Lambeth.

Flower striketh a popish priest at the altar in Westminster.

Repenteth his act in striking, is constant in his faith.

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Whereupon the foresaid William Flower, being first apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could bear; afterward was convented before Bonner his ordinary, April 19, A.D. 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book (according to his ordinary manner), ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the articles, first we have here to set forth what communication passed betwixt him and Robert Smith (being then also there prisoner with him in Newgate) concerning his fact done at Westminster; the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

Laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

Brought before bishop Bonner.

A Communication or Debating between Robert Smith, Prisoner in Newgate, and William Flower, concerning his striking of the Priest at Westminster.

Robert Smith :—"Friend, forasmuch as I do understand that you do profess the gospel and also have so done a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers others, that also profess the verity."

Flower :—"I praise God for his great goodness, in showing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending, by God's grace, to declare all the truth that ye shall demand lawfully of me, in all things."

Smith :—"Then I desire you to show me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam, priest in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was."

The zeal of Flower in seeing the Lord's honour defaced.

Flower :—"I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church (so called), and there, seeing the people falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and strake the priest which ministered the same unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended. And this is most true, as the act is manifest."

Smith :—"Did ye not know the parson that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?"

Flower :—"No, verily; I never to my knowledge saw the parson before that present, neither owed him, or any man alive, evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it."

Smith :—"Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?"

Extraordinary zeals are no general rules to be followed.

Flower :—"I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers, to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as saith St. Paul, 'His works are past finding out:' by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which, before the act committed I looked for."

Smith :—"Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?"

Flower intending at Paul's to have done the like.

Flower :—"No, verily; neither do I know, if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no; for I was up very early at Paul's church (so called) upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came in place, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now, being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like: first, because I know not what is in you; secondly,

because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet, nevertheless if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not."

Smith :—"Are ye not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?"

Flower prepareth himself to death before the fact committed.

Flower :—"I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the holy Scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered unto my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same."

Smith.—"It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further; for I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his wings over you; that as, for his love, you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be shortly."

Flower :—"I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly."

And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this, gentle reader, is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it. And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in striking the priest. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we showed before how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being examined before Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Bonner, against William Branch, alias Flower, late of Lambeth in the County of Surrey.

First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years of old, was professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein, after thy profession, thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using, all the mean time, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest; and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

In the latter days certain shall depart from the faith, forbidding marriage and eating of meats. 1 Tim. iv.

Item, that after the premises thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation as man and wife, and begattest of her two children.

Item, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the 14th day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster,

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within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon; that is to wit, thy woodknife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called Sir John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sore; and afterwards, upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him: the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and, giving no occasion why thou shouldest so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art, by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, ipso facto; and not to be companied withal, neither in the church, nor otherwhere, but in special cases.

His faith in the sacrament.

Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, and one years, or any one of them, and yet art at this present, of this opinion; that is to say, that in the said sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same (as before), didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of thy said heresy and damnable opinion.

Item, that all the premises be true and manifest, notorious and famous; and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the said parish of St. Margaret's and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame.

The Answer of William Flower, made to the Articles aforesaid.

Flower made monk against his will.

To the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof; except that he saith and confesseth, that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof: howbeit, he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth, esteem the said order of priesthood, according to the said order of the catholic church; because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

Flower more devout to God in the state of matrimony than before.

To the third article he answereth and confesseth, that he, intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article; wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed monk, and made priest; he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

Order of Flower's striking the priest at the altar.

To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, that his conscience being greatly offended with the said sir John Cheltham, priest, for ministering of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or woodknife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth; having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only

that his conscience was offended and grieved; in that the same priest did so give and minister the said sacrament to the people:[1] which people he believeth were greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing; and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the said priest, or not; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

To the sixth he answereth and saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself herein to the ecclesiastical laws.

To the seventh he answereth and saith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is, of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth: videlicet, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article; that is to say, the canonical laws.

To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed, be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me William Flower, alias Branch.

Flower exhorted to recant.

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would so do, besides the remitting of what was past. To this William Flower, answering again, thanked him for his offer; and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Refuseth to revoke his faith and doctrine.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt three and four; in the mean time, to advise himself of his former answers, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, etc.

Another appearance of Flower before Bonner.

At afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, the hour and place appointed; to whom the bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words: "Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived, touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar:" to whom the said Branch

(1) Note that the said William Flower afterward, in his next appearance, corrected and reformed this answer.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

answered again, and said as followeth: "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Whereupon the bishop commanded his notary (Hayward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before: which being read, the said William Flower, persisting in his godly sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before; save only that he requested the bishop, concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words; to wit,—

Flower standeth to his doctrine.

Flower misliketh his act in striking the priest.

He reformeth his answer to the ninth article.

And moreover confesseth and saith—that whereas he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he hath since that time and yet doth mislike himself in that doing; and doth now judge and believe that the same his act was evil and naught. Howbeit he saith and believeth that as for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest (which was for ministering of the sacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable), he did not nor doth mislike himself at all therein. Moreover, he desireth of the said bishop license to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth article; and in place thereof, these words to be placed; to wit, "Herein he referreth himself to the laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article," etc.

At this request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his sentence; saying that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to die there-for. Whereupon the bishop assigned him the next day (being the 20th day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of eight and nine before noon; there and then to hear the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, etc.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF WILLIAM FLOWER BEFORE BISHOP BONNER.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower, as he was appointed, was brought by his keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion going about to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof; that is, from Christ to Antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors, fearing him, etc.; to this William answering, said on this wise: "Do what ye will, I am at a point; for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion," etc. Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensueth.

Flower's constancy.

Witness produced against Flower.

The Depositions or Attestations produced upon the Answers of William Flower.

Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge

and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the priest, when (as he saith) he was ministering the sacrament; and how this examinate among others pressed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin; and after he was taken, this examinate holp to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past, drew his wood-knife, and strake the priest upon the head, hand, and arm; who, being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with consecrated hosts therein, in his hand, sprinkled with the said priest's blood, was holpen and rescued by this examinate, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his wood-knife taken away by this examinate..

William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the said parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, examined upon the said answers of the said Flower, saith and deposeth, that the same answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter-day last past, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priest's back being turned toward the said Flower, he (the said Flower) suddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and strake sir John Cheltham the priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly; and the chalice with consecrated hosts being in his hand, were sprinkled with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently have been killed.

Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand; and saith further, touching the striking and wounding the priest in St. Margaret's church in Westminster upon Easter-day last, this examinate saith, he was not there when the fact was done, but, immediately after, he came to church, and found sir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the people did report (as this examinate saith) that Flower did the deed as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministering the sacrament to the people.

William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth, by virtue of his oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the consistory place: and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower strake the said sir John Cheltham, priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, two sore strokes, whereby the said priest is like to lose his hand. Also this jurate deposed, that the said sir John Cheltham had a chalice with certain consecrated hosts therein (in his hand), which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest; and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examinate and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flower's striking the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examinates do, and that this said jurate was present there at the deed-doing.

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said bishop, speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he to be pronounced as a heretic.[1] Whereunto the martyr of God answered again as followeth: "I have nothing at all

(1) The author alludes here to Flower's conscientious disavowal of transubstantiation.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and that I have said, I will not go from; and therefore do what you will," etc. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded; and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's Even, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there, coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his christian faith, in manner as followeth:

Sentence of condemnation and degradation pronounced against William Flower.

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world.—This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of.

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.

Then master Cholmley came to him, willing him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people; or else he would be damned. Flower answered as followeth: "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented; for that I have said, I have said: and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit, to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, first his right hand, being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me! O the Son of God, receive my soul!" three times; and so his speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm, as long as he could. And thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought; so that for lack of faggots, there being not sufficient to burn him, they were fain to strike him down into the fire; where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.

May.—the 3d of May a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, to show them to the

people, persuading them to be constant in his religion: and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further examination.

The 12th day, master Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the councils' letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich; and he, either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The 16th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the lord L. had done for Ross; and that order should be given, according to his lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his lordship, perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bethlem, there to remain until their further order.

The 26th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to confer with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be executed, that were already condemned for religion; and, upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The 28th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of queen Mary's good delivery of child, to divers princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, to the emperor, the lord admiral; to the French king, the lord Fitzwaters; to the king of Romans, sir Henry Sidney; to the king of Portugal, Richard Shelley; whose free passage through France master doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters, the 24th of June.

The 29th, was a letter directed to sir Francis Englefield, to make search for one John D., at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the council; and to make search for such papers and books as he thinketh may touch the same D., or one Benger.

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne, Upholsterer,

WHO SUFFERED BOTH TOGETHER IN SMITHFIELD, A.D. 1555.

On the 30th day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook: of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with master Cardmaker, who, first, was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys; then, after, was a married minister; and, in king Edward's time, appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with master Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, king Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex officio*, to exercise

Cardmaker reader in Paul's.

Cardmaker with Barlow apprehended and laid in the Fleet.

Mary. A. D. 1555. their tyranny, these two were both brought before Winchester, chancellor, and others appointed by commission (as before is mentioned), to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners; and, as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, etc.

Barlow and Cardmaker acceptable to Winchester as catholics.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholic. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet, notwithstanding, Barlow was led again to Fleet, from whence he afterward, being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles.

Barlow exiled for the truth.

Conference between Saunders and Cardmaker.

To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him); where these two prisoners had such christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishops blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Martin writeth against Cardmaker.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially; confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his answers I would had come into our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies' doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his articles objected against him by bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same; as consequently hereunder followeth.

Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker; with his Answers unto the same.

May 24. First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee, sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

Item, that thou, in times past, didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Item, that thou, in times past, didst receive all the orders of the church then used; to wit, "tam majores quam minores."

Item, that thou, after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast lived in wedlock, and didst get of her a woman child; breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church. † Cardmaker married.

Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs there; that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament; and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ. The belief of the pope's catholic church.

Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church; that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.[1]

Item, that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, "Take, eat, this is my body," did institute a sacrament there;[2] willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Answers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion; and afterward, by the authority of king Henry the Eighth, he was dispensed with for the same religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true: and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, "Take, eat: this is my body," did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, *videlicet* —willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true. The first part of this article is true: the second is false.

By me, John Cardmaker.

Master Cardmaker, calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did, the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule, this hereafter following.

(1) To speak naturally of the natural body of Christ, these two cannot stand together at one time, unless we grant Christ to have two bodies

(2) That Christ never willed, neither can the Scriptures bear it.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution: so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.—This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

Sacramental and carnal presence.

By me, John Cardmaker.

Next to these articles of master Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the articles and answers likewise of John Warne, his martyr-fellow, in manner as followeth.

Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer, of the Parish of St. John in Walbrook, with his Answers to the same.

First, that thou John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John of Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe, firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Transubstantiation.

Item, that thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

The sacrifice of the mass.

Item, that thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, and against God's truth and the Scripture.

Heresy for laughing at a spaniel shorn on the head.

Item, that thou hast said, that whereas about a twelvemonth ago, and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn in the head, and had a crown like a priest's made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad; because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst so have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the 23d of May, A.D. 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, John Warne.

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth:

Addition to Articles.

Warne, about the time of Anne Askew, condemned, but had his pardon.

Item, That thou, John Warne, wast in time past here, in the city of London, convented in the Guildhall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and when alderman Barnes was sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund bishop of London did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the

sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore, believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood: but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

Warne denieth transubstantiation.

By me, John Warne.

John Warne, being examined upon the foresaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Boswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part; subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son. Whereupon the bishop, exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them), and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of the same month: who, so doing and answering as he did before, was willed to come thither again at afternoon, and so he did: where and at what time, he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the holy Scriptures.

Answer of Warne to the articles.

The second session against him.

Upon this answer he was willed to come again the next day, being the 25th of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added: "I am persuaded," quoth he, "that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the church of Rome."

The third session.

Warne constant against the bishop's persuasions.

The bishop then, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings (whereof he used store), he could not any thing prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the 30th day of the same month of May. Upon the which day, being the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, with the said John Warne, were

Sentence given against him.

Cardmaker and Warne brought to execution.

Mary. A.D. 1555. brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer: who, being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people afraid of Cardmaker recanting.

The people which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

Cardmaker standeth constantly to the fire. Cardmaker and Warne join hands. The people rejoice at Cardmaker's constancy.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater), saying, "God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!" And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.[1]

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne, citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of May, A.D. 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth."

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom—and therefore he is our Father: an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man; and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of

(1) According to Strype, in the Memorials under Mary, Warne's wife was burnt at Stratford Bow on the 23d of August in this same year.—Ed.

the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness; thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell; yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

"The third day he rose again from death to life."

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the firstfruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand; that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal. *The triumphant victory over death.*

"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet; changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost."

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption; by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ

"The holy catholic church."

This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichrist otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach. *The church.*

Mary. "The communion of saints."

A. D. 1555. Which most holy congregation (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner stone), though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all these his holy members (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe that I am one), shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

"The forgiveness of sins."

Remission only through Christ. I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption; which, St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of his cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

"The resurrection of the body."

Resurrection. I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the firstfruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever: the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

"And the life everlasting."

Life and salvation only by faith in Christ. Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven: "For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him, might have everlasting life." The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

Two Sacraments of the New Testament. I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's blood, washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine (the nature of which is to strengthen the body), so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

By me, John Warne.

A Letter of John Cardmaker to a certain Friend of his.

The peace of God be with you:—You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but am as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me; although by a policy I have a little pro-

(1) John iii.

longed it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance; as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

A Note concerning Master Cardmaker, and one Beard, a Promoter.

Master Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said thus unto him:

Beard:—"Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant or no?"

Cardmaker:—"From which council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you. I know *you* are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: so *I* have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God, by his great mercy, hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have, by his grace, endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word; and I thank him for his great mercy. I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received."

Beard:—"Yea, sir; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Cardmaker:—"I say (and mark it well), that Christ, the night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof; in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed, for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him."

Judgment touching the sacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament he spake of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same so to be, then master Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon:

"If the sacrament," said he, "as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God hath no beginning nor ending:" and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

The 5th day of June, [there were letters sent to] master secretary Bourne, the master of the Rolls, sir Francis Englefield, sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to examination of Benger, Cary, D***, and Field, upon such further points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The 7th day of June there was another letter to sir John Tregonwell; willing him to join in commission with the said lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the said parties and others, for conjuring and witchcraft. And the 29th of August, Cary and D*** were set at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Christmas after.

The 12th day of June a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Derike a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stenning, the other at Chichester.

Mary. A.D. 1555. The 23d of June a letter was sent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four parishes within the soke of Essex, that should still use the English service; and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

The Story of John Ardeley and John Simson, Martyrs,

OF THE PARISH OF WIGBOROUGH THE GREAT, IN ESSEX.

With master Cardmaker and John Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, were also condemned John Ardeley and John Simson; which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

A Letter of the King and Queen to Bonner.

To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.

Queen Mary stirreth Bonner to shed innocent blood.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to entreat, of John Simson, I mean, and John Ardeley; who being both of one country, and of one town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, save that Simson was of the age of thirty-four, the other of thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff

Ardeley and Simson, husbandmen in the town of Wigborough.

of Essex, to Bonner bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop; as the articles ministered against them were much like, so their answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the bishop's own registers here followeth expressed.

Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley, of the Parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex, Husbandmen, by Bonner bishop of London, at Fulham, May 22, A.D. 1555.

I. First, that thou John Simson [or John Ardeley] husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London; and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

II. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

III. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian man. The churches of Rome, Italy, Spain, and other foreign countries in Europe.

IV. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all. The substance of Christ's body under forms of bread and wine.

V. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people; remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only. Transubstantiation denied.

VI. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the "Gloria in excelsis," and the Epistle and the Gospel; and that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid. The mass abominable.

VII. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession

Mary. A.D. 1555.

is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught.

The Answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the foresaid Articles.

To the first, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

Transubstantiation denied.

To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

The mass detested.

To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the "Gloria in excelsis," the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the Pater-noster; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not, come and hear mass.

To the seventh, John Ardeley answereth and saith, that he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith, that he never said, that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and John Simson.

Another appearance of Simpson and Ardeley before the bishop.

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and solicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

The words of Ardeley to Bonner.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth: "My lord," quoth he, "neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed

the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more," etc. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them), and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered as followeth, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

Ardeley and John Simson condemned.

After this, the said bishop, asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him; so read the condemnation, as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley: which was done the 25th day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power (that is, to the hands of the sheriffs), to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the mean time, that the bishop, being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners (especially of John Simson), burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away! have him away!"

Now the people in the church, hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also, being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there was to do.[1] The standers-by answering said, that there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

Ridiculous fear of Bonner and his doctors.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, "Save my lord! save my lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, if any danger should come; whereby they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley, being delivered (as is afore

(1) Note the sudden fear of Bonner.

Mary. A.D. 1555. said) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where both they, in one day, which was about the 10th of June) were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simson suffered at Rochford: John Ardeley the same day was had to Rayleigh, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

A NOTE OF JOHN ARDELEY.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these catholic days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they, being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart-blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors, of christian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

The ridiculous Handling and Proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his Mates against John Tooley,

FIRST SUSPECTED AND CONDEMNED AFTER HIS DEATH, AND THEN DIGGED OUT OF HIS GRAVE, AND GIVEN TO THE SECULAR POWER, AND SO BURNED FOR A HERETIC.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spiritualty against John Tooley, in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooley was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed, than thieves executed.

The foresaid Tooley being led to the gallows (which stood fast by Charing Cross) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two other his

Tooley died a true christian man.

fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us!"

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people,—"All you that be true christian men, say with me, Amen." And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, "Amen," three times together at the least.[1]

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a prentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Haukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley sergeant, who desired to have it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line, containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist;" and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist." For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was brought afterward "coram nobis;" and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayers he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the bruit of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

A council called against Tooley.

At last, after much pro and contra, they all consented to those men's judgments, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do easily believe that cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcase was here at London. And besides this, because he would show some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged

Cardinal Pole a great doer in burning dead men's bones.

Bucer, Phagius, Martyr's wife, and Tooley, burned for heretics after their death.

(1) Ex Registro.

Mary. A. D. 1555. out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the dunghill. Of these two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooley, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

A Letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, from the Council, concerning Tooley.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship, understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person that was condemned for felony died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so have we thought good to pray your lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your lordship heartily well to fare.

From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Step. Winton, Chancellor.	R. Rochester.
F. Shrewsbury.	William Peter.
John Gage.	Rich. Southwell.
Thomas Cheney.	

Anon after, a citation was set up upon Paul's church door under the bishop of London's great seal; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, set up at Charing Cross, on Paul's church door, and at St. Martin's in the Field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the case of John Tooley.

A citation set up by Bonner in Latin, commanding his kin and kinsfolks to say for him what they could, before the sentence given, or else to hold their peace for ever.

Edmund, by the sufferance of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our diocese of London; and specially unto Richard Clunie, our sworn sumnor, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Forsomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John Tooley, late citizen and poulterer of London, the son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the selfsame time in the which he should go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and to have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter divers and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the catholic faith and unity of the same; and did exhort, stir up, and encourage the people, there standing in great multitude, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions: and moreover, certain of the people there standing (as it did appear), infected with errors and heresies, as fautors and defenders of the said John, did confirm and give express consent to the foresaid words, propositions, and affirmations; which thing we do utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart:

We therefore, the foresaid Edmund and bishop abovesaid, not being able, nor daring[1] to pass over in silence, nor wink at the foresaid heinous act, lest by our negligence and slackness the blood of them might be required at our hands at the most terrible day of judgment, desiring to be certified and informed

(1) Note how Bonner here pretendeth conscience, in prosecuting this matter, when only he was commanded unto it by the council's letters.

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whether the premises declared unto us, be of the truth, and lest that any scabbed sheep, lurking amongst the simple flock of our Lord, do infect them with pestiferous heresy: to you therefore we straitly charge and command, that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the Field, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London; leaving there the copy hereof, or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and singular, by the tenor of these presents, we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar general, or commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the consistory place, upon Thursday the 2d day of May now next ensuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises; and moreover to do and receive what law and reason doth require.

The wife, children, and kindred of Tooley cited.

Further we commit unto you as before, and straitly enjoining you do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the said Tooley that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars in especial, and all other and every of them (if there be any perhaps that desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises), that ye admonish them after the manner and form aforesaid; whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, do in such sort cite and monish that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep silence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose, in due form of law a cause reasonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooley that is dead ought not to be determined and declared for such a heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcase to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the arm and power secular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

The case of Tooley cut off from christian burial.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to suffer as law and reason will, and as the quality of such matter, and the nature of themselves do constrain and require, and moreover that you cite and monish, after the manner aforesaid, all and every of the receivers, fautors, and creditors of the said John Tooley that is dead, especially if any of them do incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the said Thursday they return and submit themselves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy church: which thing if they do, we, trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promise that we will receive them being penitent for such their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their honesties to the uttermost of our power: otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know, that we will punish more severely this offence, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it; and what ye shall do in the premises, let him among you, which shall execute this our present mandate, certify us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patent, together with these authentically sealed.

The bishop layeth his bait to catch whom he may trouble.

Dated at London under our seal, the last day of April, 1555, and of our translation the 16th.

Tooley suspended and excommunicated.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him); and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the

Mary. A. D. 1555. communion of the church. *And[1] why not, I pray you? For the lightning of excommunication, that these popish bishops use, is of itself so subtle and sharp, that it doth not only strike men that be living, but doth also pierce through the graves and ghosts of men that be dead.* These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other—to avoid the name of a heretic—

Witness against him. first witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark esquire, Thomas May keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew under-marshal, William Holingworth fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton chandler, Richard Longman merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton brewer, Thomas Smith sergeant. Then he was

Tooley given to the secular power. for a heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely to the sheriffs of London, who, with the like diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man (being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, dead), they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely "ad perpetuam rei memoriam," for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

*The[1] Depositions or Attestations, producted the 29th day of April, 1555, before Harpsfield, archdeacon-general, concerning the Words of John Tooley, at the time of his Death at Charing Cross.

Henry Clark, esquire, of the age of thirty-one years, or thereabouts, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth by virtue of his oath: that, upon Sunday last past, being the 26th day of April, this deponent was present at Charing Cross, in the suburbs of London, and the county of Middlesex, at the execution of the said John Tooley and others. At which time the said Tooley, after that he had read a certain prayer in a printed book, and his other prayers, written in two several papers, then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man; and that he trusted to be saved, only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome. And as he, the same Tooley, and two others, his fellows who were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness. And there, being in a great rage and anger, as

King Henry the Eighth's Litany. appeared, spake, with a loud voice, these words following, namely: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us." And then, adding further to the same, he spake unto the people: "All you that be true christian men, say with me, 'Amen;'" and immediately thereupon, three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of this examinate being there present, answered and said "Amen" three times together at the least. And the same Tooley began to repeat, and to recite his former words against the pope: and, being stayed, as well by the examinate, as by his under-marshal and others, ceased from further rehearsal, and so suffered forthwith execution, without any manner of revocation of his aforesaid words.

Thomas May, keeper of the Marshalsea, of the age of thirty years, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate, saving he

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1144.—Ed.
(2) For these depositions of witnesses see Edition 1563, pp. 1114, 1146.—Ed.

addeth, that the said Tooley had a paper written, which he read to the people, and then tare in pieces, and so threw it away: which paper this examinate gathered up and delivered to my lord chancellor. As for any particular person that said "Amen" to Tooley's words, he knew none. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Philip Andrew, under-marshal of the Marshalsea, of the age of fifty-four years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth: that the like words in effect as the first jurate deposeth, were told him, standing by; but he heard them not. But when he understood the matter, he went to the said Tooley, and rebuked him in this sort, namely: "Thou whoreson, seditious traitor! thou wert worthy to be hanged seven years ago;" and immediately commanded the cart (being under the gallows), to be driven away, and so he and his two fellows were hanged.

William Hollingworth, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene in Old Fish-street, of the age of forty-eight years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth, that the other two prisoners being with the said Tooley in the cart under the gallows, did speak the like words which Tooley did (as in the first jurate's depositions), and that by Tooley's desire.

William Gellard, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, of the age of thirty-six years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth, saving he addeth, that the paper fell out of Tooley's hand; and one (whom the jurate knew not) gave it to him up again; which the said Tooley did read the second time with a loud voice, and one prisoner with him; and the people answered "Amen" again. And so he was hanged with his fellows, not revoking his words.

William Walton, chandler, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, in Old Fish-street, of the age of forty-nine years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth that he (the said Tooley) did bid one of his fellows, called White (being in the cart), to stand by, and pray with him. And after the words spoken of Tooley against the pope, this examinate said to him these words, namely, "Good fellow! remember thyself, for thou art not in the unity of the true faith; for thou oughtest to pray for the pope;" unto which words Tooley replied and said, "I trust I am in the true faith." Then a pursuivant, an elderly man, being by this jurate, desired him to let the said Tooley alone, for he had not long to live: in the end the said Tooley and his followers said the Pater-noster and Creed in English, and so were hanged.

Richard Longman, merchant tailor, of the parish of St. John's in Walbrook, of the age of seventy years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth, that he that took up the bill, when it fell from Tooley, was in a blue coat; and in giving the bill to the said Tooley again, he desired him to read it again; and so he read it, and, without revoking the same, he was hanged.

Philip Britten, dwelling with John Britten, porter of the Marshalsea, of the age of nineteen years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth that Tooley said, "Those trental masses, images, and bulls of lead, it is not them that I believe in. And I desire you all, good christian people! not to believe in such things; for they be naught, superstitious, and plain idolatry," etc. Also this examinate deposeth that he who took Tooley the paper, being fallen, was, as he thought, an apprentice, in a bright violet jacket, a black fustian doublet, a black cap, and white hose, with ruffed plates of the same cloth. And, after Tooley tare the paper, and threw it down, then this examinate took it up, and gave the same to Thomas May, the keeper of the Marshalsea.

John Burton, brewer, of St. Giles without Cripplegate, of the city of London, of the age of forty-four years, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in virtue of his oath: that upon Friday last past, before this his examination, and about ten o'clock of the forenoon of the same day, one Robert Bromley, a yeoman sergeant, came to this examinate, then sitting in the Compter-gate in Bread-street, in company with one Humphery Hord, porter of the said Compter, and one Smith a sergeant, and others whose names he remembereth not; and then and there declared unto them certain words and communication, which the said John Tooley uttered and spake the same morning at the time of his

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execution: which were, amongst others, that he desired the people to bear witness that he died a true christian man; and that then he prayed after this sort, namely, "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." And, after he had so prayed, he desired the people to say "Amen." And then, after the said Bromley had thus declared unto them, he showed forth to them a certain prayer, written in paper, which he said he received of the said Tooley, which prayer was there then read by the said Bromley or by the said porter (but by which he cannot certainly tell), and before the said paper, in the top of the paper was written, "Beware of Antichrist;" and under the same was written "Per me, Thomam Harolde, prisoner in the Marshalsea, and enemy to Antichrist," which words, as he remembereth, were read also at the same time; but the contents of the said paper he doth not now remember. And then the said Bromley, at this examinate's request, did give unto him the said prayer, which he kept with him until Sunday then next following; upon which Sunday, after the sermon, master Chester the sheriff's butler called Arnold, having understood before, this jurate to have the said prayer; and desired this jurate that he might see it: and so this examinate delivered it to the said butler, which butler delivered it again to the sheriff's steward, who did openly read it then in the sheriff's kitchen. And that the said butler, hearing the said words read in the beginning and end of the said prayer, willed the steward to put them out with a pen and ink; and thereupon this steward did so: which seeing, this examinate did cut it off in the presence, and before the said butler, the steward, and also the said Bromley, and the said sheriff's youngest son, and others whose names he remembereth not. And, after this was done, this examinate received the said paper again, and put it into his purse, and kept it with him until yesterday; at which time the said Bromley came to this examinate, and received of him the said prayer again, saying that he must have it to deliver it to the knight-marshal.

Thomas Smith, sergeant, of the parish of St. Trinity in the city of London, of the age of forty years, being produced and examined, saith and deposeth, in effect, as John Burton doth say before in his depositions, agreeing with him therein, till he come to the place in the said depositions where it is said, that Bromley took John Burton the said prayer, and how he heard that Bromley had fetched his paper of John Burton again. Thus this jurate endeth his depositions, saving he addeth in the midst of the same, that one Hord should say (being at the Compter gate with this examinate, when the paper was read, and the manner of Tooley's death showed), this which followeth: "I cannot see but that this man (meaning the said Tooley) died well, and like a christian man;" at which words this jurate rose, and went his way.

The Examination of Robert Bromley, sergeant, before sir Roger Cholmley, knight, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and chancellor to the bishop of London, the last of April, 1555.

Robert Bromley, of London, grocer, and one of the sheriff's officers, of the age of twenty-eight years or thereabouts, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth: that the 26th day of April last past, he, being in the Compter gate, did see many people run by, and, marvelling whereat they ran, he went up into Cheapside; and, seeing John Tooley in a cart going to execution, whom he hath known these sixteen years, followed him to Charing-cross; and there, being at the place of execution, he heard the said Tooley say in effect as in the first jurate's depositions, till that the said first examinate came to the place where he deposeth the people to answer "Amen;" of which number this examinate confesseth himself to be one. And this jurate further saith, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him; and a certain young man to the examinate unknown, who went in a sleeveless coat, and a pair of white hose, as he remembereth, stooped down, and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again; which he again did read to the people. And further this jurate, being examined whether he did not offer himself to receive the said book of prayers, he answered no, for the said Tooley delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the same book, and willed him to deliver it to one Hawkes, saying that it was his book. Notwithstanding the said Tooley delivered unto this examinate one of the prayers written in paper,

which he desired to have of him, and which he kept in his hand a whole day; and saith, that he received of him no other papers nor books. Howbeit he saith, that there was a book or a paper delivered by Tooley (as he supposeth) unto one of the marshal's officers, to be delivered to Alexander, the keeper of Newgate; which book was delivered unto the said Alexander, and a copy desired thereof, which Alexander would not suffer, but delivered it unto sir Richard Read. And further, this examinate saith, that there was written one line above the said bill containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist," and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea and enemy to Antichrist;" which bill, he saith, he did deliver unto Burton upon Saturday; and the said Burton had delivered it again upon Monday to this examinate, and had cut off the said words both above and beneath. And further, being examined of the circumstances of Burton's depositions, affirmeth the same in effect; saving he added, that Arnold the sheriff's butler required of him to see the bill which, this examinate said, he had delivered to Burton; and at that time he had it not to show him. Also this jurate further addeth, that in the sheriff's kitchen, those words above and beneath the bill were blotted out, and delivered to Burton again, who, at the time, did not cut off the said fore and hinder part of the said paper. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Upon the 3d day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1555, in the house of master Nicholas Harpsfield, vicar-general, etc., before him, in the presence of me Harwood, notary, etc., the deposition of the foresaid examinate was acknowledged by the said Robert Bromley, by which acknowledging made, the said Bromley said and confesseth, that he is very penitent and sorry for his evil and lewd behaviour by him above declared. And saith, that he will not stand to any error, uttered by the said Tooley; but from the bottom of his heart he doth detest and abhor the same.

By me, Robert Bromley.*

The History and Martyrdom of the worthy Servant of Christ, Thomas Haukes, Gentleman,

WITH HIS EXAMINATIONS AND ANSWERS HAD WITH BISHOP BONNER, RECORDED AND PENNED WITH HIS OWN HAND.

Immediately after the story of doctor Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought and convented before bishop Bonner upon the 8th day of February; the names of which martyrs were Stephen Knight, William Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, John Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the 9th day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present 10th day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his godly conversation and institution of life, then showing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

His life and conversation.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first he was of the country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of

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other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

The victory of martyrs, is the triumph of Christ.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write), undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

Haukes first in service with the earl of Oxford.

But to the declaration of the matter: first this Haukes, following the guise of the court, as he grew in years, entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger everywhere, and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes, misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

Compelled to leave him.

But what paradise in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither that old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his house at home, had born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church.

Haukes's child three weeks unchristened.

Brought before the earl.

Sent up to Bonner.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger, and letters; and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, be these.

A Letter of the Earl of Oxford to Bonner.

Most reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent him to your good lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion.

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to master Haukes, he, hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then began the bishop to enter communication with master Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom master Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

Private Talk or Conference between Haukes and Bonner.

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Haukes:—"Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner:—"Why! baptism is commanded by the word of God."

Haukes:—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner:—"What deny ye then?"

Haukes:—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner:—"What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?"

Haukes:—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, etc." Man's invention.

Bonner:—"Will ye deny that, which all the whole world, and your father hath been contented withal?" The forefathers.

Haukes:—"What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I."

Bonner:—"The catholic church hath taught it." The catholic church.

Haukes:—"What is the catholic church?"

Bonner:—"It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world."

Haukes:—"Who is the head thereof?"

Bonner:—"Christ is the head thereof."

Haukes:—"Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?"

Bonner:—"Have ye not read in John viii. where he said, he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?"

Haukes:—"I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter—but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity; and that is not to teach a new doctrine."

Bonner:—"Ah, sir? ye are a right scripture-man; for ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?"

Haukes:—"Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know."

Bonner:—"I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?"

Haukes:—"I know none."

Bonner:—"Do ye not know one Baget there?"

Haukes:—"Yes forsooth, I know him."

Bonner:—"What manner of man is he?"

Haukes:—"An honest man, so far as I know."

Bonner:—"Do you know him if ye see him?"

Haukes:—"Yea, that I do."

Then said he to one of his servants, "Go call me Baget hither." And then he said to me, "Ye seem to be a very proud man, and a stubborn."—He that brought me up stood all this while by.

Haukes:—"What should move your lordship so to say?"

Bonner:—"Because I see in a man that came with you, much humility and lowliness."

Haukes:—"It seemeth your lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you:"—and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget: "How say ye, sir? know ye this man?" Bonner looketh to be courtesied.

Baget:—"Yea forsooth, my lord:"—with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened (as I have letters to show); who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church:—how say *you* thereto?" Baget brought to the sight of Haukes.

Baget:—"Forsooth, my lord, I say nothing thereto," [with low courtesy to the hard ground.]

Bonner:—"Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not."

Baget:—"I beseech your lordship to pardon me: he is old enough; let him answer for himself."

Bonner:—"Ah, sir knave! are ye at that point with me?" "Go call me the porter," said he, to one of his men: "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?" Bonner chafeth at Baget's answer.

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Then came the bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London: then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me;" and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching), who desired, amongst other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were, that were my teachers.

Bonner taketh Baget with him aside to conjure him.

Haukes:—"When I see your commission I will make you answer."—And then immediately came the bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again; and called me also, and said to Baget: "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?"

Baget taught to say after Bonner.

Baget.—"Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good."

Bonner:—"I befool your heart; could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's conscience." Then the bishop turned to me and said, "How say ye now, sir? This man is turned and converted."

Haukes builded his faith upon no man.

Haukes:—"I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus; who (as Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith."

Bonner:—"I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you."

Haukes:—"Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it."

Is forbidden to talk in the bishop's house.

Bonner:—"Well, ye are so; come on your ways; ye shall go in, and I will use you christianlike: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not."

Haukes:—"I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth."

Bonner:—"I will have no heresy talked on in my house."

Haukes:—"Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth."

Bonner:—"If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel."

Haukes:—"Then I trust you will grant me my request."

Bonner:—"What is that?"

Haukes:—"That your doctors and servants give me none occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience."

Haukes and Baget separated.

Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner; and I dined at the steward's table. After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all others, there was one Darbishire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious; "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

Talk between Darbishire and Haukes.

Haukes:—"And is it not sufficient for my salvation?" "Yes," said Darbishire, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction."

Salvation. Instruction.

Haukes:—"God send me the salvation, and you the instruction."

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, "I gave you a commandment, that you should not talk."

Haukes:—"And I desired you, that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion."—Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

Baptism after king Edward's book.

Bonner:—"Would not ye be contented to have, that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by king Edward?"

Haukes:—"Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire."

Bonner:—"I thought so: ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and, in necessity, it may serve."

Haukes:—"Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner:—"What is that?"

Haukes:—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them," etc.

Bonner no preacher.

Bonner:—"Thou speakest that, because I am no preacher."

Haukes:—"I speak the text: I do not mean you." Then spake all the doctors and his men that were with him: "He speaketh it of you, my lord" [with a great noise that they made].

Bonner:—"Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?"

Haukes:—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before."

Bonner:—"You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done, in spite of your teeth?"

Haukes will not consent to have his child christened after the popish order.

Haukes:—"What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner:—"Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you."

Haukes:—"Ye are in the hands of God; and so am I."

Bonner:—"Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me."—And so we departed until evensong time; and ere evensong was begun, my lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said; "Haukes! thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul."

Haukes:—"That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it."

Bonner:—"Nay, nay Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard: the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went."

Haukes:—"The last went."

Bonner entereth talk of the sacrament.

Bonner:—"Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John, 'I am the bread of life; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world: and whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is very drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Do ye believe this?"

Haukes:—"Yea, I must needs believe the Scriptures."

Bonner:—"Why! then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament."

Haukes:—"I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that, that I was accused in unto you."

Bonner:—"Well, well! let us go unto evensong."—With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Haukes refuseth to hear Bonner's evensong

Bonner:—"Why, will you not tarry evensong?"

Haukes:—"No, forsooth."

Bonner:—"And why?"

Haukes:—"For I will not."

Bonner:—"And why will ye not?"

Haukes:—"For because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin."

Bonner:—"Why? you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?"

Haukes:—"I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter."

Bonner:—"Why, I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter."

Haukes:—"I will not pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of his chaplains, "Let him go, my lord; and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers."

Haukes called for again by Bonner.

Haukes:—"I think myself best at ease when I am furthest from you."—And so the bishop went to evensong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till evensong was done. And within an hour after that evensong was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself; and when I came, there was he, and three of his chaplains.

Bonner:—"Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any further, than in that ye were accused of."

Haukes:—"I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge."

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Bonner:—"Well, ye shall answer me to the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony."

Haukes:—"There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them."

Haukes knoweth no sacrament of the altar.

Bonner:—"The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in."

Haukes:—"In the sacrament of the altar?—why sir, I do not know it."

Bonner:—"Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you."

Haukes:—"No, that shall ye never do."

Bonner:—"Yes, a faggot will make you do it."

Haukes:—"No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do; and more ye shall not do."

The matter and substance of the sacrament.

Bonner:—"Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ?"—and at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes:—"I do believe as Christ hath taught me."

Bonner:—"Why? did not Christ say, 'Take, eat, this is my body?'"

Haukes:—"Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach; neither did Christ ever teach it so to be."

Bonner:—"Why? the catholic church taught it so; and they were of Christ's church."

Haukes:—"How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read Acts ii. and xx. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so."

Bonner:—"Ah sir! ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare."

Haukes:—"He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him."

Bonner:—"Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only."

Haukes:—"Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament."

Bonner:—"Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof."[1]

Haukes:—"Then I would be glad to learn."

Bonner:—"Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn."

False conceived opinion of Bonner against the Protestants.

Haukes:—"Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you:"—and thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said: "Jesu, Jesu! what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this!" And this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, "Go ye down, and drink; for it is fasting day: it is Midsummer Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying."[2]

Haukes:—"I will never deny fasting, neither praying; so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain glory."

Bonner:—"I like you the better for that:" and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

Harpsfield:—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

Haukes:—"I wot well that; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto."

(1) Touching the necessary points of doctrine and sacraments, only the word is to be followed.
(2) Fasting and praying no man denieth.
(3) But Christ never made any ordinance or custom of that ceremony.

Harpsfield :—"Admit your child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in!"

Haukes :—"I admit that, if it do: what then?"

Harpsfield :—"Marry, then are ye damned, and your child both."

Haukes :—"Judge you no further than ye may by the Scriptures."

The state of children dying without baptism.

Harpsfield :—"Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Haukes :—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield :—"How is original sin washed away?"

Haukes :—"By true faith and belief of Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield :—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Haukes :—"The deliverance of it from sin, standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield :—"How prove you that?"

Believing parents sanctify the child.

Haukes :—"By St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii.: 'The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman; and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man; or else were your children unclean."

Harpsfield :—"I will prove that they whom thou puttest thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion."

Haukes :—"Who be those?"

Harpsfield :—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Haukes :—"If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner :—"Recant, recant. Do ye not know that Christ said, 'Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?'"

Christianity not outward ceremonies.

Haukes :—"Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?"

Bonner :—"Partly it doth: what say you to that?"

Haukes :—"I say as St. Peter saith, 'Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God.'"

Harpsfield :—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride!"

Haukes :—"It is written, 'Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men.'"[1]

Bonner cometh in with his mass. Profitable for nothing.

Bonner :—"Let us make an end here.—How say you to the mass, sirra?"

Haukes :—"I say, it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner :—"What! nothing profitable in it? What say you to the epistle and gospel?"

Haukes :—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner :—"Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all."

Haukes :—"I have recanted nothing; nor will do."

Bonner :—"How say you to 'Confiteor.'

'Confiteor' in the mass a thing detestable.

Haukes :—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner's similitude to prove praying to saints.

Bonner :—"To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you.[2] Do ye not know, when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy-chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Haukes :—"They that list, receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul saith, 'How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?'"

Praying for the dead.

Bonner :—"Will you have nobody to pray for you, when you be dead?"

Haukes :—"No, surely; except you can prove it by the Scriptures."

Then the bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, "Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?"

Haukes :—"Yes, surely; so long as we live, prayer is available of the righteous man: but this man's prayer, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all."

Bonner :—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Haukes :—"I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner :—"Not for the dead!"

Haukes :—"No, forsooth; for David saith, 'No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever.'[3] Also Ezekiel saith, 'Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves.'[4]

(1) Ecclus. xviii. (2) We ought not to believe in saints. Ergo, we ought not to call upon them.
(3) Psalm xlix. (4) Ezek. xiv.

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Then the bishop said to Harpsfield, "Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints. Well! I will trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him; but it will not be."—And he said to me, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less."[1]

Harpsfield:—"What books have you?"

Haukes:—"The New Testament, Solomon's Books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield:—"Will you read any other books?"

Haukes:—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield:—"What books will you require?"

Haukes:—"Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books."

Bonner:—"Away, away! He will have no books but such as maintain his heresies:"—and so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford; and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's Talk.

The next day came thither an old bishop,[2] who had a pearl in his eye; and he brought with him to my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop: "this young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Haukes:—"I deny not baptism."

Bonner:—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have;"—and that he spake with much anger.

Bonner reproved for his anger.

Haukes:—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

Bonner:—"Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not:"—and stroke himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man! you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients; and do as your forefathers have done before you."

Bonner:—"No, no! he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?"

Haukes:—"I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them."

Bonner:—"Why, the Scriptures do allow it."

Haukes:—"Where prove you that?"

Bonner:—"In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water."[3]

Haukes:—"Ye say truth; that it is written 2 Kings ii. 'The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted.' This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water,[4] and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies."

Bonner:—"How say you to holy bread?"

Haukes:—"Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?"

Bonner proveth holy bread by the five loaves and three fishes.

Bonner:—"Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?"

Haukes:—"Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread."

Bonner:—"Look, I pray you, how captious this man is?"

Haukes:—"Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby."

Bonner:—"Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles."

Haukes:—"No, forsooth; for Christ saith, 'These tokens shall follow them

(1) Bonner, when he cannot overcome by doctrine, goeth about to oppress by authority.

(2) The bishop's name was Bird, bishop sometime of Chester, and suffragan before of Coventry, of whom read before.

(3) See how Bonner proveth holy water by the Scripture.

(4) Elizeus put salt in the water, not to wash away sin, but only to make the water sweet.

that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them.'"[1]

Bonner:—"With what new tongues do ye speak?"

Haukes:—"Forsooth, whereas, before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

How converted Christians do speak with tongues.

Bonner:—"How do you cast out devils?"

Haukes:—"Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner:—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

Haukes:—"Yea, forsooth, that I have; for I *have* drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome."

Bonner:—"Now you show yourself to be a right heretic."

Haukes:—"I pray you, what is heresy?"

Bonner:—"All things that are contrary to God's word."

Bonner a heretic by his own definition.

Haukes:—"If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called."

Bonner:—"Thou art one; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."

Haukes:—"Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"[2]

Bonner:—"Did not Paul excommunicate?"

Haukes:—"Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning."

Bonner:—"Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"

Haukes:—"Yes, forsooth; I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose."

Bonner:—"Well, you will grant one yet."

Haukes:—"Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then show mercy; for that God requireth."

Bonner:—"We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon."[3]

Haukes:—"I pray ye, my lord, what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it?"—Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed, and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber: "for I would be glad," said he, "if ye could convert him." So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me, "I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat."

Haukes called for again to talk with the old bishop.

Haukes:—"I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God." And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep.—Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there saw I the old bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, "Are ye he, that will have no ceremonies?"

Haukes:—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam:—"Ye will not have your child christened but in English; and you will have no ceremonies."

Haukes:—"Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam:—"Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures."

(1) Mark xvi. (2) The papists do beside God's book, in burning men for their faith.
(3) This bishop here forgetteth his lesson, "Benedicite persequentibus vos."

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Haukes:—"Which be those?"

Fecknam:—"How say you by Paul's breeches?"[1]

Haukes:—"I have read no such thing."

Fecknam:—"Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

Haukes:—"I have read in Acts xix. how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body: is it that you mean?"

Fecknam:—"Yea the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?"[2]

Haukes:—"I say nothing to the ceremonies; for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, etc. So that it seemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam:—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture?[3]—Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Fecknam taken short in his own tale.

Haukes:—"No, forsooth; for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, 'Who is it that toucheth me?' And Peter said, 'Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me? Somebody hath touched me,' saith Christ; 'for virtue hath gone out of me.'—I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?"

Fecknam:—"Both."

Haukes:—"Then is not Christ true; for he said, 'Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole.'"

Bonner:—"Away, away to the sacrament; for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam:—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread,[4] and brake it, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.'"[5]

Haukes:—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam:—"And is it not so?"

Haukes:—"No, forsooth; I do not understand it so."

Fecknam:—"Why, then is Christ a liar?"

Haukes:—"I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam:—"Will I?—why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Haukes:—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine; I am a king, a way,[6] etc."

Fecknam:—"Christ spake these word in parables."

Haukes:—"And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way,' etc. more than this, when he said, 'This is my body?'—for after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, 'This is my body:' so saith he, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way;' he saith not, 'I am *like* a door, *like* a vine,' etc."

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, "I had such a one before me this other day. Alas! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford."

Haukes:—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam:—"I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley."

Haukes:—"I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned."

Fecknam fallen out of his matter to railing.

Fecknam:—"Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament."

Haukes:—"What he hath done, I know not; but what he doth, I know."

Fecknam:—"Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread; and ye will not believe Christ's body in the sacrament, and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them."

Haukes buildeth his faith upon no man.

Haukes:—"I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man."

(1) Fecknam's reason lieth in Paul's breeches!
(2) Fecknam maketh every act spoken of in the New Testament to be a ceremony.
(3) Mark v. Luke viii. (4) Fecknam driven in a strait, driveth Haukes to the sacrament.
(5) It is his sacramental body, or the sacrament of his body, but not his true body.
(6) The words of Christ are to be understood, not as he spake, but as he meant them.

Bonner:—"If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?" *Mary.*
Haukes:—"When they recant, I will make you an answer."
Bonner:—"Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that." A.D. 1555.
Haukes:—"Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace."
Bonner:—"I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living."[1] And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

Talk between Haukes and Chedsey.

The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; *and[2] then was I called into the garden to the bishop* and him. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, "Then he denieth the order of the catholic church."

Bonner:—"Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Haukes:—"And ye think that there is no church, but the church of Rome." The church of Rome.
Chedsey:—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"
Haukes:—"I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey:—"How say ye to the bishop of Rome?" The bishop of Rome.
Haukes:—"From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."
Chedsey:—"Marry, so may we say, from king Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Haukes:—"Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?"
Chedsey:—"I was not far."
Haukes:—"Where were ye in his son's days?"
Chedsey:—"In prison."
Haukes:—"It was not for your well-doing."

Bonner:—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey:—"Christ never spake in English."[3]

Haukes:—"Neither spake he ever any Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, 'That tongues profit us nothing.' He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle: so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than *he* hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth." An instance given against Chedsey.

Chedsey:—"If he understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a propheey, 'If one prophecy to you in tongues,' etc."

Haukes:—"Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues; for tongues serve not for them that believe."

Chedsey:—"I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy."

Haukes:—"Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, 'That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course; and let the other judge. And if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:' so that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying."

Bonner:—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue; and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world." Latin service.

Haukes:—"This did your councils of Rome conclude."

Bonner:—"Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?" General councils of Rome.
Haukes:—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

(1) Bonner judgeth other men by his own sort. (2) See Edition 1570.—Ed.
(3) Chedsey's argument: Christ never spake English: ergo, we must not pray in English.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Chedsey :—" Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world."

Haukes :—" I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, 'If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed.' "

Chedsey :—" Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Haukes :—" Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."[1]

Chedsey :—" What gospel have ye been taught?"

Haukes :—" Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey :—" He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss."

Haukes :—" Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him!"

Bonner :—" You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

Idols. *Haukes* :—" God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

Chedsey :—" What be those that ye are so offended withal?"

The cross. *Haukes* :—" The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, etc."

Bonner :—" What say ye to that?"

Haukes :—" I say it is an idol. What say *you* to it?"

Images. *Bonner* :—" I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."

Haukes :—" I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner's definition of an idol. *Bonner* :—" If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Haukes :—" Lay your image of your true God, and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not?—and even so have your idols."

Chedsey :—" 'God forbid,' saith St. Paul, 'that I should rejoice in any thing else, but in the cross of Christ Jesus.' "

Haukes :—" Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?"—unto the which he answered me never a word.

Bonner :—" Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Haukes :—" If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with 'Salve, festa dies?' "

Chedsey :—" It was taken up."

The people seduced by false pieces of the holy cross. *Haukes* :—" Who took it up? Helene, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for; and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath, covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold!"

Bonner :—" Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it."

Haukes :—" I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary."—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume: and Chedsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, " It is pity that thou shouldest live, or any such as thou art." I answered, " In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey :—" Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death,[3] as Joan Butcher[4] did."

Haukes :—" What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow."—" God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me,

(1) Other doctrine taught in the church of Rome than ever Paul taught
(2) Note here how grossly Chedsey understandeth the words of St. Paul.
(3) Note here discreetly the spirit of Chedsey.
(4) See vol. v. p. 690.—Ed.

and said, "My lord would have you come to the sermon."—And so I went to the chapel-door, and stood without the door. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Bonner:—"Is not this fellow come?"

Haukes:—"Yes, I am here."

Bonner:—"Come in, man."

Haukes:—"No, that I will not." He called again, and I answered, "I will come no nearer;" and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, "Go to your sermon." Haukes will not come into Bonner's chapel.

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was in Matthew xvi. "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the ever-living God." Then left he the text there, and said, "Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound:" "which authority," said he, "is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning: yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics never so much, the church doth stand and flourish."—And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the most of them do); and so returned to his place again, saying, "Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven:" and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he proved by St. John (chap. xi.), saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, who when he was risen, was bound in bands: "then said Christ to them that were in authority (who were his disciples), go ye and loose him; loose him you." And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles: and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner. Chedsey's sermon theme. Chedsey exalteth the sacrament. Scripture clerkly applied.

Another Communication between Thomas Haukes and the Bishop.

And, after dinner, I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner:—"Haukes! how like you the sermon?"

Haukes:—"As I like all the rest of his doctrine."

Bonner:—"What! are ye not edified thereby?"

Haukes:—"No, surely."

Bonner:—"It was made only because of you."

Haukes:—"Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded."

Bonner:—"Well, I will leave you here, for I have business: I pray you talk with him, for if ye could do him good," said he, "I would be glad."

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said, unto me, "Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?"

Haukes:—"Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men (which were many), "My lord hath commanded you to talk with them." Haukes refuseth to talk with the queen's men.

Haukes:—"If my lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." They cried, "Faggots! burn him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pity that he liveth! Lay irons upon him!" and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's Talk.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber, and said, "Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Haukes:—"My lord, you can do me no better pleasure."

Bonner:—"Why, would you so fain go to prison?"

Haukes:—"Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands."

Bonner:—"Come on your ways; ye shall see what I have written."—Then did he show me certain articles, and these are the contents of them:

Bonner showeth Haukes articles in writing.

"Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these: 'Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ?' which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it.'

Haukes:—"What your church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth neither so take it, nor believe it."

Bonner:—"Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?"

Answers of Haukes.

Haukes:—"I answered to it, as I did to the other question before." Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison, which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and [who] began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he said, "that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross."

Talk between Haukes and Harpsfield.

A question put to Harpsfield.

Haukes:—"He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament?" The archdeacon answered, "alive."

Haukes:—"How prove you that?"

Harpsfield:—"You must believe. Doth not St. John say, 'He is already condemned that believeth not?'"

Haukes:—"St. John saith, 'He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned,' but he saith not, 'He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned.'"

Harpsfield:—"There is no talk with you; for ye are both without faith and learning; and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture."

Another question put to him about the roodloft.

Then two that stood by bade me [Haukes] enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, "Why is the roodloft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?"

Harpsfield:—"I cannot tell; for ye have asked a question which you cannot assoil yourself."

Haukes:—"Yes, that I can: for this saith one of your own doctors: 'that the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so, because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ; this is the cause of the roodloft being between the body of the church and the chancel."

Harpsfield:—"This is well and clerkly concluded."

Haukes:—"As all the rest of your doctrine is:"—and so, with many persuasions on his part, we ended, and so departed: and I, to the porter's lodge again.

Another day's Talk.

The next day in the morning, which was the 1st day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me, as I had of mine own. And I said, "I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing." Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper: and this was contained in the warrant.

The bishop's warrant.

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice: for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism; a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, "My lord would be glad to know how ye do." I answered them, "I do, like a poor prisoner." They said, "My lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed." I said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My lord would be glad that ye should do well." I said, "If my lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

The bishop's men sent to Haukes in the Gate-house.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the 3d day of September.

Here followeth the second time of mine Examination, the which was the 3d day of September: for the Bishop did send his men for me to come to his palace of London; and so my keeper and his men brought me to his palace the same day.

The bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day."

Haukes:—"Yes my lord, I pray you let me go: and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me;" and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same man that I was before."

Haukes:—"I am no changeling, nor none will be."

Bonner:—"Ye shall find me no changeling neither."—And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print) saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, "He is Dr. Smith." Then said I, "Are you he that did recant?" And he said, "it was no recantation, but a declaration."

Dr. Smith cometh to Haukes. Smith's recantation.

Haukes:—"You were best to term it well, for your own honesty."

Dr. Smith:—"Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?"

Haukes:—"To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you:"—and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, "Hang him, burn him! it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my lord's commandment."

Then said one Miles Huggard, "Where prove you that infants were baptized?"

Miles Huggard.

Haukes:—"'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Sir, here is none excepted."

Master Huggard:—"What, shall we go to teach children?"

Haukes:—"That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?"

Huggard:—"So am I called."

Haukes:—"Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?"

Huggard:—"Yes, that I am, and there I do dwell."

Haukes:—"It would seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose." With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take the pain to walk the gentleman, he did fret so for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Hornchurch and Romford in Essex) said, "Alas, what do you mean: a young man to be so stubborn? There seemeth too much pride in you."

Huggard more meet to eat a pudding than to dispute of Scripture.

Haukes:—"Are not ye the parson of Hornchurch?"

Parson:—"Yes, that I am."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Haukes:—"Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?"

Parson:—"Yes, for a shift."

Haukes:—"Like will to like; such master, such man; for I know that priest to be a very vile man, as any could be."

Parson of Horn-church compared to the weather-cock of Paul's.

I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weather-cock of Paul's? and he fell in a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said, that I did rail. Then said another that stood by unto me; what book have you here? I answered, "The New Testament." "May I look in it?" said he. "Yea, that ye may," said I. And so he looked in my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, "If the things contained in it be true, then are ye all false prophets." He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, "Here is a generation of Christ:" and Esay saith, "No man can tell his generation."[1]

Haukes:—"What meaneth Esay by that?"

"I would learn of you," said he.

Haukes:—"Ye would be angry, if the scholar should teach the master: but if ye *will* have me to teach you, I will tell you Esay's meaning."

Then said he, "No man can tell the generation between the father and the son: but you (I dare say) did know it before."

Haukes:—"Why then Esay denieth not the generation."

Then said he, "Why is Christ called Christ?"

Haukes:—"Because he is a Messias."

Then said he, "Why is he called a Messias?"

Haukes:—"Because he was so prophesied by the prophets."

Frivolous questions.

Then said he, "Why is your book called a book?"

Haukes:—"These words do breed more strife than godly edifying."

"Beware," said he, "that ye do not decline from the church; for if you do, you will prove yourself a heretic."

Haukes:—"Even as ye do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets,[2] if ye say, 'This saith the church:' and will not say, 'This saith our Lord.'"—And so he went his way, as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another and said unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said), that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes:—"I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more."—For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me; for I said, that I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

The bishop writeth Haukes's confession.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner. "I, Thomas Haukes, do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe," etc

Haukes:—"Stop there, my lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will."—Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, "I, Thomas Haukes, have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

Haukes:—"Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

Bonner:—"Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure." Then said all his doctors, "If your lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more to me: "Here unto this bill have I set my hand;" and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

(1) Isaiah liii.

(2) Difference between the true prophets and the false. The false prophets say, "Dicit Ecclesia;" "Thus saith the church." The true prophets say, "Dicit Dominus;" "Thus saith the Lord."

Haukes:—"Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising." *Mary.*

Bonner:—"Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it." A. D. 1555.

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise. Haukes will not set his hand to it.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex. Bonner in a fume.

Haukes:—"Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave."

Bonner:—"This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it."

Haukes:—"As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool."

Bonner:—"I will be even with you when time shall come."

Haukes:—"You may in your malice destroy a man: but, when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with some of us already."

Bonner:—"If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me."

Haukes:—"Solomon saith, 'Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his own honour.'"

Bonner:—"Solomon saith, 'Give not a fool an answer.'"

Haukes:—"What! do you count me a fool?"

Bonner:—"Yea, by my troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee,[1] and so do I."

Haukes:—"Thought is free, my lord." Then took Bonner the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes:—"What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse and went to horse-back; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex. And so went I to prison, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who desire all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end.—Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray!

The Public Examination of Thomas Haukes, at the Bishop's Consistory.[2]

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debatings, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Laurence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's Consistory, the 8th day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe. The first day's session.

After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these foresaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas The second.

(1) And even now ye said, you would be even with him.

(2) Ex Registro.

Mary. A. D. 1555. Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," quoth master Haukes again, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of four, with another bill also, which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors, but *we* may better call them christian verities. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was; with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the 9th day of February. In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing and hearing the foresaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop, "My lord," said he, "as you, being my great friend, have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read: and yet I will never go from them." And then, being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church: "No, my lord," said he, "that will I not: for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he believed. Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the Lord Riche, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow-prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coggeshall, the others severally in other several places.

Answer of Haukes.

His words at his judgment, and his invincible constancy.

Condemned by Bonner.

His death deferred.

He is brought to Essex.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

Agreed between Haukes and friends to give them a token in the fire, etc.

A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, whereby they might be the more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas

Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Riche and his assistants, who, being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about: unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the lord Riche, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of the saints; at length after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard, *and[1] you would have thought heaven and earth to have come together.* And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, A.D. 1555, June 10. And thus have you plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant and faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Haukes standing at the stake, reasoneth with the lord Riche.

A token given in the fire, that burning is not so intolerable a pain as it was thought.

The end and martyrdom of Haukes at Coggeshall.

LETTERS.

An Epistle to the Congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be alway with you all (my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ for ever); and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all, in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may, as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and, when the bridegroom shall show himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. "For all flesh," saith the prophet, "is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a season showeth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth." For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind; subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment; in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted and tormented, who ceaseth not behind every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleasure upon us; casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life; promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at naught the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood; and, in especial, Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches, as saith the prophet.

The manifold danger which a true christian hath to pass through in this world.

Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most heartily desire you, to watch and pray; for

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1162.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

our estate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains, doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their seeing, that they go groping at noonday in darkness: it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons: for "riches help not in the day of vengeance; neither can we make the Lord partial, for money."[1] But as ye have ministered unto the saints, so shall ye receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon you all, for the great goodness showed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and shall be, unto the world's end.

The higher in dignity the nearer to danger.

Riches help not before God.

God's elect always bear the slander in this world.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you (and your hearts consented unto it), that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father: therefore I say, in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one shepherd, may rise to the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

Yours in him that liveth for ever, Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate; the copy whereof is this:

The Copy of a Letter of Thomas Haukes to his Wife.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his coming), I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; wherefore if you will direct yourself thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

Lessons for instructions to his wife.

First, I exhort you to fear God; to serve and honour his holy name; to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind; to believe faithfully all his promises; to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them. Keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

He exhorteth her to beware of idolatry.

Idolatry punished of God.

But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men most detested from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire,

(1) Prov. xi.

brimstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence, etc., to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, and to love him, to fear him, etc.:—it is most manifestly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

Exhortation to prayer.

Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be steadfast in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsover we desire; so that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in necessities and troubles, and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was killed for our sins), I say, who that will refuse his help, must even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen.

Praying to God, and not to creatures.

To continue in prayer, and to pray only in the name of Christ.

And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom and in whom God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will at the length open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if we continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

Care for his children.

Further, whereas it hath pleased God to send us children: my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wise my eldest son unto master Throgmorton,[1] who, upon his good will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and, I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wise without delay: and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not suffer), my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God who hath given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world, Amen.

Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

Keeping of good company.

Exhortation to take heed whom she marrieth, and that she marry in the Lord.

Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer, nor carder: in fine, no filthy person, but choose you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness,

(1) He meaneth master Clement Throgmorton, who desired to have the bringing up of his child.

Mary. A.D. 1555. as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming, Amen. By your husband, Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before, in the Letter of Thomas Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldest son to be sent to master Throgmorton. Now what he writeth himself to the said master Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party hereunder ensuing, may appear.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to Master Clement Throgmorton.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posterity.

Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the selfsame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in mine absence, I shall require you in God's behalf according to your promise, that ye will see him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly instructions to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his Father in the like, to God's honour and praise: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye, before the living God, will make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you, once again, to be as good to him, as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.

Yours and all men's in Christ Jesus,
Thomas Haukes.

The History of Thomas Wats,

EXAMINED, TRIED, AND BURNT FOR THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL.

Wats disposeth his goods before he is apprehended.

Thomas Wats of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass; so that, upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Riche, and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there, being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the lord Riche, Henry Tyrrel, sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, justice Gaudy, etc.: the sum and principal effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

THE EXAMINATION OF THOMAS WATS BEFORE THE LORD RICHE, AND OTHER COMMISSIONERS.

When this Thomas Wats came before the lord Riche and other the justices, whose names are specified in the letter following (which they sent unto the bishop of London against him), at the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Riche said these words or the like in effect unto him. "Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, etc., but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings." Unto which his words Wats answered and said: "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, "Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this religion?" "Forsooth," quoth Wats, "even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used; no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."

The words of lord Riche to Wats.

Anthony Brown a gospeller in king Edward's days, and a persecutor in queen Mary's days.

Then said Brown to my lord Riche, "He belies me my lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face:"—and my lord Riche said again, "I dare say he doth so."

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of king Philip and of his coming in; but what it was, I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, "Treason!" saving one good man called justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but, when he heard them cry "treason," he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

Justice Gaudy, a good man.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

A Letter sent by certain Justices in Essex to Bonner Bishop of London.

After our most hearty commendations to your good lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the 26th day of April last past, there came before us in open court one Thomas Wats of Billericay within your diocese, by ordinary process; and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the altar, and hear divine service, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally, that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late king Edward VI. was said by us now to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught: so he said, that all that is now used and done in that church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, with divers other erroneous, and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as, to your pastoral office,

Wats sent up by the justices of Essex to Bonner.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

shall seem convenient; certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any gaol, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost. —Given at Chelmsford the 27th of April, Anno 1555.

Your good Lordship's most assured,

The names of the justices.

R. Riche.	Thomas Mildmay.
Henry Tyrrel.	John Wiseman.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton.
Edmund Tyrrel.	Richard Weston.

Now when the bishop had received him, how he used him it is easy (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were, I know not, but what was publicly done in the Consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies), you shall here see.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THOMAS WATS IN THE BISHOP'S CONSISTORY.

First upon Thursday, being the 2d day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London; and there, being examined upon his words had before the lord Riche and others (as is contained in their letters), he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

Articles objected against Thomas Wats of Billericay in the County of Essex, within the Diocese of London, by Bonner Bishop there, as ensueth.

I. First, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

Sacraments of the church of Rome.

II. Item, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

The substance of the sacrament.

III. Item, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration: and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed: and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

The presence in the sacrament.

IV. Item, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

The mass abominable.

V. Item, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness; and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

Confession to God.

VI. Item, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

Defence of martyrs.

VII. Item, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliff, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

VIII. Item, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable: for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

IX. That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Riche, sir Henry Tyrrel knight, Anthony Brown esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church, set out in the days of the late king Edward the sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he (the said Thomas Wats) then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present. Queen Mary's service reproved.

X. Item, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic. Wats reputed by the laws for a heretic.

XI. Item, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing-cross, who, at the time of his executing, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them. The church of Rome a synagogue of Satan.

XII. Item, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The Answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid Articles.

To the Ist he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the IId article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now, as he had done in times past—for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us—and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him. And further said, that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one master Alvey, and others whose names he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely. Wats first won to the gospel by Alvey.

To the IIId he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the IVth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the Vth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the VIth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit he denieth not but it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the VIIth he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that

Mary. A.D. 1555.

the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good christian men.

To the VIIIth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

To the IXth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained; and, further, desireth God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the Xth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

The bishop of Rome an enemy to Christ.

To the XIth he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see nor know him; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

To the XIIth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me, Thomas Wats.

THREE OTHER APPEARANCES OF THOMAS WATS IN THE CONSISTORY.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day; at which hour, being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise: "Wats! you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that ye will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth." Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, "I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in;" upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning; where, the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered:

Wats submitteth him to the law, etc.

"Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it: and further I do affirm, and will stand to mine answers that I have made."

He privately appeareth again before the bishop.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But

Wats's answer to the bishop.

Wats answered him in this sort: "I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church; and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me." He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the 17th day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made then such answers as before.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the 18th day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said Wats, being, by the bishop and others, willed to deny his profession, made this final answer: "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers." *Mary.* A.D. 1555. The final answer of Wats.

The bishop, perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th day of June, or (as some record) to the 22d of May: at which time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat. Sentence of condemnation against Wats.

Then Wats went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children being there, and said these words in effect: "Wife, and my good children! I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more; but, as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom, I charge you, see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against the which I shall, anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." All these and such like words spake he unto them, and they unto him; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire. The farewell of Wats to his wife and six children; his martyrdom at Chelmsford, June 10.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Riche these or the like words; "My lord," saith he, "beware, beware! for you do against your own conscience herein; and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cause of this my death." His words to the lord Riche.

CONCERNING THE CHILDBED OF QUEEN MARY, AS IT WAS RUMOURED AMONG THE PEOPLE.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary: and commandment was given, that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery; the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council sent to Bonner, and also the same, moreover, may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

*And[1] forasmuch as prayer is here mentioned for queen Mary, here

(1) These observations, and the specimens of early psalmody, are reprinted from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, pp. 1139, 1141.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. followeth to be seen the Pater-Noster then set forth in English metre, compiled, or rather corrupted, by one W. Forest; which, when thou shalt see, good reader, I refer the matter to thy discretion to judge of the catholics, what men they are, and how contrary to themselves: who find fault with the Pater-Noster sung in metre in our churches, and yet they themselves have done the same before much more worthy of rebuke; who, not only have intermixed their own senses with the words of the Lord, but, also, have so wrested and depraved the same, that the thing which the Lord hath set forth for public and general petition, they have turned to a private request.

The Pater-Noster to God's Glory, with Prayer to Him for Queen Mary.

Our Father which in heaven dost sit,
We sanctify thy name;
Our prayer we pray thee to admit,
Queen Mary save from blame.

Thy kingdom be us here among,
As in our hearts to reign;
Queen Mary prosper thou here long,
Her honour none to stain.

Thy will in earth be done and wrought,
Right as it is above.
Queen Mary both in deed and thought,
May thee both dread and love!

Our daily bread give us this day,
With all that we do need;
Our noble queen Mary we pray,
Thou send always good speed.

And now, O Lord! our sins remit,
Which we have thee transgressed;
As we do let our neighbour's flit
Out of our inward breast.

And let us not be overcome
By foul temptation;
Our queen thou grant, of thy wisdom,
To honour Thee alone.

But us deliver by thy might
From every kind of ill;
Queen Mary keep both day and night,
And prosper to thy will.

W. F.

Te Deum, lauding God specially, with Prayer therein for our Queen Mary.

O God! thy name we magnify
In thy sanctuary;
For that thou hast, of thy mercy,
Sent us our queen Mary.

To thee this all our English ground
Doth render praise alway;
Whom merciful hath ever found,
So help us still we pray.

To thee all heavens incessantly,
In orders as they be,
Proclaim thy glory worthily
With all felicity.

First cherubim and seraphim,
With ardent love entier,[1]
Sing night and day, and doth not lin[2]
In their fervent manner.

"Holy art thou, Father of might!
Holy art thou, O Son!
Holy art thou, O heavenly Sprite!
Three in one union.

Thou art the Lord God of Sabaoth;
Of hosts, that is to say;
So passing high thy power goeth,
All things must thee obey.

Both heaven and earth are filled full
With glory of thy name:
Our queen thou shield from all trouble
And magnify her fame.

The choir of the apostles thine
Hath in thy praise delight: [shine,
Grant our dear queen here long to
And to enjoy her right.

The number, passing laudable,
Of prophets all, and sum,
Let forth thy praise honourable
And sovereign wisdom.

The goodly fellowship so sweet
Of martyrs florishing,
Lowly kneeling before thy feet,
Thy praise doth always ring.

(1) "Entier," (Fr.) complete.—Ed.
(2) "Lin," linnan, or ablinnan, (Sax.) to cease or leave off.—Ed.

The holy church here militant
Over the world so round,
Sets forth thy praise of covenant,
As thereunto most bound:

Confessing thee, Father, to be,
As, truth, thou art no less,
Of a surmounting majesty,
Passing for to express.

Professing with all constancy
Thy honourable Son;
Of thee to be begotten truly
Ere aught were here begun.

The Holy Ghost as to proceed
From these high persons twain;
Who with his grace doth all men feed,
That meekness do contain.

O Trinity in unity!
Our queen do thou respect;
Her only guide ever to be
And in her right protect.

O Christ! thou art, we verify,
Of glory, Lord and King,
And Son of the Father on high,
With him ever reigning.

When thou didst please man to restore,
With thee to reign alway,
Thou didst not loth, either abhor,
The virgin's womb that day.

No more do now withdraw thy grace,
We humbly thee require;
Our queen inhabit in like case
With grace her to inspire.

The sting of death by thee o'ercome,
To true believers all
Thou didst set open thy kingdom,
The realm celestial.

Now sittest thou on the right hand
Of God the Father dear;
Preserve, O Lord! merry England,
And make it so to appear.

Thou art believed, certainly,
To come and be our judge;
That day, O Lord! show thy mercy,
And be our chief refuge.

Therefore we pray with humble mood,
Thy servants to sustain,
Whom thou, with thy most precious blood,
Redeemed hast from pain.

Make us to be numbered on high
In glory with thy saints;
Which in thy joy doth glorify
And therein never faints.

Thy people save and bless also,
Thy right inheritage:
Our queen where she doth ride or go,
Thou keep from all damage.

And govern them that here be thine:
Extolling, by thy grace,
Up to the heaven chrystalline,
There to behold thy face.

Here, day by day, as we are bound,
Thy name we magnify:
Our queen see thou with honour crown'd,
Who loveth thee specially.

And in the world of worlds to come
We shall thy praise endure:
Thither to come grant all and some,
There ever to endure.

Vouchsafe this day, from sin and crime,
To govern us, we pray:
Our queen grant here to reign long time,
And to observe thy way.

Have mercy, Lord, on us sinners,
Have mercy on us all:
Our sins are many and divers
Remit them great and small.

Thy mercy, Lord, let on us light,
As we do trust in thee;
And save our queen both day and night,
In high prosperity.

In thee, O Lord, hath our whole trust
Been steadfastly grounded;
Let never us, as thou art just,
Be clearly confounded.

W. Forest.

Thus much as touching their devout prayer for queen Mary.*

And now, forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared, and in a readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the

Rockers and nurses provided for queen Mary's child.

Processions and bonfires in London.

Triumph at Antwerp.

Mary. A. D. 1555. mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one the parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, who said concerning the bonfires made for queen Mary's child, "Here is a joyful triumph; but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage:" as indeed it came to pass; for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

Queen Mary's child would not come!

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret.

What became of queen Mary's child no one can tell!

One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate-street in Horn-alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who, before witness made this declaration unto us: that she, being delivered of a man-child upon Whit Sunday in the morning, which was the 11th day of June, anno 1555, there came to her the lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish-street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers, if she would part with the child. After that, came other women also, of whom, one they said should have been the rocker; but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.[1]

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the readers to believe it they that list: to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

The young prince's cradle.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latin and English.

Verses upon the cradle.

Quam Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, dedisti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might! hast sent,
To England's joy, in health preserve,—keep, and defend!

(1) Ex testimonio cujusdam puerperæ Londinensis.

Carminis Inversio.

*Quam[1] Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, negasti,
Hanc ferat auspiciis Elisabetha tuis.*

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called "A Warning for England;" whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the Spanish inquisition: so that by the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

Whereas by the statute made in the second year of king Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived,[2] was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our sovereign lord and lady,[3] therefore, etc., straitly charge and command: that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works made or set forth, by, or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works made or set forth, by or in the name of Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melanothon, Bernardine, Oehin, Erasmus, Sarcerius,[4] Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called Friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called Friar Bale, Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called "Hall's Chronicle," or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church.[5] And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in

Good books prohibited.

Hall's Chronicle.

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1141.—Ed. (2) Of this act or statute read before.
(3) "Astiterunt reges terræ et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et Christum ejus." Psalm ii.
(4) This word should probably be Strigelius: See "Abel Redevivus," page 290.—Ed.
(5) What ado is here to keep down Christ in his sepulchre! and yet will he rise in spite of all his enemies.

Mary. A. D. 1555. English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of king Edward the Sixth, commonly called "The Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by authority of parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinary's will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

The power of this world set against Christ. And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions, finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1555.

Articles to be inquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, "A Warning for England."[1]

Articles to be inquired upon.

I. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books?

II. Whether they have heard of any of the said books?

III. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them?

IV. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea; especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wezel, Emden, and Delsburg?

V. Whom they know, or vehemently suspect, to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence?

VI. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation thou hast heard, christian reader! the profound and learned censure of the catholic church of England, what books they mislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which catholic censure of these learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth my leisure now serve to write apologies in defence of these authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that

(1) This book called, "A Warning for England," look for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the Spanish inquisition.

we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is. *Mary.* A.D. 1555. The books of the protestants to be weighed with books of the papists.

PARTS OF THE PRIMER AFTER THE USE OF SALISBURY, CALLED "OUR LADY'S MATINS," PRINTED IN QUEEN MARY'S TIME.

And first to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with privilege according to letters-patent of the king and queen's majesties in the reign of queen Mary.[1] Let us repeat and survey some part of the said primer (for to express all, it were too long) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all,
Mother and daughter of the King Celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special mediation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," etc.

Confer this with the Scriptures,[2] good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the second lesson.

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That he our prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," etc.

In the Third Lesson.

"Thy Son beseech, with humble intercession,
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

The Versicle.

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," etc. One mediator.

Another Versicle.

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition,
That we may deserve Christ's promission," etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:—

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven." False merits.

(1) This Primer set forth in queen Mary's time was printed by J. Wayland.
(2) "The Scriptures;" "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 Tim. ii. 5.—Ed.

Mary. Furthermore in the collect after it followeth :—

A. D. 1555. "And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

Wrong mediation. It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material cross.

Idolatry to the material cross. "O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," etc.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth :—

"O Lord, defend us alway through the continual succours of St. John Baptist.[1] For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," etc.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For whereas their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul :—

"Hear us mercifully; and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting,"[2] etc.

Of St. Andrew.

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," etc.

Of St. Lawrence thus :—

"St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy cross, he gave sight to the blind," etc.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

Of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."[3]

Of St. Nicholas.

False merits. "O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen.

"Grant we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," etc.

Another Prayer of our Lady.

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet Mother
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," etc.

(1) "Let no man glory in any man; for all things are yours," etc. 1 Cor. iii.
(2) "What is Paul, what is Apollos, but the servants of him on whom you believe?" 1 Cor. iii.
(3) What horrid blasphemy, and derogation to Christ's blood!

Another Prayer in the said Primer to our Lady. *Mary.*

A. D. 1555.

" Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva:
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again:
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some grace attain:
Show thyself to be a Mother,
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin."

The office of Christ given to our Lady.

Item.

" Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind," etc.

Another blasphemous Prayer.

" O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all,
Seeing thy Son that vine-cluster pressed sore:
And from the pestilence of death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Blasphemy.

Another Blasphemy in the said Primer.

" Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory! be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," etc.

Idolatry.

Item, to our Lady.

" The fruit of thy womb everlasting,
We may behold through thy deserving," etc.

Item.

" Grant we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers[1] we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where she, being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our Lady's Matins: whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady's Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so the same also may see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Lady's Psalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady's Psalter to be written or approved,[2] here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure,[3] a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus the Fourth, Anno 1482,

Like Primer, like Psalter.

(1) If Mary's merits might help us, then Christ died in vain.
(2) It takes its place in the later editions of Bonaventure's works, and is recognised by Wadding in his "Scriptores ordinis Minorum;" Romæ, 1650.—Ed.
(3) Bonaventure, who was the compiler of our Lady's Psalter, lived A. D. 1470, and was canonized A.D. 1482.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

for a saint in the calendar, who, in his book thus entitled in Latin, "Incipit Psalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis," etc. (fol. 84, in the second part of his whole works, which were imprinted at Strasburgh, Anno 1495), to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter (which be peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God), and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake (for, to show all, it were too long), we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth:—

THE TITLE IN ENGLISH, OF THE BOOK CALLED THE LADY'S PSALTER.

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Albano, and cardinal of the holy church of Rome."

1. Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified everywhere, etc.—Glory be to the Father, etc.[1]

Our Lady's beauty.

2. Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, etc.[2]

Treason against Christ's person and dignity

3. Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, etc.[3]

Blasphemous idolatry.

4. When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity, are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O

False faith.

(1) Beatus vir, qui intelligit [diligit] nomen tuum, Maria Virgo, gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum justitiæ propagabis, etc. Universas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis; superas angelos et archangelos excellentia sanctitatis. Misericordia tua et gratia ubique prædicatur, etc. Gloria Patri. See the book called "Our Lady's Psalter." Bonaventure [Opera: Moguntiæ, 1609, vol. vi. p. 478, Psalm i. The words in parentheses denote the variation between the early edition which Foxe cited, and that of a more recent date, with which the editor collated these passages. The reader need hardly be directed to the awful profaneness of this Psalter.—Ed.]

(2) Quare fremuerunt inimici nostri, et adversum nos meditati sunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua, mater Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens et destruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis et tribulati estis, et dabit refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus vestris, et stabiliet vos serenitas vultûs ejus. Benedicite illam in toto cordo vestro, misericordiâ enim illius plena est terra, etc. Gloria Patri. [Psalm ii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) Domina, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? In tempestate tuâ persequeris et dissipabis eos. Dissolve colligationes impietatis nostræ; tolle fasciculos peccatorum nostrorum. Miserere mei, Domina, et sana infirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem et angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, et in die mortis meæ conforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum salutis, et spiritum meum redde factori meo, etc. [Psalm iii. Ibid.—Ed.]

Lady for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth, etc.[1] *Mary.*

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5. Hear my words, O Lady, etc. Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces.[2]

6. O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, etc. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because neither the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.[3] Derogation of the cross of Christ.

7. O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not.[4] Vain trust. Wrong invocation.

9. I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart,[5] and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory, etc. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart, &c.[6] Manifest idolatry.

10. In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, etc. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, etc. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits, etc.[7] Derogation of Christ's passion.

12. Save me, O Mother of love, and fountain of mercy, etc. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee.[8]

13. How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him, etc. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired, etc.[9]

16. Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust, etc. Blessed be thy breasts,[10] [from] which, with thy deifying milk, didst [thou] nourish the Saviour, etc.[11] Milk-making God.

18. I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, etc. All ye cloisterers honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion.[12] Idolatry of the cloisterers.

(1) Cum invocarem, exaudisti me, Domina, et è sublimi solio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad escam et de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua: quoniam benigna est misericordia et pietas tua in omnes qui invocant nomen sanctum tuum. Benedicta sis, Domina, in æternum, et majestas tua in seculum. Glorificate eam, omnes gentes, etc. [Psalm iv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Verba mea auribus percipe, Domina, etc. Converte luctum nostrum in gaudium, et tribulationem nostram in jubilationem. Corruant ante pedes nostros inimici nostri; virtute tuâ eorum capita conterantur, etc. [Psalm v. Ibid. p. 479.—Ed.]

(3) Domina, ne in furore Dei sinas corripi me, neque in irâ ejus judicari, etc. De portâ inferi, et de ventre abyssi, tuis sanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis januæ sempiternæ, ut enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua: quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno sunt, laudabunt te, Domina, sed qui tuâ gratiâ vitam æternam obtinebunt. [Psalm vi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(4) Domina mea, in te speravi, de inimicis meis libera me, Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, et labia persequentium constringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis misericordiam tuam. Splendor vultûs tui fulgeat super nos, ut servetur conscientia nostra apud altissimum. Si persequitur [persequatur] inimicus animam meam, Domina, adjutorio tuo conforter, ne vibret gladium suum contra me. [Psalm vii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with all thy strength and power," etc. Deut. vi.

(6) Confitebor tibi, Domina, in toto corde meo, et narrabo in populis laudem et gloriam tuam, etc. Invenient gratiam [peccatores apud Deum] per te inventricem gratiæ et salutis. Respirant ad indulgentiam humiles pœnitentes; sana contritiones cordis eorum, etc. [Psalm ix. Ibid.—Ed.]

(7) In te, Domina, confido, etc. Exquirite illam à juventute vestrâ, et glorificabit vos, etc. Misericordia illius nostrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, et fœcunditatem nobis conferat meritorum, etc. [Psalm xi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(8) Salvum me fac, mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clementiæ, etc. Gyrum terræ sola circuis, ut subvenias invocantibus te, etc. [Psalm xii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(9) Usque quo, Domina, oblivisceris me, et non liberas me in die tribulationis? Usque quo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me? Potentiâ virtutis tuæ contere ipsum, etc. Magnificamus te gratiæ inventricem, per quam sæcula reparantur, etc. [Psalm xiii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(10) "Yea rather blessed be they which hear the word of God, and keep it."

(11) Conserva me, Domina, quoniam speravi in te, etc. Benedicta sunt ubera tua, quibus incte deifico salvatorem enutristi, etc. [Psalm xvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) Diligam te, Domina cœli et terræ; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confitemini illi,

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20. Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, etc. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, etc. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.[1]

25. To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul, etc. Let not the snares of death prevail against me, etc. Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me.[2]

26. Judge thou me, O Lady,[3] for I am fallen from mine innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall, etc.[4]

27. O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my light, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind, etc.[5]

28. To thee, O Lady, etc. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me, etc.[6]

31. In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever: in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, etc. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper.[7] Into thy hands I commend my spirit, etc.[8]

Horrible blasphemy against the Lord!

34. I will always praise our Lady, etc. In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word increate to take flesh of thee.[9]

O impious blasphemy!

36. The wicked man said, etc. Let him depart from his evil purpose. O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empery and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth.[10]

45. My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, etc. By thy holiness let my sins be purged;[11] by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption, etc.[12]

These words stink of blasphemous idolatry.

47. Clap your hands, all ye people, etc. For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady; have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee.[13]

51. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the mother of mercy; and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities.[14]

tribulati corde, et roborabit vos contra inimicos vestros, etc. Religiosi omnes, honorate illam, quia ipsa est adjutrix vestra et specialis advocata. Esto refrigerium nostrum, gloriosa mater Christi, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum. [Psalm xviii. Ibid. page 480.—Ed.]

(1) Exaudi [as] nos, Domina, in die tribulationis, etc. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis nostræ, sed succurre animæ, cum deseruerit corpus suum. Mitte angelum in occursum ejus, per quem ab hostibus defendatur, etc. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, et concede ei locum inter electos Dei. [Psalm xx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Ad te, Domina, levavi animam, etc. Non prævaleant adversum me laquei mortis, etc. Ductrix mea esto ad patriam, et me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare. [Ps. xxv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) All judgment is given to Christ alone, and before him the Virgin also herself shall be judged.

(4) Judica me, Domina, quoniam ab innocentiâ meâ digressus sum: sed quia speravi [sperabo], in te non infirmabor, etc. [Psalm xxvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) Domina, illuminatio mea sit splendor faciei tuæ, et serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ, etc. [Psalm xxvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(6) Ad te, Domina, clamabo, etc. Miserere mei in die angustiæ meæ, et in luce veritatis tuæ libera me. [Psalm xxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(7) If our Lady be all in all, then God, belike, sitteth idle in heaven!

(8) In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum, in gloria [gratiâ] tuâ suscipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea et refugium meum, consolatio mea et protectio mea, etc. Educas me [de] laqueo quem absconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adjutrix mea. In manus tuas, Domina, commendo spiritum meum. [Psalm xxxi. Ibid. p. 481.—Ed.]

(9) Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, etc. In periculis, in rebus dubiis, invocate eam, et in necessitatibus invenietis auxilium, etc. Sumite exemplum conversationis ejus et æmulemini [æmulamini] studia [charitatis et] humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo, Domina, humillima fuisti, Verbum increatum ex te carnem suscipere coegisti. [Psalm xxxiv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(10) Dixit injustus, etc. A malo propposito discedat. Mater Dei, inclina' vultum Dei super nos: cogo illum peccatoribus misereri, etc. Benedictum sit imperium tuum super cœlos, benedicta sit magnificentia tua super terram. [Psalm xxxvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(11) If Mary forgive sins, then is our faith in Christ in vain.

(12) Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, Domina, etc. Per tuam sanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, etc. [Psalm xlv. Ibid. p. 482.—Ed.]

(13) Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus, etc. Quoniam ipsa est porta vitæ, janua salutis, et vitæ [viæ] nostræ reconciliatrix [reconciliationis]; spes pœnitentium, solamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque salus. Miserere mei, Domina, miserere mei, quia tu es lux et spes omnium confidentium in te, etc. [Psalm xlvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(14) Miserere mei, Domina, quæ mater misericordiæ nuncuparis. Et secundum viscera miserationum [misericordiosum] tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, etc. [Psalm li. Ibid.—Ed.]

54. O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me, etc.[1] *Mary.*

70. Make haste, O Lady, to help me, etc. Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invocated, etc.[2] A. D. 1555.

71. In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever; in thy mercy deliver me, etc.[3] Blind trust.

79. O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits, etc.[4]

89. Thou that rulest Israel, etc. The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, etc.[5] God's honour derogated.

91. Whoso dwelleth in the help of the mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, etc. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him.[6] False trust.

95. Come let us rejoice to our Lady, etc. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest, etc.[7]

105. Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, etc. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, etc.[8] Abominable blasphemy.

110. The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here, my mother, on my right hand,[9] etc.[10]

114. In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it, etc. Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God, etc.[11]

119. The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications, etc. I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications, etc.[12] Blasphemy.

125. They that put their trust in thee, O mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, etc.[13] Blasphemy.

127. Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue.[14] Blasphemy.

128. Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, etc.[15]

130. Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady hear my voice, etc.[16] Idolatrous invocation.

132. O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, etc.[17]

134. Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.[18] False trust.

(1) Domina, in nomine tuo salvum me fac, et ab injustitiis meis libera me, etc. [Psalm liv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Domina, in adjutorium meum intende, etc. Miserere servorum tuorum, super quos invocatum est nomen tuum, etc. [Psalm lxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum, in tua misericordia libera me, etc. [Psalm lxxi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(4) Domina, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Christo confœderasti, etc. [Psalm lxxix. Ibid. p. 484.—Ed.]

(5) Qui regis Israel, etc. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur, et omnis salus de corde illius scaturisat. [Psalm lxxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(6) Qui habitat in adjutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipsius commorabitur, etc. Clamate ad illam in periculis vestris, et flagellum non approbinquabit tabernæculo vestro. Fructus gratiæ inveniet qui speraverit in illa. Porta paradisi reserabitur ei. [Psalm xci. Ibid. p. 485.—Ed.]

(7) Venite exultemus Dominæ nostræ, etc. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, et introduc nos in requiem æternam, etc. [Psalm xcv. Ibid. p. 486.—Ed.]

(8) Confitemini Dominæ nostræ, et invocate nomen ejus, etc. Salus sempiterna in manu tuâ, Domina, etc. [Psalm cv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(9) The devil and the pope say so, and not God.

(10) Dixit Dominus Dominæ nostræ; sede, mater mea, à dextris meis, etc. [Psalm cx. Ibid. p. 487.—Ed.]

(11) In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei, Domina, et suscipe eam, etc. Esto illi scala ad regnum cœlorum, et iter rectum ad paradisum Dei, etc. [Psalm cxvi. cxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam justificationum tuarum exquisivi, etc. Concupiscam in æternum laudare te, Domina, cum docueris me justificationes tuas, etc. [Psalm cxix. 7. Ibid. p. 488.—Ed.]

(13) Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici, etc. [Psalm cxxv. Ibid. p. 489. —Ed.]

(14) Nisi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit ædificium ejus. [Psalm cxxvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(15) Beati omnes qui timent Dominam nostram, et beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem suam, etc. [Psalm cxxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(16) De profundis clamavi ad te, Domina; Domina, exaudi vocem meam: fiant aures tuæ intendentes, etc. [Psalm cxxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(17) Memento, Domina, David, et omnium invocantium nomen tuum, etc. [Psalm cxxxii.—Ed.]

(18) Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui speratis in nomine sancto ejus, etc. [Psalm cxxxiv. Ibid. p. 490.—Ed.]

Mary. 136. At the floods of Babylon, etc. There is no propitiation to be found without her, etc.[1]

A.D. 1555. 140. Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me,[2] etc.[3]

Blasphemy. 145. Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient, etc. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever.[4]

Idolatry. 148. Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion: for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts, etc.[5]

I could recite also other things more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these:[6]

Horrible blasphemy. Behold, my Lady, my saviour; I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, etc. Because thou art my strength, and art become my salvation, etc.[7]

Blasphemy. Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediatrix, etc.[8]

The Scripture abused. I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones.[9]

O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?[10]

Cursed blasphemy. O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation, etc.[11]

In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell.[12]

Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady.[13]

Blasphemy. Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold his belief of our Lady: which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish, without doubt, for ever.[14]

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady,[15] compiled by the said St. Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth:

"O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldest conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy," etc.[16]

Mary made a commander of Christ. And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words:

"Therefore, O our empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a

(1) Super flumina Babylonis, etc. Non inveniretur propitiatio sine illâ. [Psalm cxxxvii. Ibid. —Ed.]

(2) God's office is appointed to our Lady.

(3) Eripe me, Domina, ab omni malo, et, ab hoste inferno defende me, etc. [Psalm cxl. Ibid. —Ed.]

(4) Oculi nostri sperant in te, Domina. Mitte nobis cibum et escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquetur lingua mea, et benedicam tê in seculum seculi. [Psalm cxlv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominam; glorifica illam etiam, O Sion. Ipsa enim construit muros tuos, et filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impinguat, pacemque donat terminis tuis. [Psalm cxlvii. Ibid. p. 491.—Ed.]

(6) See from the works of Bonaventure, "Cantica ad Beatam Virginem," p. 491 [marked 479].

(7) Ecce Domina Salvatrix mea, fiduciaIiter agam in te, et non timebo, quia fortitudo mea es tu, et facta es mihi in salutem, etc. [Isai. xii.—Ed.]

(8) Exulta [et lauda], totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem Dominus Deus tuus. [Ibid. instar Ezekiæ.—Ed.]

(9) Confitebor tibi, Domina, quia abscondisti hæc à sapientibus, et revelasti ea parvulis. [Cant. Hab. iii. Ibid. p. 480.—Ed.]

(10) Generatio prava atque pervorsa, agnosce Dominam nostram Salvatricem tuam. Nunquid ipsa est mater tua quæ possedit te, et in fide generavit te?

(11) O benedicta, in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus. [Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœlestium, etc. [Cant. de Dan. iii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(13) Quemadmodum infans sine nutrice non potest vivere; ita nec sine Dominâ nostrâ posses habere salutem.

(14) Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit. [Symbolum instar illius Athanasii. Ibid. p. 491.—Ed.]

(15) The Rosary or Garland of our Lady was called 'Corona beatæ Mariæ Virginis.' [See Bonaventure's works, as above, vol. vi. p. 465.—Ed.] (16) Ibid. p. 466.—Ed.

mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires," etc.[1] *Mary.*

Item, "O the advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee," etc.[2] A.D. 1555.

To these premises I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100, p. 2, col. 1, which I beseech thee to read and note, "Quæ major bonitas quam quod Christus," etc.: "What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying:

"Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good;" etc. "Where note," saith he, "that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant unto us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend; he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests," etc. Christ made a captive and a prisoner in the pope's church.

NOTES: THE CHURCH OF ROME EXAMINED.

Is not here good catholic stuff, christian reader, trow you? Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady (as we call her), to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to show herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? or what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, etc. To her we pray, we cry, we creep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be heretics *ipso facto*.

The church of Rome convicted of manifest idolatry.

Our Lady made equal with God.

The doctrine of the Romish church directly against the first commandment of God.

Trust and belief in our Lady.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation, which professeth his name, of whom we are called

(1) See Bonaventure's works, as above, vol. vi. p. 465.—Ed. (2) Ibid.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. Christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Our Lady hath her church as well as Christ.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and compline, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter; her holy-days likewise, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea ten Aves to one Pater-noster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see her also to have her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat; and also her Quicunque vult."[1]

Ten "Aves" to one "Pater-noster."

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy; then, peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe, and what to do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore, not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For whereas the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our salvation nowhere else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the institution of the church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given (wherein standeth infidelity), neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true christianity, in no wise can be sufferable.[2] But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our history.

Infidelity, idolatry.

The church of Rome charged with infidelity and idolatry.

(1) See Bonaventure's works, as above, pp. 480, 481.—Ed.

(2) The church of Rome neither taketh that which God doth give, neither doth seek for that which they would have by lawful means.

Mary.
A. D. 1554.

The Story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, and others, Martyrs.

Mention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the same time as he went to execution; of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next in the story now to entreat. The names of which six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodchill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggeshall. All which six Coggeshall men, next after the examination of Thomas Haukes, and Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and sir Philip Paris knight, with a letter also with them sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter sent from the Earl of Oxford to Bonner, Bishop of London.

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship, this shall be to advertise the same, that the constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day six persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; John Wallet, fuller; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; and Thomas Osborne, fuller; for that they, at the feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the sacraments; but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good lordship to the keeping of Almighty God.—From Heddingham the first of May, Anno 1555.

Six prisoners sent by the earl of Oxford to Bonner.

Your lordship's assuredly, Oxford,
Philip Paris.

Thus the said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said bishop the 17th of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same: the copy of which their articles and answers, being all one in form and effect (if the registrar say true), here followeth.

Osmond and his fellows brought before bishop Bonner.

The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, of Coggeshall.

1. First, that thou, Thomas Osmond, fuller, wast and art of the parish of Coggeshall, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, that thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of the damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the faith and religion of the same in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the said faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

Pope's church falsely called the universal church.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

3. Item, that thou hast not believed that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow and keep; but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian person.

Her faith not to be believed.

4. Item, that albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly,[1] that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item,[2] that thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoke and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it and distribute it among the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

The mass not of Christ's institution.

6. Item, that thou hast likewise believed, thought, and spoken, that the mass, now used in the realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry; and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ; and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in excelsis, the epistle, and gospel; and therefore thou hast not, nor will not come and be present at mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, nor any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in the realm of England, etc.

Against auricular confession and church service.

7. Item, that thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made unto the priest, but is a thing superfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other person. And likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, that thou, being notoriously and openly suspected for a heretic, and a person culpable in the premises, wast of late called and convented before the earl of Oxford, and master Philip Paris, and there wast charged with the said heresies; especially against the sacrament of the altar. And because thou didst maintain and stand to thy said heresies, and wouldst not come to the church and be confessed, and receive the said sacrament as other christian people did, but utterly didst refuse to do the same, thou wast, by the said earl of Oxford, and master Philip Paris, sent up by a constable unto me bishop of London, and wast by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as a heretic and misbelieving person.

9. Item, that thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken, and said, that all and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold anything concerning the sacraments of the church, or any of the articles of the faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our mother the holy church; or do call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the church; or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any slanderous or blasphemous words concerning the said sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach or keep any sect or kind of heresy against the

(1) Note, how this gear is penned to the worst.
(2) This article is not so put down as they meant it.

wholesome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obstinately defend the sect or kind of heresy, are, by the canons of the whole and universal catholic church, and also by the ecclesiastical laws of this church of England, by their so doing, accursed with that curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the sacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this said sect and heresy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the secular power; and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be by the said secular power put to death and burnt for this said sect and heresy. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

10. Item, that thou by reason of the premises wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate heretic, for a wicked and cursed person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said canon laws, usages and customs.

The Answers which the said Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, severally made unto these Articles.

To the first they answered and confessed the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the earth one catholic and whole church, and that the same church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this article.

To the second they answer, and believe the said article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part hereof.

To the third they answer, that the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be used in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Christ, and that the faith and religion used in the said churches are not agreeable with the church of Christ, but are false and erroneous. *The church of Rome not to be believed.*

To the fourth they answer and say, that howsoever the said churches of Rome and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the sacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material bread and wine; and that the same material bread and wine be only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they answer that the true receiving and eating of Christ's body, according to Christ's institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by faith (as they believe) Christ's body and blood; and not otherwise. *The true eating of Christ's body.*

To the sixth they answer the same to be true in every part thereof, except that over and besides the Gloria in excelsis, the Epistle and Gospel, which they believe to be good, they believe the Paternoster and Creed, used in the mass, be also good.

To the seventh they answer and confess, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the priest; nevertheless they think that it is necessary to go to such a priest as is able to give good counsel: and that for counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No service in the church ought to be said, but only in the English tongue. *Auricular confession not necessary. Ceremonies idle in the church.*

To the eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except they do not believe that they be heretics, or suspected of heresy.

To the ninth Osmond and Bamford answered, that they referred themselves to the said laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no answer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the said Osmond and Bamford answered and said, that by reason of their belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged for wilful and obstinate heretics, nor to be punished there-for, as is declared in that article. The other answered nothing.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

SCHOLIES UPON THE AFORESAID ARTICLES.

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and registrars, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic—as who should say, he that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Christ here in earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put this word "only" very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Crafty and captious dealing of the papists in propounding their articles.

Again, when the examinates hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examinates in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, etc.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people, these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and deceitfully in form of words devised by these bishops and their notaries: so the answers again to the same, be no less subtlely framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examinates; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained, upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerately subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed; at what time they did again appear, and there were examined and travailed with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the 18th day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them; and at last, in the afternoon, condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, the 15th of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich; the same 15th day in the month of June.

Sentence against Osmond, etc.

Their martyrdom.

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Master John Bradford,

Mary. A.D. 1555.

WITH HIS LIFE, ACTS, AND SUNDRY CONFLICTS WITH HIS ADVERSARIES, AND MARTYRDOM AT LENGTH MOST CONSTANTLY SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST AND HIS TRUTH.

As touching the first country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to sir John Harrington, knight, who, in the great affairs of king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulogne, had such experience of Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many other of his private business he trusted Bradford in such sort, that above all others he used his faithful service.

Sir John Harrington.

The trusty service of Bradford under him.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, like to come forward (as they say), if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many other be. But the Lord, who had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which, in his secret counsel he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life: in which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith this effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him; and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him the degree of a master of arts.

Bradford called to the gospel.

Giveth himself to the study of Scripture.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with them: yea that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the

Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

Bucer's saying.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

degree of a deacon, which order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet, perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a license to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

Bradford made deacon by Ridley, and prebendary in Paul's, with license to preach.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young king Edward the Sixth, when queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof (because they had no just cause) they took occasion to do this injury, for such an act as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve. The fact was this: the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, master Bourn, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him, as he stood in the pulpit), and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience: whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout,—"Bradford, Bradford; God save thy life, Bradford!"—well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so great a multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he were in safety: which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourn to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Unjustly deprived of his living and preaching.

Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross.

Bradford appeaseth the rage of the people, and guardeth the papistical preacher.

Regard of the people for Bradford.

Bradford procureth Bourn's safety.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourn, the charity of

Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against king Edward; among whom one gentleman said these words: "Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword." Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be showed in the time appointed. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow church in Cheapside, and reproved the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing. Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. Rebuketh the people for the tumult. Charged with sedition for saving the preacher. Committed to the Tower.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means (the keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark), he had license upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed. Bradford in the King's Bench and Compter. Preacheth, and ministereth the sacrament, in prison. Bradford comes into London without his keeper, and returneth that night to prison.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well The holy life of Bradford.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, etc. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had, to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles; and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

Bradford visiteth the thieves, pick-purses, etc.

Meeting and conference between Saunders and Bradford.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and master Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles: and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside, that there was no day, but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would; but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer-time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

Bradford refuseth to escape out of prison.

Would not fly out of England.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited; as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Brad-ford's tears.

Ferrar confirmed in the truth by him.

Bishop Ferrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who, after much persuading yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench, prisoner; where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel and God's true messenger.

Bradford dreameth of his burning.

The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter-gate, and

how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be showed. Now he, being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Bradford hath word of his burning

In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said, "O master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "to-morrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" And so, thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed: which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

He maketh his prayer; taking his farewell of the Compter.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning (by one master Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend), he made such a prayer of the wedding-garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

Goes from thence. The prisoners take their leave of him with tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring

Mary. A. D. 1555.

abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places (between the Compter and Newgate), a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely devised of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was overnight about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers minds; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof: others thought nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the said hour of four a clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great a number in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

The people in Cheapside bid Bradford farewell.

A noise of Bradford's early burning.

A multitude in Smithfield.

Bradford going thither.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine a clock of the day, before master Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side of the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who, as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodrofe, came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders; which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes: so they, departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake. Bradford then, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf: touching the order and manner of whose burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will now show forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adversaries, during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years

Bradford giveth his night-cap away.

Woodrofe breaketh the head of Bradford's brother-in-law.

Bradford two years, lacking a month and a half in prison.

lacking one month and a half; which examinations here follow to be declared. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of master Bourn, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, A.D. 1553, to the 22d day of January, A.D. 1555; upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester and other of the commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

THE EFFECT OF THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN JOHN BRADFORD AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS IN COMMISSION WITH HIM, THE 22D DAY OF JANUARY, ANNO 1555.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with master Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up: and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, over-faced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced him. Winchester over-faced.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: that of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," quoth he, "the time of mercy is come: and therefore the queen's highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner:— His words to Bradford.

"My lord and lords all; I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject both in going about to save the now bishop of Bath, then master Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly." Bradford's answer.

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said lord chancellor something snuffed, and speaking with an admiration, said:—

L. Chan.:—"There was a loud lie: for," quoth he, "the fact was seditious; as you my lord of London can bear witness."

Bonner:—"You say true, my lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition."

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Bradford:—"My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me."

L. Chan.:—"I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest: but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower,[1] whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Brad.:—"My lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God; and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath, master Bourne, will witness with me,[2] that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God there-for."

Bonner:—"That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."

Brad.:—"No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of master Bourne himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."

L. Chan.:—"Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon."

Man's mercy with God's wrath refused.

Brad.:—"My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from! although (I thank God there-for) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness."

L. Chan.:—"Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art."[3]

The Lord's mercy is better than life to Bradford.

Brad.:—"The Lord, before whom I stand as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon: therefore his good will be done. Life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, with his true favour, is true life."

L. Chan.:—"I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

Bradford ready to confirm his doctrine with his life.

Brad.:—"I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

Durham:—"Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?"

Asketh a question before he answereth.

Brad.:—"My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I

(1) This talk of Bradford first in the Tower, came not to our hands.
(2) "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Commandment the IXth. Thus Bradford was desired of master Bourne to help him, and yet is now shent for his labour.
(3) That is the worst you and your pope can do, and the best argument you have.

humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Sec. Bourne:—"Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?"

Bradford six times sworn against the pope.

Brad.:—"Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death."

Herod's oaths.

L. Chan.:—"Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

Brad.:—"But my lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, 'De vera obediéntia.'"

Rochester speaketh.

"My lords," quoth another of the council that stood by the table (master Rochester, I ween), "I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be, kept in prison."

The earl of Derby's complaint against Bradford.

Bourne:—"Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion,[1] than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught), and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is." All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said master Bourne added, saying, "How say you, sir? have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?"

Bradford falsely charged with sedition.

Brad.:—"I have not written, nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God there-for) have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bourne:—"Yea, but thou hast written letters."

L. Chan.:—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

Brad.:—"That I have written, I have written."

Southwell speaketh.

Southwell:—"Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council!"—Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances.

Brad.:—"My lords and masters, the Lord God which is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope."

L. Chan.:—"These be gay glorious words of reverence; but, as in all other things, so herein also, thou doest nothing but lie."[2]

Brad.:—"Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me."

Winchester at bay.

L. Chan.:—"Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here we objected against thee?"

Brad.:—"As I said, my lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar."

L. Chan.:—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?"

Brad.:—"I pray God give me his mercy; and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it: but, otherwise, I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of

(1) This letter was written to his mother, brethren, and sisters, and followeth hereafter.
(2) All are lies that please not Winchester.

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his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him: whereto Bradford answered thus:

Brad.:—"My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law. In the mean season I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

King Edward's time.

Upon these words my lord chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying: "How sayest thou?"

Bradford standeth in defence, etc.

Brad.:—"My lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Durham:—"What religion mean you in king Edward's days? What year of his reign?"

Brad.:—"Forsooth even the same year, my lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher." Here wrote secretary Bourne I wot not what.

The reason of Winchester to disprove that doctrine.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy; using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, "so that," quoth he, "the very end were enough to improve that doctrine to be naught."

Brad.:—"Ah, my lord! that you could enter in God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify."

L. Chan.:—"What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

Brad.:—"My lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

The queen's mercy again offered to Bradford.

Here now did my lord chancellor offer again mercy; and Bradford answered, as before: mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in some body: for there were present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in; "it is best," quoth master secretary Bourne, "that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow." So was the under-marshal called in.

Bradford returned again into prison.

L. Chan.:—"Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters," etc., "for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before."

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

THE EFFECT OF THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF JOHN BRADFORD IN ST. MARY OVERY'S CHURCH, BEFORE THE LORD CHANCELLOR, AND DIVERS OTHER BISHOPS, THE 29TH OF JANUARY, ANNO 1555.

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor and other bishops set with him, the said lord chancellor spake thus in effect:

Whereas before the 22d of January, the said Bradford was called before them (the said lord chancellor, etc.) and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of king Edward the Sixth, yet, in consideration that the queen's highness was wonderfully merciful, they thought good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late: "therefore advise you well," said he, "there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of master Barlow, and master Cardmaker;" whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the religion presently set forth.

Example of Barlow and Cardmaker laid against Bradford.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak:

Brad.:—"My lord, and my lords all! as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless; if guilty, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."[1]

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, "Deus stetit in synagoga," etc. "But," quoth he, "this and all thy gesture declare but hypocrisy and vain-glory." And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross, was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, "in that thou," speaking to Bradford, "wast so refract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen's people, as by report of the earl of Derby, in the parliament house was credibly declared." And to this he added, "that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee," quoth he, "but of and for thy doctrine and religion."

The witness of the earl of Derby laid against Bradford.

Brad.:—"My lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings; in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I

Bradford defendeth his fact at Paul's Cross.

(l) "Si illum objurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit; quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?"

Mary. A.D. 1555.

doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one; and yet, for it, I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you."

His words misreported.

L. Chan.:—"There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days."

Bradford more confirmed in his doctrine after his imprisonment than before.

Brad.:—"My lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same."

Winchester maketh but small matter of an oath.

L. Chan.:—"I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy."

Brad.:—"My conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my lord, so I say again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England."

L. Chan.:—"Why didst thou begin to tell that we are 'Dii,' and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?"

Bradford standeth still to his oath.

Brad.:—"My lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or no."

L. Chan.:—"No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do."

Brad.:—"That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but, when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience' sake, answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me anything whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do."

Why he answereth not to Winchester. Popish interrogatories.

L. Chan.:—"These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?"

Bradford ready to answer under protestation.

Brad.:—"My lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here "coram Deo," before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and your honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did."

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor of any such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. "Even so thou," quoth he to Bradford, "dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with a heresy (which is greater, and more hurtful to the commonwealth than the other is), pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience where they should not. Why speakest thou not?" *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Brad.:—"My lord, as I said, I say again: I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me; or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome: some be against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath, my help to my brother in his need." Difference of oaths.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, that howsoever his honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer.

"For, as for death, my lord," quoth Bradford, "as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do—his good will be done! And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity."

L. Chan.:—"How prove you that?"

Brad.:—"Forsooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

Festino. Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.
The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England is with God's word, and is not against it.
Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity."

L. Chan.:—"Is it not against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?"

Brad.:—"No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power, the sovereignty in all his dominion."

L. Chan.:—"I pray you where find you that?"

Brad.:—"I find it in many places, but specially in Romans xiii., where St. Paul writeth, 'Every soul to be subject to the superior power:' but what power? 'Quæ gladium gestat,' 'The power verily which beareth the sword;' which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power: as Chrysostome full well noteth upon the same place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He (Chrysostome I mean) there plainly showeth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates." Bishops, prophets, and apostles, subject to temporal magistrates.

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: "and so," quoth he, "this man would make God's word a warrant of

Mary. A.D. 1555. disobedience: for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, 'Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority,' 'No,' will he say, 'for I should be forsworn;' and so he makes the queen no queen."[1]

Refusing of the pope's obedience, etc., is no denying of obedience to the queen.

Brad.:—"No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to king Edward, not simply (that is, not only concerning his own person), but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying to do the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient."

L. Chan.:—"Yes, that thou doest;" and so he began to tell a long tale, how, if a man should make an oath to pay to me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, "No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then."

Here Bradford desired my lord chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his honour would make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, he did not trifle: "but," quoth he, "thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome."

Argument. A specie ad genus negative non valet.

Brad.:—"No, my lord; I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch."

L. Chan.:—"I will none of these similitudes."

Brad.:—"I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I mean that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God."

L. Chan.:—"No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor."

Brad.:—"It is true, my lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: 'Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time.' If, in like manner, we were sworn; 'Thou shalt not serve the emperor,' etc. you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, De vera Obedientia: 'Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.'"[2]

Winchester pretendeth as though Bradford, for fear, durst not answer.

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men; "and now," quoth he, "he saith he dare not answer"

Bradford ready to tender a reason of his faith.

Brad.:—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord! into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace: Amen.

(1) See the preposterous judgment of Winchester, to care so little for an oath to God, and so much for his vow to the pope.

(2) "Vincat modo divini verbi veritas."

Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

L. Chan.:—"Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?"

Brad.:—"My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word 'corporally' I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith."

Christ present corporally in the sacrament to faith.

L. Chan.:—"Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain."

Brad.:—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

L. Chan.:—"Speak on."

Brad.:—"I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite: and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord! Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugene the pope:[1] "I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was," etc.

Note well the pope's way to bring men to faith.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," quoth he, "although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes." Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle. At which words Bradford spake thus:—

Winchester blamed without a cause, as he saith.

Brad.:—"My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it; for hitherto I never felt it."

As soon as ever he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor (belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon) said, that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad.:—"Return, my lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And, I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done."

Bradford three quarters of a year kept from pen and ink.

Here now were divers telling my lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

Kept in the vestry till night.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman called master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was answered him by the under-marshal's officers of the king's bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning, for old acquaintance.

Hussey cometh to him.

The next morning, about seven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and, being with

The counsel of Hussey.

(1) "Apostolos lego stetisse judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit," etc.

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him, he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him, to speak that which he would further utter.

"You did," said the gentleman, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you [speaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said] this day—for anon you shall be called before them again—to desire a time, and men to confer withal: so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of.

To this John Bradford answered:

Bradford refuseth to require respite.

Brad.:—"I neither can nor will make any such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence."

Seton cometh to him.

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who, when he saw master Hussey, "What, sir," quoth he, "are you come before me?" "O Lord!" said Bradford in his heart to God, "goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord! give me grace to remember thy lesson, 'Cavete ab hominibus illis,' 'Beware of those men,' etc. 'Cast not your pearls before dogs:' for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other."

Hussey taken with a lie.

Counsel of Seton.

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my lord of Canterbury, master Latimer, and master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to master Hussey. With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, master doctor said thus:

Flattering commendation of Seton.

Dr. Seton.:—"I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a fantasy towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal," etc.

Bradford refuseth to ask respite to confer upon his doctrine.

But John Bradford kept still one answer: "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught."

Here master doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and "spake like a prelate."

But Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." But still master doctor Seton urged him, showing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

"I never saw any justice, much less love; I speak for my part," quoth Bradford, "in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my lord hath no just matter against me."

Little justice, less love, appeareth in the bishop of Winchester.

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not; for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a show that my lord chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, master Hussey asked Bradford:

Hussey:—"Will ye not admit conference, if my lord chancellor should offer it publicly?"

Bradford refuseth to admit conference but upon conditions.

"*Brad.*:—"Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint."

Seton raileth against him.

Master doctor, hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for," quoth he, "otherwise I am helpless:" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried, uncalled for, till eleven of the clock, that is, till master Saunders was excommunicated.

THE EFFECT AND SUM OF THE LAST EXAMINATION OF JOHN BRADFORD, IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY OVERY'S.

Winchester's talk with Bradford.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and, being brought in before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now eftsoons come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them; he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity.—Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus:

Bradford's answer.

"As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do.—For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday

Mary. A. D. 1555. the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

Winchester replieth again with a lie.

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which yesterday," quoth he, "before us you uttered."

Brad.:—"My lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament, which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

The oath against the bishop of Rome.

L. Chan.:—What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Brad.:—"No indeed, my lord: you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do."

Winchester's similitude in no point like.

L. Chan.:—"O Lord God! what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we—all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm—be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

His similitude refuted.

Brad.:—"O my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction; whereat the chancellor was much offended. But Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, "De vera Obedientia," for confirmation.

God's word judges only of oaths, whether they be made lawfully against the supremacy of the pope or no.

At the length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii., "My word shall judge;" and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word," quoth Bradford, "my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath."

Winchester leaveth his hold.

So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and, as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highness, so did he now. But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; "no more," quoth he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a *piece* of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the *whole* inheritance."

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such

like; which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. Summa, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's highness could do no more but remit her right: as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; "and therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England; and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Winchester stumbling at vows made to man, and leaping over solemn oaths made to God.

Winchester in a pelting chafe.

Brad.:—"Well, my lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison: now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people: upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think), for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow-church, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompense, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is."

Bradford imprisoned without a cause.

Bradford near slain in the pulpit, with a dagger, thrown against Bourne.

Bradford jeoparded his life for Bourne.

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Brad.:—"No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good; 'but,' quoth you, 'thy mind was evil.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then my lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn the mind. Forasmuch as otherwise, I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is."

Winchester proved double in his own words.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. "I," quoth he, "had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing:" and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Winchester driven to eat his own words.

Brad.:—"Why, my lord? your honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion; but said, a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorised by public laws of

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the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison there-for? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth."

Chamberlain against Bradford.

Here came forth master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my lord chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with master Harrington.

L. Chan. :—"True, and did deceive his master of seven-score pounds: and because of this, he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

Brad. :—"My lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Winchester again driven from his hold. Bonner with another untruth.

Here my lord chancellor and master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," quoth my lord chancellor, "we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are a heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he did write letters to master Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well his own: your honour did see the letters."

Brad. :—"That is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of."

Bonner :—"Yea, but you indited it."

Brad. :—"I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove."

A clerk; thought to be Allen.

Here came in another, I trow they call him master Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

L. Chan. :—"You say true: for we have his hand to show."

Brad. :—"I deny that you have my hand to show of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter.

L. Chan. :—"Sir," quoth he, "in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy; and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days against all men; and this you did most stoutly."

Winchester brought to a plain foil. His captious quarrel answered.

Brad. :—"Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it (though if justice might take place, I need it not), so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaineth to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not."

Another untruth in him.

L. Chan. :—"Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament; and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."

Brad. :—"My lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed; and therefore you reproved it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate."

L. Chan.:—"Why! didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"

Brad.:—"No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver."

L. Chan.:—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"

Brad.:—"My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."

Here was Bradford called diabolus, a slanderer:[1] "for we ask no question," quoth my lord chancellor, "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence."

Brad.:—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate."

Worcester:—"If he be not included, how is he then present?"

Brad.:—"Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it."

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor, talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked this question: whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that present offered to his lordship, although he received it not: "So that," quoth he, "the receiving maketh not the presence, as your lordship would infer: but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive." And here Bradford prayed my lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. "He hath coupled all these together: 'Take, eat, this is my body.' He saith not, 'See, peep, this is my body;' but, 'Take, eat.' So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, if we take and eat."

Christ's body present to faith. Transubstantiation denied. The wicked receive not. Receiving maketh not the presence of the body, but grace.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout. But Bradford said thus, "My lord, are not these words, 'Take, eat,' a commandment? And are not these words, 'This is my body,' a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?" Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

The sacrament hath both a commandment and a promise. Bradford teacheth.

Brad.:—"Why my lord, I pray you tell the people what mood 'accipite, manducate,' is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should

(1) "Blessed are you when they shall revile you, and speak all that is naught against you, for my name's sake."—Matt. v.

Mary. A. D. 1555. teach a child; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, "I pray you give me drink, which," quoth he, "is no commandment, I trow." But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus:

Brad.:—"My lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament."

Here the lord chancellor called him again diabolus[1] or calumniator, and began out of these words, "Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread ["yea bread," quoth Bradford] and drink of the cup," to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament: "for then," quoth he, "if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

Distinction between commandments.

Brad.:—"O my lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac," etc.

Here my lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: "for then," quoth he, "we should have eleven commandments."

Brad.:—"Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, 'Drink ye all of it.' But how say you, my lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, 'Ite predicate evangelium.' 'Go and preach the gospel.' 'Feed Christ's flock,' etc. Is this a commandment, or no?"

Winchester in a chafe. Tonstal's question.

Here was my lord chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Another, the bishop of Durham I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no?

As the cup is the Testament, so bread is the body.

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the New Testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so, that the bread is bread. "For," quoth he, "in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, 'Non est panis,' 'There is no bread.'" And so he brought forth Chrysostome, 'Si in corpore essemus:'[2] in summa, much ado was hereabouts; they calling Bradford heretic, and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

L. Chan.:—"This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together that of mere necessity all must come to pass."

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense.

To God nothing is by fortune.

"Your lordship," quoth Bradford, "doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not, by fortune, to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said, 'Lord,' quoth they, 'see how Herod

(1) Diabolus is as much as to say in Greek, a slanderer, or a caviller. (2) Hom. lxxxiii. Matt. xxiv.

and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do."[1] *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, laicus (layman), "Why," quoth he, "art thou no priest?" The sentence of the curse.

Brad.:—"No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hands; but God I doubt not will give his blessing where you curse."

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so, praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London; this being then purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London. Bradford delivered to the sheriff, and sent to the Compter.

After the condemnation of master Bradford, which was the last day of January, master Bradford, being sent into prison, did there remain until the 1st day of July, during all which time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor the 4th day of February, entered talk with the said master Bradford, the effect whereof here ensueth.

PRIVATE TALK HAD WITH JOHN BRADFORD, BY SUCH AS THE PRELATES SENT UNTO HIM, AFTER THE TIME OF CONDEMNATION, BY HIS OWN WRITING.

Upon the 4th of February, that is the same day master Rogers was burned, Bonner bishop of London came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he spake to master Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying:

Bonner:—"Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought master archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short."

Brad.:—"My lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready." Bradford desireth to confer with none, yet ready to talk.

Bonner:—"What," quoth the bishop in a fume to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper:—"No, my lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire."

Bonner:—"Well, master Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered."

Brad.:—"Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have

(1) Acts iv.

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charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not."

Bonner:—"Well, well." And so he called for master Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

ANOTHER PRIVATE MATTER OF TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND WILLERTON, CRESWELL, HARDING, HARPSFIELD, AND OTHERS.

On another day of February, one master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford; but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing than abiding, "Well, master Bradford," quoth he; "yet I pray you let us confer a little: perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none." Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the doctors, the fathers, of the bread in John vi., etc., labouring to prove transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

Willerton sendeth his writing to Bradford, to prove transubstantiation.

But Bradford, on the contrary part, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and doctors his reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the Scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; Panis quem ego dabo, etc. The bread which I will give is my flesh: and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and Cor. x. and xi., with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

Willerton cometh again to Bradford.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that "Bradford swerved from the church."

Brad.:—"No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

Willerton:—"Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, 'Labia sacerdotis custodiunt legem;' 'The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.'"

Brad.:—"Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, 'Search the Scriptures.'"

Will.:—"This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

Brad.:—"Then the people must not have the Scriptures?"

Argument. The people must not have the Scriptures.

Will.:—"No, for it is written, 'Erunt docti à Deo;' 'They shall be all taught of God.'"

Brad.:—"And must we learn all at the priests?"

Will.:—"Yea."

Brad.:—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests did then persuade the people."

At which words master Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reasons

which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, "and then," quoth Bradford, "I will answer them." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

"Well, I will do so," said Willerton, "but first I will answer yours." The which thing until this day he hath not done.

On the 12th of February, there came one of the earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you." The earl of Derby's servant.

Brad.:—"I thank his lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant:—"Ah, master Bradford! consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you die as a heretic!"

Brad.:—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self; for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Serv.:—"If my lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea."

Brad.:—"No, I had rather be burned in England, than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND ONE PERCIVAL CRESWELL; AND AFTER THAT WITH DR. HARDING.

Upon the 14th of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinsman of master Fecknam's, who after many words, said,

Creswell:—"I pray you let me make labour for you."

Bradford:—"You may do what ye will."

Cres.:—"But tell me what suit I should make for you." Creswell offereth to make suit for Bradford.

Brad.:—"Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual prisonment, I will thank her."

Hereupon Creswell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford taking the book, said: More's book brought.

Brad.:—"Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article."

Cres.:—"Oh! if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me."

Brad.:—"What is it?"

Cres.:—"Desire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you: my lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you."

Brad.:—"No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them."

So they went their way. About three of the clock in the afternoon, master doctor Harding, who was the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, showing how that he had prayed to God, before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had Harding cometh to Bradford.

Mary. A.D. 1555. of Bradford; and spent the time in such tattling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

"What, master Harding!" quoth Bradford, "I have heard you, with these ears, maintain this that I stand in."

Harding:—"I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine; but otherwise I never taught it."

Harding against Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Luther. And so he, inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their vows were justly given up into heresies (as he said). Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

TALK BETWEEN DR. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON, AND MASTER BRADFORD.

Felicity coveted of all men, but the way to felicity not known to all men. On the 25th of February, Percival Creswell came with master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a short sum; that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harpsfield:—"But the way thither, is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul."

Brad.:—"You speak truly."

Harps.:—"Well, then here is the matter; to know the way to this heaven."

The true way to felicity. *Brad.:*—"We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: 'I am the way.'"

Harps.:—"It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ."

Brad.:—"I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."

Harps.:—"No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, 'Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils?' etc. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, 'Depart from me, I know you not.'"

Brad.:—"You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe:[1] as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can."

Harps.:—"Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ.[2] How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?"

Brad.:—"Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."

Harps.:—"Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?"

Baptism an outward seal. *Brad.:*—"Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die

(1) Note the difference between believing, and saying, I believe.

(2) The way to come to Christ, is by the word: for by the word cometh faith, by faith we come to Christ.

without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Harps.:—"To those we may think perchance that God will show mercy."

Brad.:—"Yea, the children whose parents do contemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

The church is our mother.

Harps.:—"Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ: for Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood, for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."

Brad.:—"All this is truly spoken."

Descent of the church.

Harps.:—"Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?"

Brad.:—"Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."

Harps.:—"Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?"

The church of Christ is visible, even as Christ was.

Brad.:—"It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, 'Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones;' as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."

Multitude not the surest mark to know the church.

Harps.:—"I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?"

Brad.:—"Yes, that it is. Howbeit, 'Latet anguis in herba,' as the proverb is; for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?"

Harps.:—"Ye divert from the matter."

Harpsfield prevented of his purpose.

Brad.:—"No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."

Harps.:—"Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"

Brad.:—"Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."[1]

Harps.:—"Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the sacraments administered?"

Brad.:—"It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted.[2] But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This, Bradford did speak, that the standers-by might see, that though the papists' church have baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true church, neither need we to be baptized again.

Harps.:—"You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one."

Brad.:—"So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

Harps.:—"Well, this church is a multitude.[3] Hath it not the preaching of

(1) Preaching of the gospel goeth ever with the church, unless it be interrupted sometimes by persecution.

(2) Administration of sacraments is one note, but not the cause, of the true church: and yet not such a note, but that it may often be letted by persecution, and yet the true church remain. The pope's church hath baptism and sacraments administered: ergo, the pope's church is the true church. The argument faileth. "A causâ non sufficiente, vel non causa, ut causa."

(3) A popish distinction of the church to be a multitude, having preaching of the gospel, ministration of the sacraments, power of jurisdiction, and succession of bishops.

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the gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? And, yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

Brad.:—"What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

Harps.:—"I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

Brad.:—"Well, go to; what then?"

Harps.:—"It hath also succession of bishops."[1]

And here Harpsfield made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Brad.:—"You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up, will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church, afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people."

Harps.:—"You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the succession of bishops."

Brad.:—"Do so."

Apostles and bishops, be sundry offices.

Harps.:—"Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?"

Brad.:—"No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop: that is, give him no certain place."

Harps.:—"Indeed, the apostles' office was not the bishops' office, for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, 'he hath given pastors, prophets,' etc., so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

Brad.:—"The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subtlety: and therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye called priests?"[2]

Harps.:—"No."

Brad.:—"Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops: that is, of ministers, which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

The ascent and descent of succession of high priests.

Harps.:—"I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never show in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a show to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial."

Brad.:—"Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures, and examples of good men."

Harps.:—"Yea."

Brad.:—"Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then, as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth[3] their accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Esaias's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

(1) Succession of bishops is no essential part of the church, but rather "accidens commune:" which being interrupted, yet the church may stand as it did both before Christ's coming, and after at the coming of antichrist.

(2) The ministry of God's word and ministers, be an essential point of the true church; but not the local succession of ministers in one certain place.

(3) "Improveth," i. e. refutes. See Tyndale's works, Edit. Russel, Vol. i. p. 503; Nare's Glossary.—Ed.

Harps.:—"Yea sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but, as he was in speaking, master Harpsfield rose up; and the keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what master archdeacon spake, who still said, that Bradford was out of the church.[1]

Brad.:—"Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually.—God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen!" Bradford's prayer.

Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

THE NEXT DAY'S TALK BETWEEN DR. HARPSFIELD AND MASTER BRADFORD.

Upon the 16th of February in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and, after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

Master archdeacon Harpsfield began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone overnight; and therewith did begin to prove upwards succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France at Lyons for twelve hundred years: in Spain at Seville for eight hundred years: in Italy at Milan for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used also succession of bishops in the East church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation; the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which followed. Unto this his long oration, Bradford made this short answer: Harpsfield again proveth his church by succession of high priests.

Brad.:—"My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for heretics of the church: which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God. And this to think St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming: but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church; therefore the like we must look for now." Bradford's answer. Outward descent of ministers maketh not the true church: but the truth of God's word maketh true ministers.

Harps.:—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

(1) The papists challenge to them the true church, even as the mother of the dead child challenged the living child from the true mother. 1 Kings iii.

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Brad.:—I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."[1]

Harps.:—"Why! did they not allow Moses's law?"

Brad.:—"Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof; as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it: for they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly; but because I dare not, nor I will not, leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do; and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself."

The Jews corrupt the law, as the papists do the Scriptures.

Comparison between the old pharisees and our new papists.

And so Bradford began to rise up. But then began master archdeacon to tell him that he was in very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well."[2]

Brad.:—"I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children."

Harps.:—"But what if you be deceived?"

Brad.:—"What if you should say the sun did not shine now?"—and the sun did shine through the window where they sat.

Harps.:—"Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

Brad.:—"Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harps.:—"That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church."

Brad.:—"No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child, of it for ever: I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further, I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken something too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which, by the testimony of my lord of Durham in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many a hundred years after Christ, for us to believe or not believe."

Free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation many hundred years after Christ.

Harps.:—"What is that?"

Brad.:—"Transubstantiation."

Harps.:—"Why: ye are not condemned therefore only."

Brad.:—"For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

Harps.:—"You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else."

Brad.:—"How you believe you know: for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver."

Christ not included really in the sacrament.

Harps.:—"Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament."

Brad.:—"In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will by God's grace believe."

Christ's body present to the faith of the receiver.

Harps.:—"More pity: but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us."

(1) The true succession of priests, and the succession of true priests, are two things.

(2) Bold confidence and hope of God's word and promise, seem strange among them which are not exercised in mortification.

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Brad. :—"I confess a presence, and a true presence but to the faith of the receiver."

"What," quoth one that stood by, "of Christ's very body which died for us?"

Brad. :—"Yea, even of whole Christ God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it."

Harps. :—"Why? This is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God,[1] and all kind of miracle in the sacrament."

Brad. :—"I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but panem domini, as Judas did, and not panem dominum, as the other apostles did."

Harps. :—"The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."

Brad. :—"They receive not the body,[2] for Christ's body is no dead carcase: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."

Harps. :—"Well, you have many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass;" and so he read, out of a book written, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.

Brad. :—"Why sir? the mass as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time.[3] Was not the most part of the canon made since by Gregory and Scholasticus?"

Harps. :—"Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by Gregory: but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."

Brad. :—"I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's Prayer."

Harps. :—"You say true: for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass, the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."

Brad. :—"I can away with none of those."

Harps. :—"No, I think the same: but yet 'hoc facite,' telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church."

Sacrifice of the church. Sacrifice for the church.

Brad. :—"You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice; and as for 'hoc facite,' is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating," etc.

Harps. :—"You speak not learnedly now: for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."[4]

Brad. :—"I think that you speak as you would men should understand it: for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread: for I perceive you order the matter so as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church."

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Basil.[5]

Brad. :—"I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all necessaries for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him."

Harps. :—"If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

Brad. :—"Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death to me shall be life."

(1) None denieth omnipotency more than the papists, who say that Christ's body cannot be in the sacrament unless the substance of bread be away.
(2) Argument: Whoso receive the body of Christ do receive the fruit and grace of life: no wicked men do receive the fruit and grace of life. Ergo: No wicked men receive the body of Christ.
(3) Mass in St. Ambrose's time. That is false, for Scholasticus was not before Ambrose's time.
(4) Note this doctrine, good reader.
(5) Elevation was not brought in indeed before the time of pope Honorius.

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Creswell:—"It were best for you to desire master archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer."

Harps.:—"I will do the best I can: for I pity his case."

Brad.:—"Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured."

And in this and such like gentle talk they departed.

THE TALK OF DR. HEATH, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND DAY, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, WITH MASTER BRADFORD.

The 23d of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying unto him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had. Then after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, how he was certain of salvation, and of his religion? After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God—even by the Scriptures—I am certain of salvation and religion."

York:—"Very well said: but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church?"

Brad.:—"Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean, that the Samaritans knew Christ: but as when they had heard him speak, they said, 'Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him;' so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures showed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep—not because the church saith, they are the Scriptures, but because they be so; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York:—"You know, in the apostles' time, at the first, the word was not written."

Although in the apostles' time certain books of the New Testament were not written, yet the apostles send us "ad firmiorem sermonem propheticum."

Brad.:—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament: but else for the Old Testament Peter telleth us, 'Firmiorem sermonem propheticum habemus,' 'We have a more sure word of prophecy:' not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, who, being alive and compassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching: albeit in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of truth."

York:—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written."

Brad.:—"Yea sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester:—"Yea, indeed master Bradford doth tell you truly in that point."

York:—"Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the Scripture."

Brad. :—"True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine."

Chich. :—"You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's gospel." The authority of the church alleged against heretics.

Brad. :—"Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge."

York :—"A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church: I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? for the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto." To judge the church.

Brad. :—"My lord, I do not judge the church, when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at sometimes it is more visible than at some." The church is catholic and visible, &c.

Chich. :—"I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was, these four hundred years?"

Brad. :—I will tell you, my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said, that he was left alone?"

Chich. :—"That is no answer."

Brad. :—"I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it." The true church is visible, and ever hath been; but every man hath not eyes to see it.

Chich. :—"You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now."

York :—"Very well spoken, my lord; for Christ said, 'Edificabo ecclesiam,' 'I will build my church;' and not 'I do, or have built it;' but, 'I will build it.'"

Brad. :—"My lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation afore Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers." The bishops driven to an inconvenience.

Chich. :—"In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church."

York :—"He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do."

Brad. :—"My lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it), no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not of the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it." Bradford condemned without just cause, but as was gathered at his judgment against him.

Chich. :—"No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other."

Brad. :—"My lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort." False surmise.

York :—"Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned."

Brad. :—"Your grace did hear me answer my lord chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your grace make it: were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's

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truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said."

York :—"You deny the presence."

Brad. :—"I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers."

The presence of Christ's body to the faith of the worthy receiver.

York :—"Why! what is that to say other than that Christ lieth not on the altar?"

Brad. :—"My lord, I believe no such presence."

Chich. :—"It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostome, for he proveth it."

Brad. :—"Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostome, that he saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongs touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is a hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostome is full."

Hyperbolical phrase of Chrysostome.

York:—"It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate."

Bradford excommunicated with the poor blind man.

Brad. :—"I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was (John ix.); I am sure Christ receiveth me."

York :—"You do deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said:

"Assuredly as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church."

Chich. :—"Ah, master Bradford! you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience."

The pope proved to be antichrist by Scripture.

Brad. :—"I was but a child then, howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil: for ye are come, and have brought others, to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church; for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church."

York :—"See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though ye were in the church, where you are not."

Transubstantiation.

Brad. :—"Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation."

York :—"This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the church doth (that is, transubstantiation), were of the church."

Chich. :—"He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church; as a man to hold against transubstantiation.[1] Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them which were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been a heretic."

Brad. :—"Oh, my lord! will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist), although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."

"Yea," said both the bishops (York and Chichester), "this is your divinity."

Brad. :—"No, it is Paul's; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved."

York :—"Lord God! how you delight to lean to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures."

Chich. :—"I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter:" and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

(1) Note how these bishops themselves do grant that the time was, when transubstantiation was not defined by the church: Tonstal saith, that it was more than eight hundred years after Christ.

Brad.:—"My lord; what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Œcolampadius, in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are, God's children, and saints with him."

Bradford hangeth not on Luther, etc., and yet he accounteth them goodmen.

York:—"Well, you are out of the communion of the church."

Brad.:—"I am not; for it consisteth and is in faith."

York:—"Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith."

Communion of the church.

Brad.:—"For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter; saying that disagreeing of fasting should not break the agreeing of faith."

Chich.:—"The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we dissevered ourselves from the see of Rome."

Brad.:—"Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again."

Here my lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustine 'Contra epistolam Fundamenti,' how that there were many things that did hold St. Augustine in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity: "besides this, there holdeth me in the church," said Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic doth hold me," etc. "Lo," quoth he, "how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your church thus."

Brad.:—"My lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present."

Chich.:—"In good faith, master Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming."

Brad.:—"Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. ii., and Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ saith, 'Beatus est quicunque non fuerit offensus per me;' so may his church say, 'Blessed are they that are not offended at me.'"

York:—"Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution."

The church commonly not glorious in this world, but poor and persecuted.

Brad.:—"What I think, God knoweth; I pray your grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul saith, 'Omnes qui,' etc., 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.' Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly."

York:—"But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of people and nations?"

Consent of the godly.

Brad.:—"Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrine of faith."

York:—"Lo, you go about to shift off all things."

Brad.:—"No, my lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth."

Succession from Peter.

York:—"St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat."

Brad.:—"Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now."

York:—"Well, you always judge the church."

Brad.:—"No, my lord; Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."

York:—"Yes, that they do."

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Brad.:—"No, and it like your grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth."

York:—"Wherein?"

The voice of Christ.

Brad.:—"In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege."

Chich.:—"Why, Latin service was in England when the pope was gone."

Brad.:—"True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery—as in king Henry's days."

Latin service defended.

York:—"Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were clerici, that is, such as understood Latin; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and choir so as the people could not come in, or hear them."

Against Latin service.

Brad.:—"Yea, but both in Chrysostome's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerome's time, 'all the church,' saith he, 'reboat, Amen;' that is, answereth again mightily, 'Amen:' whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them."

The people robbed of the cup.

Chich.:—"Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup."

Brad.:—"Well, my lord, term it as it please you; all men know that the laity hath none of it."

Chich.:—"Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

Brad.:—"If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?"

York:—"Well, master Bradford, we leese our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your church no man can know."

Brad.:—"Yes, that ye may well."

York:—"I pray you whereby?"

The church is known only by the Scriptures.

Brad.:—"Forsooth Chrysostome saith, 'tantummodo per Scripturas;' 'alonely by the Scriptures:' and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know."

York:—"Indeed that is of Chrysostome in Opere imperfecto,[1] which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops."

Brad.:—"No, my lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that 'The church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men indued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity.'[2] And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church did rather 'delitescere in cavernis,' than 'eminere in primariis sedibus:' that is, was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence."

Then came one of their servants and told them, that my lord of Durham tarried for them at master York's house; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written books of common places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good. And so, wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

The coming of two Spanish friars to Bradford.

After this communication with the bishops ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom the one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before

(1) "Chrys. in opere imperfecto;" Hom. 49, tom. vi. p. 946. Paris, 1836. The papal censors have, with Bellarmine's approbation, foully erased these words, under pretence of their being an Arian interpolation. Gibbing's Preface (p. 31) to Reprint of the Roman Index Expurg. (Dublin, 1837.)—Ed.

(2) "Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis secularis aut ecclesiasticæ, sed in hominibus in quibus est notitia vera, et confessio fidei et veritatis."

written a popish book against heresies, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND TWO SPANISH FRIARS.

On the 25th day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to the Compter where Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one friar, which was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, that had written against heresies?[1]

Brad.:—"I do not know him."

Confessor:—"Well, this man [pointing to Alphonsus[2]] is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us."

Brad.:—"I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other: but, seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alph.:—"It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addict to your own self-will or wit."

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alph.:—"Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."

Brad.:—"Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words: now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alph.:—"You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt. Pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain laboureth our tongue to speak else."

Brad.:—"Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it; for it is his truth. And because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it." *No man ought to be in doubt of his religion.*

Alph.:—"What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not."

Brad.:—"Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws where-for I might justly be prisoned; and now am I condemned, only because I frankly confessed (whereof I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation, the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body." *Why Bradford was condemned.*

Alph.:—"Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?"

Brad.:—"No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as *Christ how present.*

(1) "Alphonsi a Castro Zamorensis adversus omnes hæresis libri xiv.; nunc postremo, ab. auct. recognitum et auctum:" Antverpiæ, 1568. This was rather a popular work, and was first published at Paris in 1534; an edition which has been valued as containing (lib. i. cap. 4) a passage omitted in many subsequent editions, relative to the ignorance of some of the Roman pontiffs. See Walch. Biblioth. Theol. iii. 748: Voght "Catalogus Historico-criticus Librorum variorum;" p. 231. Francorf. 1793; also Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer; art. 4, div. 19. De Castro attended Philip II. as confessor, when his majesty came into England; and he was afterwards employed in preaching against the taking away of men's lives for religion! See vol. vi. p. 704, of this edition; also Burnet, vol. ii. part 1, A.D. 1555; "Antonio Biblioth. Hispana Nova," vol. i. p. 16; also Hume's History of England, vol. iv. edit. 1792.—Ed.

(2) This Alphonsus had written a book before, in Latin, against heresies.

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for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe."

Alph. :—"I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscriptible."

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is everywhere, and the other is in his proper place; demanding such questions as no wise man would have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: How that because Christ's body was circumscriptible, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

A Spanish argument.

Brad. :—"How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say, because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason,—Because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament under the form of bread: which no wise man will grant."

Alph. :—"Why! will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

Brad. :—"Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me."

Christ is able to do it: ergo, he doth it.

"He is obstinate," quoth Alphonsus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, said, "Is not God able to do it?"

Brad. :—"Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

Alph. :—"Why! doth he not say plainly, 'This is my body?'"

Brad. :—"Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

Alph. :—"To the faith!—how is that?"

Brad. :—"Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it; so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alph. :—"But I can tell all that I believe."

Brad. :—"You believe not much then; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

Hoc est corpus meum.

Alph. :—"Christ saith, it is his body."

Brad. :—"And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alph. :—"After a certain manner? that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

Brad. :—"St. Augustine[1] telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith; or, to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

Alph. :—"Very well said: baptism and the water thereof is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

Brad. :—"No, sir, away with your enclosing: but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

Alph. :—"In water is God's grace, by signification."

Brad. :—"So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

A popish distinction of sacraments.

Alph. :—"You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be standers, and the sacraments that are transitory and passers-by. As for example, the sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it; it is a standard, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament."

Brad. :—"Very good; and so it is in the supper of the Lord: no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament."

The friar in a chafe.

Here was this friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang again, chafing with *om* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath

(1) Augustinus Epistola ad Bonifacium.

little patience; for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude to each other. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad.:—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."[1]

Alph.:—"No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it."

Brad.:—"Paul saith; that as we are baptized into one body, so were we 'potati in uno spiritu,' i.e. 'we have drunk of one spirit,' meaning the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alph.:—"Paul hath no such words."

Brad.:—"Yes, that he hath."

Confessor:—"I trow, he hath not."

Brad.:—"Give me a Testament, and I will show you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friar found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

The friar proved a liar in his own testament.

Brad.:—"Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostome doth expound it so."

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place (1 Cor. xi.); and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

Brad.:—"Yea, but therewith he saith, 'He that eateth of the bread;'[2] calling it bread still: and that after consecration (as ye call it) as in Cor. x. he saith, 'The bread which we break,' etc.[3]

Alph.:—"Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things, after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod."

Conversion is mentioned in turning Moses' rod: so it is not in the sacrament.

Here Alphonsus, calling for a Bible, after he had found the place began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

Brad.:—"Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense: but *here* ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

Brad.:—"No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak."

Alph.:—"No, you have the church against you."

Brad.:—"I have not Christ's church against me."

Alph.:—"Yes, that you have. What is the church?"

Brad.:—"Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity."

Alph.:—"Is she visible?"

Brad.:—"Yea, that she is to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."[4]

Alph.:—"This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least continually."

(1) 1 Cor. xii. (2) 1 Cor. xi. (3) 1 Cor. x.
(4) The church is visible but to them that have spiritual eyes.

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Brad.:—"What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?"
Alph.:—"Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body."
Brad.:—"You speak more than you can do."
Alph.:—"That do I not."
Brad.:—"Then will I give place."
Alph.:—"Will you believe?"
Brad.:—"Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise. But I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour."

The papists hold that the act of believing is in man's power.

Here the friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt "habitus" and "actus;" as though "actus," which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place? "Yea, that I will." Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, "What and if that I prove, by the testimony of the fathers, that continually, for eight hundred years after Christ at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament—what will ye do?"

Alph.:—"I will give place."
Brad.:—"Then write you here, that you will give place if I so prove; and I will write that I will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the pre-eminency."

The friar refuseth to abide trial with Bradford.

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? [meaning the two priests] be not they sufficient?" But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the friar would have fallen to plain scolding. At the length the king's confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad.:—"That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received 'panem Domini,' but not 'panem Dominum.'"

The friar again proved a liar:

Alph.:—"St. Augustine saith not so."
Brad.:—"Yes, that doth he."

They depart in a heat.

So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.—After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad.:—"Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me, 'non est panis.'"
Priest:—"Yes, that I can in five places."
Brad.:—"Then I will eat your book."

A priest put to a foil.

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling, "God help us."

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND DR. WESTON, AND OTHERS.

It followed after this, upon the 21st of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one master Collier, once warden of Manchester, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom master Bradford learned that Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, would be with him in the afternoon about

two of the clock. At dinner time—when the said warden did discommend king Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head to be a title of the forerunner to antichrist—a woman prisoner was brought in; whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison-chamber to beg of God grace and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with master Weston, who was then come in. *Mary.* A.D. 1555. The name "supreme head" the forerunner to antichrist.

Master Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the hall, master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did; with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: so they all went out, save master Weston himself, master Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, master Claydon, and the parson of the church where the Compter is. Weston cometh to Bradford.

Now then he began with master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the earl of Derby: "and," quoth he, "after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others, I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not:" Conference between them.

"Sir," quoth master Bradford, "when I perceived by the report of my lord's servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say," quoth Bradford: "otherwise I desired not your coming."

"Well," quoth Weston; "now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First," quoth he, "I shall desire you to put away all vain glory,[1] and not hold any thing for the praise of the world."

Brad.:—"Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth), yet I promise you, by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us."

West.:—"I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions." Singularity.

Brad.:—"Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic; understanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word."

West.:—"Very well; this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me 'capita' of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations," etc. Weston willeth Bradford to write his faith.

Brad.:—"Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it: this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein."

(1) Weston's lessons are such as he did never follow himself.

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West. :—"You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you."

Brad. :—"Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned."

West. :—"Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?"

Brad. :—"God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth."

West. :—"I would have you to pray so."

Brad. :—"So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it; as I thank God he hath done and doth."

West. :—"Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it."

Brad. :—"No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth."

"Well," quoth Weston, "as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so," quoth he, "I hope your prayers [for then Bradford's eyes did show that he had wept in prayer] cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not," quoth he, "remember the history thereof?"

"Yea sir," quoth Bradford, "I think it be of St. Ambrose."

West. :—"No, that it is not."

And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, "As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things."

Brad. :—"Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his Confessions."

Bradford wrongfully charged with sedition.

After this talk Weston began to tell master Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the queen. Whereunto Bradford, answering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf: so, much talk there was to little purpose at that time. Dr. Weston declared moreover how he had saved men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like. The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him "capita doctrinæ" of the Supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again. And thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beer and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which is to no purpose.

ANOTHER DISPUTATION OR TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND DR. PENDLETON.

In the meantime, when master Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, in short space after (about the 28th of March), there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the foresaid master Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations master Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. "And further," quoth Pendleton, "after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do thee good, and pleasure thee what I can, as ye would wish."

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Bradford :—"Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort: master Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others; and I said, that I had rather speak with you, than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before."

Pendleton once of the same religion with Bradford.

Pendleton :—"Master Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned."

Brad. :—"Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to show me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in religion."

Here master Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation indeed, "although I said," quoth he, "that the word was not in Scripture;" and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: "but," said he, "I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them." And here he desired Bradford, that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to master Weston; the which Bradford did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had,[1] whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit: ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcase. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine,[2] how Judas received "panem Domini," and not "panem Dominum;" and how that he must be in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with "idem," and not "ad idem," and how that "in corpore Christi" was to be understood of all that be in the visible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning; and said, also, that the allegation of "idem," and not "ad idem," could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; "panis natura mutatur," etc. And Bradford said, that in that place "natura" did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance; for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton said, that he was a pope. "Yea," said Bradford, "but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it."

Evil men receive not Christ's body. He must be in Christ's body that must receive it.

A place of St. Cyprian as expounded by Gelasius.

They reasoned also whether accidentia were "res," or no. If they be properly "res," said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances they are earthly, and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing; and called it "an accidental substance."

Pendleton driven to say that accidents be substances.

I omit the talk they had of my lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he

(1) Pendleton, belike, would study out the reasons that moved him to alter: for he had none ready to show.

(2) In Joh. Evang. tract. 59, f. 1.—Ed.

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was condemned, with other talk more of the church; whether "die ecclesiæ" was spoken of the universal church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular church): also of vain glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of; and such like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, "Master doctor, as I said to master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me." At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no catholic doctrine. "Yes," quoth Bradford, "and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic fathers until the Council of Lateran, or thereabouts." Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come oftener to Bradford.—God our Father be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

Bradford could hear no reason of the papists to infirm his opinion against transubstantiation.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came master Weston to Bradford; and after gentle salutations, he desired the company every man to depart; and so they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain Reasons against Transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and others.

Transubstantiation brought in.

That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under pope Innocent the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not believe it, as the bishop of Durham[1] doth witness in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper lately put forth: ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

The reasons proving the words of the Lord's Supper to be figurative.

2. That the words of Christ's Supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity, do affirm. But inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

The wine is not transubstantiate: ergo, neither the bread.

4. The bread is no more transubstantiate than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostome upon Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

5. As the bread in the Lord's Supper is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, "This is my body," did say also, "For we many are one bread, one body," etc. But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

(1) De Veritate Corp. et Sang. Christi, in Eucharistiâ; Auct. C. Tonstallo; 4to. Lutet. 1554. lib. i. p. 46; according to Fealtey's Supplement to "A Case for the Spectacles, or a Defence of 'Via Tuta,'" by Sir H. Lynde. Lond. 1638, page 39.—Ed.

6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiate into the New Testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present of the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that see did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth.

The doctrine of the church of Rome agreeth not with the Greek, nor with the old Roman church.

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosom: and yet, before he began to read it, he showed Bradford that he asked of his conversation at Cambridge since his last being with him; "and," quoth he, "master Bradford, because you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face: your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it; and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you." So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

Brad.:—"I do not contend, or hang upon the *word* only, but upon the *thing*, which is as new as the word."

Then went Weston to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that if an evil man, going to the devil, did make his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. "Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine," said he?

The words of Austin guilefully wrested by Weston.

Brad.:—"Yes, sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words 'tropicè' or 'figurativè,' as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not: and so Christ did in his last supper."

After this Weston went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. "Here," saith he, "my lord of Canterbury expoundeth 'nature' for 'quality,' by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your third argument, that Christ called bread his body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper;[1] he was not so presently, but because he had been so."

Brad.:—"Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian: and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer,

(1) Simon, though he were called the leper, yet he was seen to be no leper; but bread is seen still to be bread; and therefore hath its name not of that it was, but of that it is.

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except you could show that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have known and seen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leprosy."

After this, Weston went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epistle "De Aquariis:"[1] also of St. Augustine; expounding the breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and show him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation; which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to master Bradford again within three days.

Weston required to write his reasons.

Thus, when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers, then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer: meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did; for he subscribed.

Grimoald subscribed.

Bradford plain and firm in confession of the truth.

Brad.:—"Master Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or seen any thing to infirm my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last."

West.:—"In good faith, master Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you."

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled; whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed Bradford how that my lord of Bath reported that he had deserved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the councils'. In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death. "Sir," quoth the keeper, "but it is in every man's mouth, that he shall die to-morrow." Whereat Weston seemed half amazed, and said, he would go say evensong before the queen, and speak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

The vain promise of Weston.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again that still he was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to master doctor's counsel, and prayed master doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, master doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

(1) Epist. 63, p. 148. Edit. Oxon. See Dupin, third century.—Ed.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that master doctor spake openly, how that he saw no cause why they should burn him: which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, "which, God knoweth," saith Bradford, "I never as yet did." God our Father bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

ANOTHER TALK OR CONFERENCE BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND DOCTOR WESTON.

On the 5th day of April came master doctor Weston to the Compter, about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent; partly by sickness, partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him that he would come unto him; "and partly for that," quoth he, "I withstood certain monks, which would have come again into Westminster;" telling him, moreover, how that the pope was dead. And also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him. Last of all Weston excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation; "because my coming to-day," quoth he, "was more by fortune, than of purpose." Weston withstandeth the monks coming into Westminster.

Brad.:—"I would gladly, master doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments."

Weston:—"Why? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you."

Brad.:—"No, sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them; as also for that they seemed not to be so material."

Weston:—"In good faith I cannot see any other or better way for you, than for to submit yourself to the judgment of the church."

Brad.:—"Marry so will I sir, if so be by the church you understand Christ's church."

Weston:—"Lo, you take upon you to judge the church."

Brad.:—"No, sir, that I do not; in taking upon me to discern, I do not judge the church."

Weston:—"Yes, that you do; and make it invisible."

Brad.:—"I do neither."

Weston:—"Why, who can see your church?"

Brad.:—"Those, sir, that have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ's visible conversation here upon earth."

Weston:—"Nay, Christ's church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon; namely, unity, antiquity, and consent."

Brad.:—"These three may be as well in evil as in good; as well in sin as in virtue; as well in the devil's church, as in God's church—as for an example; idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostome telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known, 'tantummodo per Scripturas,' 'alonely by the Scriptures.'"

Weston:—"In good faith, you make your church invisible, when you will have it known alonely by the Scriptures."

Brad.:—"No, sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look."

Weston:—"The church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see."

Brad.:—"True, sir, all men that be not blind. Visible enough is the church, but men's blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men's blindness."

Weston:—"Where was your church forty years ago, or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?"

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Brad. :—"Forsooth, sir, the church of God is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God; so that where it is, there is God's church, if it be truly taught."

West. :—"Lo, is not this to make the church invisible? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine."

The church is not always to be pointed out by realms and countries.

Brad. :—"Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the church before Christ's coming, with it now (as St. Paul and Peter willeth us), I think you would not look for such shows of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elias's time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God's church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone."

West. :—"No, marry; did not God say that there were seven thousand which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then seven thousand. Show me seven thousand a hundred years ago of your religion."

God saved the church in Elias's time, although Elias himself did not see it; and so is it knewn.

Brad. :—"Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men: for then Elias would not have said, that he had been before left alone. And it is plain enough, by that which the text hath, namely that God saith, 'reliqui mihi,' 'I have reserved to me seven thousand.' Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago, God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof."

West. :—"Well, master Bradford, I will not make your case worse than for transubstantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church."

Brad. :—"Sir, so that you will define me your church, that under it you bring not in a false church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point."

West. :—"In good faith, master Bradford, I see no good will be done; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again."

And so he sent for master Weal, and departed.—Now after his departing, came the keeper, master Claydon, and Stephen Bech; and they were very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's[1] servant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had. This gentlewoman's servant, therefore, being sent to master Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-slip.

A COLLOQUY BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND A GENTLEWOMAN'S SERVANT, BEING SENT TO VISIT HIM IN PRISON.

This servant or messenger of the foresaid gentlewoman, coming to master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

Master Bradford answered, "Well; I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

(1) This gentlewoman is yet alive, to whom Bradford wrote a letter which hereafter followeth.

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Servant :—"Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as me thinketh you be now, God be thanked for it."

"Why," quoth Bradford, "I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal."

Serv. :—"Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

Brad. :—"Truth it is; for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

Serv. :—"Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

Brad. :—"Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him; let them seek what means or ways they can."

Serv. :—"Well, sir, there goeth a talk of a friar[1] that should preach before the king, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late."

"Verily," quoth Bradford, "I had a book[2] within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Fonso)[3] and with divers other; and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

Serv. :—"Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

Brad. :—"How doth he? how doth he?"

Serv. :—"Well, God be thanked."

Brad. :—"I am very glad thereof: for indeed my lord chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but, as David saith, 'God hath disappointed him.'"

Serv. :—"Forsooth (God's name be praised) he is very strong."

Brad. :—"And, I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid."

Serv. :—"My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

Brad. :—"How doth she?"

Serv. :—"Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

Brad. :—"I pray you tell her, I read this day a goodly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juletta.[4] She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which, for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to the law with him. And, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do: 'for,' saith he, 'this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them.' Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, 'Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, 'Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends; yea, and farewell life too: and, in respect of the true honour of the ever living God, farewell all.' And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death. And being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant: 'for,' saith she, 'ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh: so that also, in the case and

A story of a faithful woman and martyr in the primitive church called Juletta.

(1) By this friar he meaneth Alphonsus mentioned before.

(2) "A book," etc. "De justa hæreticorum pernitione, libri tres;" fol. Salmanticæ, 1547; Lugduni, 1556; Antverpiæ, 1568. The object of this work, in the language of Antonio, is "ut confirmaret justas esse omnes illas hænas, quibus in jure civili atque canonico hæretici addicuntur."—Ed.

3) Alphonsus, otherwise called, in the vulgar speech, friar Fons.

(4) See Tillemont's "Memoires à l'Hist. Ecclesiastique." Tom. v. Part I. pp. 274, 414, Edit. 12mo. 1707.—Ed.

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trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong.' And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

Serv.:—"That shall I, sir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and master Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

Bradford nothing afraid of death.

Brad.:—"We never gave her other counsel but the truth; and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered a maid, and said, "Why then I perceive you were afraid."

Brad.:—"Ye shall hear how fearful I was; for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was told me; and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

Serv.:—"Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?"

Brad.:—"Nothing but your prayers; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

Serv.:—"I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

Brad.:—"Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

Serv.:—"Then we let you; therefore the living God be with you."

Brad.:—"And with you also, and bless you."

"Amen," said we; and gave him thanks and departed.

Bradford had from the Compter to Newgate by night.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as afore is declared; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

John Leaf, burnt with Bradford.

John Leaf by the alderman of the ward committed to prison.

With John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby-Moorside, in the county of York: who, upon the Friday next before Palm Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell. After, he, coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

John Leaf examined before Bonner concerning his faith in the sacrament.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the selfsame substance of Christ's body and blood

there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine;[1] and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; for it is no point of soul-health—neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.[2]

Auricular confession.

Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he, at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the 10th of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation; who so did: at what time the foresaid bishop, propounding the said articles again to him, as before, essaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Leaf, master Rogers's scholar.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been master Rogers's scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he, with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My lord," quoth he, "you call mine opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of God." And again, repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his staid and well grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop, being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation: whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with master Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

Sentence against Leaf.

It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him (because he could not read nor write himself), that he refused. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing the reader thereof to show the bishop, that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

John Leaf sealeth the bill of his confessions with his blood.

(1) Only as touching the substance, but not as concerning the effect thereof
(2) He meaneth after the popish manner of remitting, etc.

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THE BEHAVIOUR OF MASTER BRADFORD, PREACHER, AND OF THE YOUNG MAN THAT SUFFERED WITH HIM IN SMITHFIELD, NAMED JOHN LEAF, A PRENTICE, WHO BOTH SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, master Bradford, lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to master Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood up upon their feet, and then master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; "for," said he, "I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith master Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and, holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O master sheriff," said master Bradford, "I am quiet: God forgive you this, master sheriff." And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing master Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." To the which words master Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night:" and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but, embracing the reeds, said thus; "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

The words of Bradford to England.

The saying of Bradford at his death.

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happpily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching master Woodrofe the sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly here he answered master Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, etc. The like extremity or worse, he used also before to master Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe sheriff, above mentioned, was joined in office with another, called sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is, master Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people.

Difference between two sheriffs.

THE BURNING OF MASTER JOHN BRADFORD AND JOHN LEAF.

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And whereas the other was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors, so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side, with such a palsy or stroke of God's hand (whatsoever it was), that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.[1]

In Mortem Johannis Bradfordi constantissimi Martyris, per Joan Frieum.

Discipulo nulli supra licet esse magistrum;
Quique Deo servit, tristia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnen;
Ad cœlum stricta est difficilisque via.
Has, Bradforde, tuo dum condis pectore voces,
Non hominum rigidas terribilesque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradis et accensæ membra cremenda pyræ.[2]

Lines in Memory of John Bradford, Martyr.

*Lament[3] we may both day and night
For this our brother dear;
Bradford, a man, both just and right,
There were but few his peer.

For God's true servant he was known
In every city and town;
His word amongst them he hath sown
Till it was trodden down.

There was no man could him appeach
Neither in word nor deed;
But that he lived as he did teach,
In fear of God and dread.

Since that the time he did profess
God's holy word most true,
No riches, substance more or less,
Could turn his heart anew.

From God's true word he would not
Though it was to his pain; [slide,
But in the truth he did abide,
All men might know it plain.

The wicked men, they did him take,
And promise him much store,
To cause him this his God forsake,
And preach the truth no more.

But he, for all that they could say,
Would not his God displease;
But trusted, at the judgment day,
His joy would then increase.

And where they punished him there-
Full well he did it take: [fore,
He thought no pains could be so sore
To suffer for Christ's sake.

Alas! the people did lament,
When that they did hear tell
That he in Smithfield should be burnt,
No more with us to dwell.

His preaching was both true and good,
His countenance meek and mild;
Alas! the shedding of his blood
Pleas'd neither man nor child:

Save only they, which had the law
At that time in their hand;
Which still desire more in to draw,
And catch them in their band.

O wicked men of little grace!
Was ever the like seen—
So many men, in such a space,
To death consumed clean?

(1) In the First Edition this calamity is thus recorded; "In fine, this aforesaid master Woodrofe, after the burning of master Bradford, returning home to his house, strait upon the same was taken lamé both arm and leg, so that this day he cannot stir out of his house, nor yet scarce move himself but as he is helped. The Lord, if it be his pleasure, be his helper!" See Edition 1563, p. 1215.—Ed.

(2) See the Harleian MSS. No. 416. Art. 27.—Ed.

(3) See Edition, 1563, page 1216.—Ed.

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How many of you papists all
Would not with speed return
From your doctrine papistical,
If that you knew to burn!

And where you would not give him
His mind forth for to break; [leave
All men of God will him believe,
Though little he did speak.

In going to the burning fire,
He talked all the way:
The people then he did desire
For him that they would pray.

And when he came unto the place
Whereas then he should die,
Full meek the fire he did embrace,
And said: "Welcome to me."

A servant true of God, I say,
With him that time did burn;
Because in God's word he did stay,
Not willing to return.

But quietly were both content
Their death to take truly;
Which made the people's hearts to
Their deathful pangs to see.* [rent

The Letters of Master Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters; of which, some he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foresaid letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being prisoner, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same: and although to exhibit here all the letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compassed, yet, nevertheless, we mind to excerpt the principal of them; referring the reader for the residue to the book of "Letters of the Martyrs,"[1] where they may be found.

Read the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

Bradford's letters complained of in parliament.

And first, forasmuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written of John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also how he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester, and of master Allen with the same letters; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin first with the same letters; the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable Letter of Master Bradford to his Mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other of his Friends there.

Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ—whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name there-for) I am—preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Treves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, etc., now and for ever. Amen.

I am at this present in prison (sure enough for starting), to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory; as Paul saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him."[2] Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven:

(1) This book was printed in London by John Day in 1564, and reprinted there in 1837.—Ed.
(2) 2 Tim. ii.

for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.[1] Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely, great plagues of God hang over this realm.

God beginneth his judgment with his own house.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us—as me for my carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it, by God's grace: but because I lived not the gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay rather *in* punishing blesseth me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had: for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess; secondly to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

Complaint of the carnal and wicked life among gospellers.

Why God first punisheth his, in this world.

Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war: "The world," saith he, "shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep; but your weeping shall be turned into joy." And therefore "happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted."[2] They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark—I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now, with his shavelings, rejoice:[3] but wo unto them, for they shall be cast down; they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow; but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard sir John: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will,—come devils to the church, and go devils home—for no man must find fault: and they are glad of this. Now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone. But what followed! Forsooth when they cried, "Peace; all shall be well!" then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

God useth to prove and try his children.

The mass rebuketh no sin, nor shameth consciences, as preaching doth.

Wherefore fear God; stick to his word though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once; and when, or how, can you not tell. Die therefore with Christ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

The best death of all deaths, is to die for God's sake.

(1) Acts xiv. (2) John xlx.

(3) Of this place the earl of Derby seemeth to take hold, complaining that he curseth them that teach any false doctrine, etc.

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I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure (I trust in God), shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me; then did you believe me: and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

The mass is a poison to the church.

It is God's truth I have taught: it is that same infallible word whereof he said, "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass." The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God, and enemies of Christ's cross (the papists I say) have brought in again, to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it! Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: if the mass be God, let them that will, see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His Supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins: but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, "Take, eat:" No, saith the priest, "Gape, peep." There is a sacrificing, yea killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine. There is all in Latin: you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the mass.

Doubts and objections answered.

"Oh," will some say, "it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do." But God will further you (be you assured), as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.[1]

You shall be counted a heretic: but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein: but, if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you. Pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad,[2] but into father Traves' hands: for, if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake, to give my life for his gospel and church' sake.—Out of the Tower of London, the 6th day of October, 1553.

My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls.

After the time that master Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last "vale" of them in this letter.

A Fruitful Letter to the City of London.

To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of

(1) Matt. xix. (2) For all this caveat, yet this letter came to the earl of Derby's knowledge.

the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omni-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ! although the time I have to live is very little (for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence), and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state: yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, maugre the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

First, for my faith, I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is God's only gift), all the twelve articles of the symbol or Creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the Creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what, hereout, hath its foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

Antichrist of Rome not to be Christ's vicar general.

Transubstantiation a doctrine of idolatry.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander-by and looker-upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as a heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

It quite overthroweth the Lord's Supper.

Christ wholly present to the faith of the receiver.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name): although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf: yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein!

God punisheth his people for one thing, but men persecute them for another.

Bradford sorry that he doth not more rejoice, dying in so good a quarrel.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily, in his bowels and blood, do now (for my last "vale" and farewell in this present life), beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of

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the Lord accordingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security: profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity: frame and fashion your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections: if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy: if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek also for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, "Let thy kingdom come," we must join, "Thy will be done," done "on earth as it is in heaven." If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves: if we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

A lesson against carnal security.

The gospel a new doctrine to the old man.

Christian profession requireth christian conversation.

To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must *not* bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously, professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God (most justly fallen upon us) be applied to every one of our deserts; that, from the bottom of our hearts, every of us may say, "It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking-away of our good king; of thy word and true religion; of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of hosts, and turn us unto thee: correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger: chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy! For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? but with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee! Help us, for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us and help us, for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, 'Where is their God?' etc."

Faith would be coupled ever with a good conscience.

He exhorteth to repentance.

Our sins provoke persecution.

On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins; repent us of our former evil life; heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things; continually watch in prayer; diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures; labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness: let us fly from all idolatry: let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; abrenounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that be not against God and his word,—for then, answer with the apostles, "It is more meet to obey God than man." Howbeit, never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he, in his time, will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts: but, if you want this hope, fly, and get you hence, rather than, by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

He exhorteth to pray, and how to pray with repentance.

Obedience to magistrates in all that is not against God's word.

Patience.

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In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you. With him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means,—yea when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand; you shall not lie still. Before you call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved hereof, doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you—not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you—in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity: namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

We ought to depend upon God's providence always.

All our hope is only in Christ and for his sake to be received.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, etc. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate you—though ye be persecuted here—for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches; fear not the power of man; love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

To bear the cross.

Mortification.

In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead, be in the faith of the Son of God; "For the just doth live by faith:" which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes be above, where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth! It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord—to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

We must live in the faith of Christ.

The property of faith.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you: but that, my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof; and the God of peace be with us all. Amen.—This 11th of February, 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,

John Bradford.

A Letter to the University and Town of Cambridge.

To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our alonely Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet, having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but

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something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me; that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and everywhere upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea of dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

The martyrs persecuted of the prelates not for their sins, but only for Christ.

The cause of his condemnation declared.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put-to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed; or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

A great mercy of God, to turn the death of his saints, justly deserved, to serve for a confirmation of his own glory.

Cantabrigienses bene moniti.

Of this, therefore, I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee), to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy,[1] and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's *collyrium* and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea alas, authorised, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not "canis reversus ad vomitum."[2] Be not "sus lota reversa ad volutabrum cœni."[3] Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! wo to this world and the things therein, which have now so wrought with you. O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if thou the light be darkness, alas,

(1) Read before the letter of Cambridge to king Henry VIII.
(2) The dog returned to his own vomit.
(3) "The sow that was washed, returned to her wallowing in the mire." 2 Pet. ii.

how great will the darkness be! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou should thus be afraid of him? *Mary.*

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O what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah; that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her, and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the wo that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than thou shouldest offend the little ones?

The glory of this world is a vain thing.

Babylon hath Judah in captivity.

And alas, how hast thou offended? yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Christ—without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman (that is, Christ's wife), except they would make much of her husband, Christ and his word, she would not be made much of them.

The church standeth not in the outward show.

When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church? they or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, "Search the Scriptures." And, good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who were taken in Noah's time for the church? poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And doth not Christ say, "As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man?" What meaneth Christ when he saith, "Iniquity shall have the upper hand?" Doth not he tell that "charity shall wax cold?" And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

Custom, unity, antiquity, consent of multitude, are marks deceivable

Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, etc. something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother! awake, awake; repent, repent; buskle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord: for else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts. O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by me, a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord; for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now "the axe is laid to the root of the tree."

You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would

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come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not; if you leave not your idolatry; if you turn not speedily to the Lord; if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which you know.

Bradford prophesies before the sweat-time, what would follow, etc.

O Perne repent! O Thompson repent! O you doctors, bachelors, and masters repent! O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord! Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, "peccavimus," we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon us our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, "Where is now their God?" O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

He teacheth Cambridge to pray.

God's mercy promised to Cambridge if it repent.

If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people; for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

Cambridge threatened, if it repent not.

O turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers: you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord! turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives; depart from evil; do good; follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess his truth; be not ashamed of his gospel; prepare yourselves to the cross; drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I, with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my "vale in æternum," with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom: Amen, Amen. — Out of prison the 11th of February, Anno 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever,
John Bradford.

A Letter to Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially to Manchester.

To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout— John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed: that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in Manchester was I born), for a seal to the doctrine

I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to themwards), think, by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

He confesseth his sins before God.

Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do,[1] "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true." For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also: yea, even since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's commodity; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, etc.: all which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I hope, and certainly believe, he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

The papists condemn not Bradford, but Christ.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that *I* do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice; rejoice and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord: Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, "What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy Supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else." My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton[2] is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongst you), but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

The cause why Bradford was condemned.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's Supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's Supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfected, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the stander-by and looker-on), as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church (which the popish church doth persecute), will I not forsake,

Transubstantiation the devil's darling, and daughter of antichrist.

(1) "Justus es Domine, et omnia judicia tua vera."

(2) Dr. M. Pendleton recanted first in king Edward's time, and now again in queen Mary's time.

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and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the verity in any other than such as be children of unbelief, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies: from which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy: Amen.

Bradford's farewell to the county of Lancashire.

And to the end you might be delivered from this plague—right dear to me in the Lord—I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

God's manifold plagues upon England in queen Mary's days.

The cause of God's plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the time of God's visitation.

You know a heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, etc.; and setting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, etc. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have showed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed: for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved (yea undesired on our behalf), let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him), but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and, according to his wonted mercy, to deal with us.

Rising with David.

Suing with the centurion.

Repenting with the publican.

Returning with the lost son.

Let us arise with David, and say, "Ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo," etc. i.e. "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified." Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, "Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace." Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, "O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners." Let us, with the lost son, return and say, "O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children." Let us, I say, do on this sort; that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then, undoubtedly, we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Bradford's last farewell.

Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in æternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ showed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison (as often out of your pulpits I have done), that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord; whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort; he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

The day of God's wrath at hand.

Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent.

Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh! therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done: it is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians; as alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: oh! turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to show mercy to them that call upon him. Oh! then call upon him while he may be found; for he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

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Wanton gospellers. Proud protestants: false Christians.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh! why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh! forget not how that the Lord hath showed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass; specially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the 22d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, etc. (wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth:) if (I say) you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; oh! your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

Bradford prophesied of these plagues before.

Destruction threatened to them that repent not.

As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you; cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, flee the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness; fly from fornication and flattery, murder, and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on pity and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, etc. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causers thereof; for they know not what they do), so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

Precepts of life.

Good counsel given.

Bradford's blood will cry out against the recusers of his counsel.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Winsley, Eccles, Preston, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, It is enough, put up the sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah good brethren! take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

Out of prison ready to come to you, the 11th of February, Anno 1555.

Mary.
A. D. 1555.

To the Town of Walden.

To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever: Amen.

When I remember how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his true doctrine and religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but, out of prison secretly (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which (I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom) I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth; but also should, after your vocation, avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruths; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praised be God therefor) I do seal the same.

Bradford answereth with his blood for his doctrine.

Indeed, to confess the truth unto you, and to all the church of Christ, I do not think of myself, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy, for the blood's sake of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me another thing than mine iniquities, even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not, confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar (thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly), do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary.

Accuseth again his own life.

Christ himself persecuted in his martyrs.

To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught five hundred years at the least after Christ, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness), whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by and lookers-on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as a heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply, because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice: but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and so many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give, with me and for me, most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ; for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your consciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives?

Bradford persecuted for confessing the truth.

God's truth never can be kept under by the adversaries.

Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in king Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may prison; they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord: but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able

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to vanquish and put away. Their idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the consciences of men that love God's truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, over these, I say, the devil shall prevail: for God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your pulpit, that you would live the Lord's truth; love (I say) to live it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas! you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not loving God's word.

He exhorteth them to love God's truth, and to live thereafter.

You know how that we were but gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, etc.; and even glutted with God's word; yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercy's sake) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, saying, "We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord God! against thy Majesty. We have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly are thy vengeance and wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou hast called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts; and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also, that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us! spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee; for then will they be puft up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their gospel serve them? O Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable."

God's gospel abused.

God's gospel loathed.

He exhorteth to repentance and prayer, and to bewail our sins before the Lord our God.

On this sort I say, dearly beloved! let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose: for else the Lord heareth not our prayers, as David saith. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: as for example, not only such as follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which, for fear or favour of men, do against their consciences consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love more the world than God; to fear man more than Christ; to dread more the loss of temporal things than eternal; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in him, saith St. John: therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world.

The prayers of sinners be not heard.

Romish rags and rotten religion.

Remember that before ye learned A. B. C., your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their cross (mark, take it up), and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, etc. Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad. What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home: we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. Of all things we have in this

The A. B. C. of the Christians, beginneth with Christ's cross.

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life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as soldiers: if we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory: if we forsake not him, he will never forsake us: if we confess him, he will confess us; but, if we deny him, he will deny us: if we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and heaven, and all things to come to us; so let us forsake all things, and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lord's sake; and you shall find and feel peace of conscience, and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

They never lose that follow Christ.

He exhorteth to amendment in religion and conversation.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lord's sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord; repent you of your evil and unthankful life; declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap, while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flee from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. "O! come again, come again you strange children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why, will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (sweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your sins for mine own sake."

The Lord watcheth to perform his word double-wise.

Bradford must be a witness in the last day, etc.

O then, dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you and every of you, not to contemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be to be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be, if ye repent not; if ye love not God's gospel; yea, if ye love it not.

Therefore (to conclude) repent; love God's gospel; live in it all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever: Amen.

The 12th of February, anno 1555.

By the bondman of our Lord, and your poor afflicted brother,

John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B. C. etc., their Wives, and whole Families. John Bradford.[1]

I beseech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever: Amen.

The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand; iniquity overfloweth; the truth and verity seemeth to be suppressed; and they which take part therewith, are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this, is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, etc.; we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us

God's anger and mercy both together upon his church.

(1) This other letter of master Bradford was written to certain friends of his, whom, for danger of that time, he would not name.

with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memory oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we should have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then, if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security;[1] which, of all plagues, is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons,[2] they are not under God's rod of correction.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

God's mercy the cause why we are punished here.

Jezebel's bed of security.

A great mercy it is therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world.[3] Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us:[4] now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.[5]

Why God's saints be afflicted in this world.

Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross;[6] thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign;[7] if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us,[8] crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.[9] "Be glad," saith Peter, "for the Spirit of God resteth upon you."[10] After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you.[11] And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods; for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, king Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again amongst us: as you, for your parts, even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell:[12] for he will show merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread.[13] You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

He exhorteth them to take comfort in the cross.

I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful: for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you.[14] You know the way to

God's mercy seen in the cross.

(1) Rev. iii. (2) Heb. xii. (3) 1 Cor. xi. (4) 1 Pet. iv. (5) Phil. iii.
(6) Rom. viii. (7) 2 Tim. i. (8) Matt. x. (9) Matt. v. (10) 1 Pet. iv.
(11) 1 Pet. v. (12) Matt. xix. (13) Psalm xxxviii. (14) Rom. viii.

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heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in ;[1] for few live godly in Christ Jesus ;[2] few regard the life to come ;[3] few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father,[4] that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service ; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance ; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow ; few love God better than their goods.

A strait way.

A little flock.

But, I trust, you are of this few, my dearly beloved ; I trust you be of that little flock,[5] which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven ; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils ; if now you strive against the evils that are in you; if now you continue to call upon God ; if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches ;[6] if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth ;[7] which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord ; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace,[8] which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered ; so that not one of them shall perish,[9] neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father,[10] which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further[11] than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will.[12] Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you.[13] Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now everywhere is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you ; which thing he do for his holy name's sake, in Christ our Lord. Amen.

To his dearly-beloved in Christ, unto a godly couple, Erkinalde Rawlins and his Wife.

God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever ; and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him : Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally), I cannot but go about (Lord help hereto for thy mercy's sake !) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

Days of affliction to the godly are joyful : to the unrepenting sinners they be doleful days.

My dearly beloved ! look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you ; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance ; but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be ; that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their pelf, which (will they, nill they) they shall leave sooner or later ; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance ; and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they contemn the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not : and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will no kind of physic at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length. To such men, indeed, these days are and

Cleansing days. God's physic not to be refused.

(1) Matt. vii. (2) 2 Tim. iii. (3) 2 Cor. v. (4) Matt. xvi. (5) Luke xii.
(6) Rom. xiv. (7) Ephes. iv. (8) Acts xx. (9) Matt. x. (10) Matt. viii.
(11) Psalm cv. (12) Psalm xxxi (13) 1 Pet. v.

should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh. *Mary.*

But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are), unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth: he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing. A.D. 1555. *God's chastisement to be received with comfort.* *God punisheth not twice for one thing.*

So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no bastards, but children; for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen. *Difference between bastards and children.*

Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom; and so were taken, and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are: for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it), then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing (I mean, that ye are God's) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you. *Trouble trieth who be God's, and who be not.*

What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; ye should dwell quietly; there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid), he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you (as he doth by faith), therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the World, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father—to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time—hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and, by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye may not love them above him), as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you. *A true lover of the world, is declared by his life.* *The devil never entereth into his own hogs.* *The Lord giveth power to Satan sometimes over his servants, and to what end God useth to try his.*

Satan perchance telleth God (as he did of Job), that ye love God for your goods' sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly—should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to show mercy to them that look and long for it; as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to show

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and pour out his mercy upon you. "After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you," saith Peter, "he will visit, comfort, and confirm you." As to Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did; that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

Jacob must teach us to wrestle.

Go to therefore; dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions, or else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly;[1] so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case God's name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do: but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another; and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion: wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Tribulation doth conform us to the image of Christ

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of conformation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him: if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoice with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we lose aught for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, etc., for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? what may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? what can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

The Lord's cognizance standeth not in forked caps, etc., but in suffering for the Lord's sake.

This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and antichristian pelf; but in suffering for the Lord's sake. "The world shall hate you," saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoice therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to desire life everlasting; more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us), and so to come to God's company: which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

To Mistress A. Warcup.

The everlasting peace of Christ be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever: Amen.

(1) This Erkinald and his wife, following this counsel, fled both beyond sea.

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Although I know it to be more than needless to write any thing unto you, good sister, being, as I doubt not but you be, diligently exercised in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the same, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the sense and feeling, especially of the comforts you read in God's sweet book: yet, having such opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I shall ever have the like (as this bringer can declare), I thought good in few words to take my farewell in writing; because otherwise I cannot. And now methinks I have done it; for what else can I, or should I say unto you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, but farewell? Farewell, dear sister, farewell; howbeit in the Lord (our Lord), I say, farewell. In him shall you fare well, and so much the better, by how much in yourself you fare evil, and shall fare evil.

Brad-ford's farewell to Mrs. Warcup.

When I speak of yourself, I mean also this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall not feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Christ, which hath borne our sins on his back, and is our Mediator for ever, do I send you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, because of his own goodness and truth, which our evils and untruth cannot take away: not that therefore I would have you to flatter yourself in any evil or unbelief; but that I would comfort you, that they should not dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly: yours, I say, he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, trow you? Mountains shall move, and the earth shall fall, before you find it otherwise, say the liar Satan what he list.

Christ is wholly ours, with all that ever he hath.

Therefore, good sister, farewell; and be merry in the Lord; be merry, I say, for you have good cause. If your welfare, joy, and salvation, hanged upon any other thing than only God's mercy and truth, then might you well be sad, heavy, and stand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth only upon these two, tell Satan he lieth, when he would have you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to cast your eyes (which only, in this case, should be set on Christ your sweet Saviour) on yourself. In some part, indeed, look on yourself, on your faith, on your love, obedience, etc., to wake you up from security, to stir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true consolation in your conscience, altogether look upon the goodness of God in Christ. Think on this commandment which precedeth all others; that you must have no other gods but the Lord Jehovah, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sins in very deed. Remember that Christ commandeth you to call him Father for the same intent. And hereto call to mind all the benefits of God, hitherto showed upon you; and so shall you feel in very deed, that which I wish unto you now, and pray you to wish unto me. Farewell, or wellfare in the Lord Jesus, with whom he grant us shortly to meet as his children, for his name and mercy's sake, to our eternal welfare: Amen.

How to answer to Satan, when he moveth us to doubt of God's favour. How to look upon Christ; how, upon ourselves. In case of justification, to look only upon the goodness of God in Christ.

To mine own dear Brother, Master Lawrence Saunders, Prisoner in the Marshalsea.

My good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. "Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will show forth his praise, to destroy the enemy," etc.[1]

I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others; for answer whereof, if I should write what doctor Taylor and master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think, the salt sent unto us by your friend,[2] is unseasonable: and indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Lawrence, because I am so sinful and so conspurcate[3] (the Lord knoweth I lie not) with many grievous sins which I hope are washed away *sanguine Christi nostri*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but

(1) "Ex ore infantium et lactentium fundet laudem ad destruendum inimicum," etc.

(2) This friend moved them to subscribe to the papists' articles, with this condition: so far as they were not against God's word, being indeed clean contrary to it: and yet, shortly after, he valiantly suffered death for refusing the same. (3) "Conspurcate," defiled.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

as a cipher in Agrime.[1] Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek myself; and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this:[2] "Cast thy care on the Lord,"[3] etc.: "Cast all your care upon him,"[4] etc. "Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust,"[5] etc. "Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about."[6] I did not, nor do I know, but by your letters, *quod cras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to *dabitur vobis:* i.e. "It shall be given you,"[7] etc. "For the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it."[8] "The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly,"[9] etc. O would God I were godly! "The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him,"[10] etc. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us!

"He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O if I were with you!"[11] Pray for me, my own heart-root in the Lord.

For ever your own, John Bradford.

Another Letter to Master Lawrence Saunders.

God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your con-captives. Amen.

I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write,—I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault (for that were more to load me), but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you (howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God), so I see myself more blameworthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my sins and hypocrisy (hypocrisy indeed even in this writing; God deliver me from it!) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, "That we should not be condemned with the world."[12] He might otherwise have punished us; I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake. Praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah! good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set

Bradford accuseth himself of negligence, etc.

(1) "A cipher in Agrime." The first edition of Foxe, p. 1195, has "a siphar in augrim," being derived or corrupted from "algorism." The word is found in connexion in some French verses, quoted in Carpentier's Supplement to Ducange's Glossary (vol. i. col. 957):

"Or ai tant fait par moi meisme
Que Chiffres sui en angorisme;"

and Ducange, under the word "Algarismus. arithmetica," thus quotes from Bernard 'De Breydenbach's Itin.' (Hierosol. p. 190), "Item numeros, cypas et figuras Algarismi invenit:" (tom. i. col. 301. Paris. 1733). The letter *n* in the word 'angorisme' above, should probably be *u*, the conversion of *i* into *u* being common in the French language.—Ed.

(2) "Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, et spero in illum, quod ipse faciet juxta hoc:" "Jacta in Dominum curam," etc.: "Omnis cura vestra conjecta sit in illum," etc. "Revela Domino viam tuam, et spera," etc. "Sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit."

(3) Psalm lv. (4) 1 Pet. v. (5) Psalm xxxvii.

(6) "Fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo possumus sufferre:" "Novit Dominus pios è tentatione eripere," etc.: O utinam pius ego essem: "Novit Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se," etc.

(7) Matt. x. (8) 1 Cor. x (9) 2 Pet. ii. (10) Nahum i.

(11) Faciet mi frater, charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad convivendum et commoriendum. O si tecum essem.

(12) "Ne cum mundo condemnemur."

before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will stick to thee, but the gallows in hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Ah! good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, etc., before mine eyes, then should I "obdurare," as Paul writeth of Moses,[1] "He endured," saith he, "as he that saw him which is invisible." Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, "In the Lord I trust, I shall not waver." "If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord."[2] I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now "legem habent, et secundum legem," etc., otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet-anchor will be, to have us to subscribe; the which thing if we do, though with this condition, "so far as the thing subscribed to, repugneth not against God's word," yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *vadere planè*, and so *sanè;* I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *re-ipsa* are the same we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

These things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord.[3] Now I will read your epistle. Ah! brother, that I had the practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; pray the Lord that I may think so indeed.[4] God make me thankful for you. All our fellow-prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you.[5] The same do you for us, and pray that, etc.

Your brother in the Lord Jesus, to live and die with you,

J. Bradford.

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

Jesus Emmanuel!—My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I "justly suffer"[6] (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner: the Lord pardon me!) yet, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed; yet, "What evil hath he done?"[7] Christ, whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindness of the Lord's towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me so vile a man and miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and a hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias?[8] Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: "The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage."[9] I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards;[10] by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me. Amen.

(1) "Obduravit," inquit, "perinde quasi vidisset eum qui est invisibilis." Heb. xi.
(2) "In Domino spero, non mutabor. Si ambulavero per vallem umbræ mortis, non timebo, quia tu Domine mecum es," etc. Psalm xxii.
(3) Hæc tibi scribo, frater mi charissime in Domino. Jam legam tuam Epistolam. 1 John ii. 13.
(4) Practicam tecum scientiam in vite illa quam pingis; roga Dominum ut ita verò sentiam. Amen.
(5) Salutant te omnes concaptivi et gratias Domino pro te agunt. Idem tu facias pro nobis, et ores ut, etc. (6) Juste patior.
(7) "Hic autem quid mali fecit?" This is a singular mercy of God, to have death, which is a due punishment for sin, turned into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth.
(8) 2 Kings ii. (9) Nuptiæ agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias.
(10) He meaneth that he should be conveyed by the queen's guard unto Lancashire to be burnt, as the adversaries had once determined; like as Ignatius was, by a company of soldiers, conveyed to Rome, and cast to the leopards.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. "Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength."[1] He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never: Amen. "He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell, neither shall suffer me, his holy One, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption."[2]

Out of prison in haste, looking every moment for the tormentor, the 8th of February, 1555. John Bradford.

To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now Earl of Bedford; being then in trouble for the verity of God's Gospel.

The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope: Amen.

Praised be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made you willing (I trust), and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you: for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear in his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest itself that we may enjoy; for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the Holy Spirit; yea of Christ also,[3] and of the Father himself.[4] By faith, we drive the devil away:[5] we overcome the world,[6] and are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon? No man nor angel. And therefore (as I said), of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered (in that she cometh alonely from God's own mercy seat, by the hearing, not of mass or matins, diriges, or such dross; but the word of God in such a tongue as we can and do understand), as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also): so would they with no less care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

The excellency of faith, and what it worketh.

Faith cometh by hearing the word, and not by hearing mass.

Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith,[7] yea (as it were) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christ's sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I, and all God's children, have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouched you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world thinketh of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame: yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the cross, that is, the frame-house in the which God frameth his children, like to his son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal; the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory: for they (I mean God's scholars, as your lordship is, I trust) do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip.[8] They look not as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith the judgment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth, wherein they wallow and will wallow, till they

The efficacy of the cross, and what it worketh in God's children.

(1) "Fidelis Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tentari supra id quod possumus."

(2) "A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me, sanctum suum per gratiam in Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnificem." Psa. xvi.

(3) Ephes. iv. (4) John xiv. (5) 1 Pet. v. (6) 1 John v. (7) Phil i. (8) Psa. lxxiii.

tumble headlong into hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend (as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings), till they be brought into the slaughter-house; and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition.[1] Then cry they, Wo, wo, we went the wrong way: we counted these men (I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake loss of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, etc.) We counted (will they then say) these men but fools and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late: then the time will be turned; laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.

Mary. A. D. 1555. The end of prosperity.

Therefore (as before I have said) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of his most bountiful blessing: much more then have you cause, my good lord, so to be; I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you: tell me how many noblemen, earls' sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Ebed-melech, in Achab's time on Abdias, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles' time on Sergius Paulus and the queen Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue; continue, continue, my good lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men: for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you. Stick fast unto him, and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth: "He cried unto me, and I heard him; I was with him in trouble,"[2] etc.

Few noblemen called to Christ's kingdom.

Remember Lot's wife, which looked back: remember Francis Spira: remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully: remember that all you have, is at Christ's commandment: remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him: remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake; for you shall find much more here and elsewhere: remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell: remember the death of sinners is most terrible: remember the death of God's saints is most precious in his sight: remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to wo: remember that the strait-gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers: remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat: remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered: be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dares not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow: give him as your heart so your hands; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them:[3] glorify God both in soul and body.[4] He that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. Use prayer: look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayers I heartily desire your lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly (God therefore be praised), so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer, "Thy will be done on earth," etc. The good Spirit of God always guide your lordship unto the end: Amen.

God's remembrancers.

Christ only must have both heart and hand.

Your lordship's own for ever,

John Bradford.

To Master Warcup and his Wife, Mrs. Wilkinson, and others of his godly Friends, with their Families.

A pithy and effectual letter, etc.

The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

(1) Wisd. v. (2) Psa. xci. (3) Psa. i. (4) 1 Cor. vi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

The time, I perceive, is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known: I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for such will not for a little heat or sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as—my beloved in the Lord—I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by God's grace), bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered (burn the sun never so hot), therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly, to go on forwards after your master Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth, chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

Foul way and foul weather to the kingdom of heaven.

And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if, even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean heaven), than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will, with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast; and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament; and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

The passage of all God's saints hath been through affliction.

If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists; and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church,[1] Lord God! ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey; that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto, have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But, if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I trust in God, if you had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward, found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your master and your captain Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only-begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

Christ Jesus, the ring-leader of all Christ's children, afflicted.

We must not be so dainty, to look for fairer weather than Christ.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now, because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before

(1) Read the story of the primitive Church above described. [Vol. i.—Ed.]

night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every inn-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be overpast; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve[1] ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before. Even so should we do; leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

Marg. A. D. 1555.

The devil's enticements not to be trusted.

He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways (I trow), but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus;[2] who, for the joy set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame; and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God.[3] Let us follow him;[4] for this did he, that we should not be faint-hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but, if we deny him, surely he will deny us;[5] for he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel, in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven.[6] Oh! how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ (as undoubtedly it is); and yet, for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea for advantage and gain, some will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils,[7] to dissemble it; or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning.[8] Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6th and 10th chapters, lest, by so doing, they fall therein. Let them beware they play not willy-beguile with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass, and, because they worship not, nor kneel, nor knock, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

To look to the mark.

What danger it is, to go to the blasphemous mass.

But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort), they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all men's eyes are set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see, or inquire of their behaviour there. Oh! if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire;[9] they halt on both knees:[10] they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve,[11] that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. O that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful.[12] The counsel given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.[13]

Dissembling gospellers.

But to return to you again, dearly beloved: be not ye ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it.[14] Be therefore partakers of the afflictions,[15] as God shall make you able; knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear:[16] and think it no small grace of God[17] to suffer persecution for God's

(1) "Gleve," a mark.—Ed.
(2) Phil. iii.
(3) Heb. xii. (4) Rom. viii (5) 2 Tim. ii. (6) Matt. xii. (7) Is. ii.
(8) 2 Pet. ii. (9) Matt. x. (10) 1 Kings xviii. 21. (11) Rev. iii. (12) Rev. xxi.
(13) Rev. iii. (14) Rom. i. (15) 2 Tim. i. (16) 1 Cor. x. (17) Phil. i.

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truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you,[1] and ye are happy,[2] as one day ye shall see: read 2 Thess. i. and Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ.[3] The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail: fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven: for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter,[4] always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord,[5] with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish.[6] Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then; and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at length of the dregs with the wicked,[7] if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth,[8] and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

Persecution compared to the flail, which hurteth not, but cleanseth the wheat.

Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord.[9] No man shall touch you without his knowledge: when they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere.[10] Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world.[11] Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake: but this he doth, because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: "I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him," saith he.[12] Know that God hath appointed bounds,[13] over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, "If he kill me, I will hope in him." Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me, your poor brother and fellow-sufferer for God's gospel sake; his name therefore be praised. And of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean to die for his sake.

Happy is that death, which, seeing once it must needs be paid, is bestowed upon the Lord.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem,[14] the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he, within three days, rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of Man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake.

E carcere 19 Nov. 1553. J. Bradford.

To Sir James Hales, Knight, then Prisoner in the Compter in Bread-street.

The God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

Although, right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name,

(1) 1 Pet. vi. (2) Mat. v. (3) 1 Pet. i. (4) Rom. viii. (5) 1 Pet. v.
(6) Matt. x. (7) Psalm lxxv. (8) 1 Pet. iv. (9) 1 Pet. v. (10) Rom. viii.
(11) 1 Cor. xi. (12) Psalm l. (13) Psalm xxii. (14) Heb. xii.; Rev. xxi. xxii.

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and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name), and other such like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my *συμπαθειαν* and compassion, love and affection, I bear towards your mastership, which is contented, yea desirous with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God! how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes—I mean children for thyself, and brethren for Christ! Look, good master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you, being a wise man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is *magnus erroris magister;* nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith;[1] nor after the present sense, to which "it seemeth not to be joyous, but grievous,"[1] as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself, between God and you; God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, path-way to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

How God gleaneth out his people.

The world, and people of worldly wisdom, are evil judges of things spiritual.

Praise of the cross.

Now, concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his *testes*, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition; but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see "an eternal weight of glory,"[2] which this cross shall bring unto you, "while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen."[3] Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the king's last will; and therefore they did that, for the which they beshrewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as, God be praised, you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done: and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, "Mine eyes fail for thy word-saying; when wilt thou comfort me?"[4] Though you be as "uter in fumo," that is, like "a bottle in the smoke:" (for I hear you want health) yet, "ne obliviscaris justificationes Dei." "Do not forget the statutes of the Lord:" but cry out, "How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me?"[5] And be certain "The Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him;[6] for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning.[7] Follow therefore Esay's counsel, "Hide thyself for a very little while, until his indignation pass over,"[8] which is not "indignatio" indeed, but to our sense; and therefore in Esay xxvii. God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so "There is no anger in me,"[9] saith he.

The cross maketh us witnesses to God, wherein and in what things.

Subscribing to king Edward's will.

(1) "Non videtur gaudii, sed molestiæ." Heb. xii.
(2) "Æternum pondus gloriæ." 1 Cor. iv.
(3) "Dum non spectas ea quæ videntur, sed ea quæ non videntur."
(4) "Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: quando consolaberis me?" Psalm cxix.
(5) "Quot sunt dies servi tui? quando facies de persequentibus me judicium?"
(6) "Quod Dominus veniens veniet, et non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum." Habak. ii.
(7) "Ad momentum in ira sua, et vita in voluntate ejus: ad vesperam demorabitur fletus, et ad matutinam lætitia." Ps. xxx.
(8) "Abscondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranseat indignatio ejus." Isa. xxvi.
(9) "Non est indignatio mihi" Isa. xxvii.

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The mother sometimes beateth her child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and colleth[1] the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And, to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore saith he, "Can a mother forget the child of her womb?"[2] As who should say, no: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, "Hide not thy face from me,"[3] etc. "Leave me not, O Lord,"[4] etc. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David said, "I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face."[5] But was it so? Nay verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[6] He saith not, "Why dost thou forsake me?"[7] or, "Why wilt thou forsake me?"[8] But, "Why hast thou forsaken me."[9] Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense; and that, this psalm telleth us full well: which psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22d, and thereto join the 31st, and the 116th, with divers others. The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl., where he reproveth Israel for saying, "God had forgotten them;"[10] "Knowest thou not," saith he; "Hast thou not heard,"[11] etc. "They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength."[12] And in his 54th chapter, "Fear not, etc.: for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down; but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee."[13]

God's love in our corrections.

But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will "bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help."[14] As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is "a helper in tribulations," and doth more gloriously show his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so.[15] For "the weaker we are, the more strong we are in him."[16] Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear.[17] "He will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them."[18] Before they cry, he heareth them;[19] as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end; that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N., for not subscribing to the king's will.

Be certain, be certain, good master Hales! that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care,

(1) 'Colleth,' that is, 'embraces.'—Ed.
(2) Isaiah xlix. (3) "Ne abscondas faciem tuam à me," etc. Psalm xxv.
(4) "Ne derelinquas me Domine," etc. Psalm xxvii. and cxix.
(5) "Ego dixi in excessu meo, projectus sum à facie tua," Psalm xxx.
(6) "Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?" Psalm xxi.
(7) "Ut quid derelinquis?" Psalm xxii. (8) "Derelinques?" (9) "Ut quid dereliquisti?"
(10) "Nunquid nescis?" (11) "An non audivisti?" etc.
(12) "Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem."
(13) "Noli timere," etc. "Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, at in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abscondi faciem meam parumper à te, at in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui, dicit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam istud erit mihi sicut aquæ Noe. Ut enim juravi ne porro aquæ Noe pertransirent terram, sic juravi ut non irascar tibi et non increpem te. Montes enim commovebuntur et colles contremiscent; misericordia autem mea non recedet à te, et fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur, dicit miserator tuus Dominus."
(14) "Portare iram Domini, et expectare salutem et auxilium ejus." Micah vii.
(15) "Adjutor in tribulationibus."
(16) "Quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo rubustiores." (17) "Sic oculi Domini," etc.
(18) "Voluntatem eorum faciet." Psalm cxlv. (19) "Antequam clamaverint, exaudit eos."

which will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be), which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire; which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it: so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake: Amen. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

From the King's Bench,

Your humble John Bradford.

To my very Friend in the Lord, Dr. Hill, Physician.

The God of mercy and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, ingraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you: Amen.

Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now, in that through God's providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause (which God forbid), or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many others, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted: although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requiring the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son: as (I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest), so they play the dissemblers with the church of God by their fact, offending the godly whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this,—I mean, lest you my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of soul and body, and that, not only temporally, but also eternally: I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which He reward you, for I cannot), as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting), but that I might both quiet my conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

Parting stakes between God and the world.

Dissembling with the church.

Gospel spillers.

Dr. Hill, Bradford's physician.

Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion-places. The masters be Christ and Satan, the people be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be heaven and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants: for as the one will follow his master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth, the expert mariner is known, and as in war the good soldier is seen, so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known from Satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their captain, come what will come: whereas the wicked and hypocrites

Two masters. Two sorts of subjects. Two ways. Two kingdoms.

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will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance. For which cause the cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself: for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm (that is, such as are both hot and cold) he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way; and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so, if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

Affliction trieth who go with God, and who go with the devil.

A wise man will ever consider the end.

Strive therefore, good master doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side or that side, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but straight forwards on the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue, where-through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that [which] is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way; and then, doubtless, as St. Paul saith, "It shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal."[1] So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest-time; so doth the fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting-in; so doth the merchant the return of his merchandize; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life—but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment; the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel; the blast of the trump; the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there: the more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly houses, eternal palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; *summa*, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The glorious recompense of such as suffer for the Lord.

O happy place! O that this day would come. Then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they cry, "Woe, woe," that ever they did as they have done. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.: read Matt. xxxv.: read 1 Cor. xv. 2 Cor. v.: and by faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read Heb. xi., to see what faith hath done, always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our alphabet: "He that will be my disciple," saith Christ, "must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."—Not this bishop, not that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but *me*, saith Christ: "For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me." Remember that the same Lord saith, "He that will save his life shall lose it."[2] Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods without God's leave; so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in his surges threateneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath He done for the other.

The way to heaven is by tribulations.

On God therefore cast your care; love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whensoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithful, so he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his

(1) "Æternum pondus gloriæ pariet." (2) Matt. viii.

glory and your eternal comfort. God, for his mercy in Christ, with his holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Out of prison, by yours to command,
John Bradford.

To Mistress M. H., a godly Gentlewoman, comforting her in that common Heaviness and godly Sorrow, which the feeling and sense of Sin worketh in God's Children.

I humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his holy Spirit: Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet, because my desire is that you might be more fervent, and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear father, in, through, and for, Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath, to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image; redeemed us being lost; called us into his church; sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism; kept and conserved us all the days of our life; fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth: and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain. God's benefits to be declared.

All these things we should use as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our father in Christ: to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all things, God requireth this faith and fatherly persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith, "I am the Lord thy God:" giving himself, and then all he hath, to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me," "Thou shalt love me with all thy heart," &c., though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and (in Christ) himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell, to our eternal joy. The chiefest service of God is to think well of his fatherly goodness in Christ.

Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience; although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious: for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God; we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for Where feeling faileth yet obedience is required. Doubt not of God's favour in Christ.

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them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtle hereabout, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

To stay upon God's promise in Christ's blood.

Therefore, my good sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only; and not on our obedience or worthiness on any point; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our father: but because he is our father and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our father: but rather because he is our father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our father in prayer on this manner:

Obedience giveth not to us to be God's children, but to be God's children giveth obedience.

How a man should pray, when feeling of God's comfort lacketh.

"Dear Father, thou, of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto: thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, etc. which thy children have and thou requirest of me, where-through the devil would have me to doubt, yea utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, etc., and grant that thy holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me," etc.

Hope beyond hope. Faith goeth before feeling.

On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did: for faith always (I said) goeth before feeling. As certain as God is almighty; as certain as God is merciful; as certain as God is true; as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God's commandment: "I am the Lord thy God," etc., so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true, "I am the Lord thy God," to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this—whether God be your God through Christ—that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, etc.? might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a papist, etc.? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness[1] in Christ. Now then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was—that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened—how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister, for God is no changeling. "Them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end."

Doubting cometh of the devil.

Cast therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, etc. If hereof you be assured as you

(1) Eccles. ii.

ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; then shall you go about that God's glory may shine in you, in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further than shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you (being assured, I say, of God's favour towards you) give over yourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you contemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

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Faith and assured hope of God's favour, is the fountain of all well-doing.

Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant—"I am the Lord thy God;" let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the obsignation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the gospel; let us set before us God's benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, etc. Let us set before us God's benefits particularly—how he hath made his creatures after his image, how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, etc.; how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he hath, ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

Consideration of God's promises and benefits.

Yours to use in Christ, J. Bradford.

Another Letter full of godly Comfort, written to the same Person.

The good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good sister in the Lord for ever. Amen.

Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would, by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

Consideration of God's tender affection to us in Christ his Son.

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure: but in *his* time, and not when *you* will; and by what means *he* will, not by that way

No time nor means to be prescribed to God.

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you would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural, cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, which is a Father supernatural, cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.[1]

The practice of the devil to bring a man in doubt whether he be God's child or no.

This opinion, yea rather certain persuasion, of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish; and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no: so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ, or no. For if for your goodness or illness' sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ.[2] But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to pray to him, that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father; so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child, to his glory: and cease not upon such prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to show the same as well in soul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

John Bradford.

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

Grace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections (which God I trust will mortify), and of my sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me; for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease[3] doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

Out of the Tower, by the Lord's prisoner,

John Bradford.

A Letter which he wrote to a faithful Woman in her Heaviness and Trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken-hearted for their Sins.

God our good Father, for his mercy's sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: yea, he will comfort you, my dear sister; only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you; for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them.[4] Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his chosen can perish; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved

(1) Isaiah xlix.

(2) We ought to measure God's favour neither by our goodness nor illness, but only by our faith in Christ.

(3) This disease was a rheum, with a feebleness of stomach, wherewith he was much troubled while he was at liberty.

(4) Rom. xi.

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sister: God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you! he give unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence and protection! For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord,[1] he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that *dwelleth*, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor,[2] where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still: we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.

Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, my dear sister, and you shall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's sake? Ah! dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be with you, and help you.

You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient; for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles? Oh, Joyce! my good Joyce! what a gift is this! Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing: none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalen, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth.[3] You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face,[4] yea, and that for ever,[5] which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something; yea, sometimes in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven: in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satan's cloak? for who cast the fire from heaven upon his goods? who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, saying, "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away," etc.

God cannot be seen, but covered under something.

How faith seeth God, where flesh seeth hell.

In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love? And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you, in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see charity and brightness: by faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith?

Therefore, my dear heart, be thankful; for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah! my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are! Verily you are even in the blessed state of God's children, for they mourn; and do not you so? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, etc. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears?[6] how could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you'd find it? how could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief? how could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long? how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery: if you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell: if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags: if you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations: if you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

The state of God's children described.

The way to heaven is through hell.

Can the head corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in

(1) God's providence and protection. Psal. xxxi. 20. (2) Gen. xix. (3) Canticles i.
(4) Psalm xxvii (5) Psalm cv. (6) Matt. v.

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God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones—be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and fretts of the flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are! who shall deliver us?[1] you are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

Threats of the flesh.

God's sheep must feed on the bare common, where the devil's cattle are stalled.

If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture; if you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no weal: but, because you are for God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now haileth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would.[2] Suffer a little, and be still. Let Satan rage against you; let the world cry out; let your conscience accuse you; let the law load you and press you down; yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. "If God be with us, who can be against us?"[3] The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, "Lord, I perish;"[4] and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease, for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Phil. i. Desire of spiritual comfort, though it be lacking, is a great gift of God.

Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally; as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies (and that, without your deserts or desire), can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

Exercise of temptations a great token of election.

If he had not chosen you (as most certainly he hath), he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts,[5] which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if, I say, he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where, and when), if, I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you, nor shall you ever perish. For if you fall, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

Speak woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he, now trow you, in your utmost need do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, my Joyce! think you God to be mutable? is he a changeling? doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them?[6] For else, were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so? and will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you not to despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work; howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it; which God forbid), but to doubt, and stand in a mammering; and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.[7]

Every lying spirit not to be hearkened unto.

All our elections in and for Christ only.

Ah! mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, and so is your election certain for ever, for ever I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you contrary,

(1) Rom. vi. (2) John xxi. (3) Rom. viii.
(4) Matt. viii. (5) Rom. viii. (6) Rom. xi.
(7) Satan seeketh to bring tender consciences to doubting, but God's promise in Christ standeth sure for ever.

accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, arise; and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth;[1] no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands; night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing?"[2] Do you not know that God sparred Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you, my good sister; so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand; yet no evil shall touch you.[3] Say boldly therefore, "Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me; but they have not prevailed;"[4] no, nor ever *shall* prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart; for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to show most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly: I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me, my dear heart, who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you: for why should you waver? Why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On yourself? on your worthiness, on your thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, etc.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, etc., as much as you should do? No, no; nor ever can in this life. Ah! my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that, which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ. Here, here is the resting-place, here is your spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him; bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, etc., and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I? you shall see. Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud, and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now, my dear heart, how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But, God be praised, your covetousness is Moses' covetousness. Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Though feeling fail, yet let hope hold fast.

The eye of faith must look upon nothing else but only Christ crucified.

Therefore, to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you; I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind; in Christ, through Christ, for Christ; for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved sister, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself;[5] but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and, in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore: Amen.

(1) Psal. cxx. (2) Psal. xxiii. (3) Psal. xc. (4) Psal. cxxv.
(5) Learn here to put away doubting; all tender hearts that seek after Christ.

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I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer-time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever: Amen.

As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, "Do well, and hear evil." Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you: Amen, Amen.

This 8th of August, by him that in the Lord desiretn to you as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

John Bradford.

Commendation of lady Vane.

Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great supporter (to her power) of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in queen Mary's time: unto whom divers letters I have both of masters Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and of others more; wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony, also, of her Christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She departed of late at Holborn, anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death; so quietly and meekly she deceased and parted hence in the Lord.[1]

Amongst others who wrote unto her, master Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

A Letter wherein he discusseth doubts concerning the coming to mass.

The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost: Amen.

I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is that the questions are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered; I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions[2] arise (as most assuredly it is indeed), then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

The abomination of the mass set forth.

Again, your ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross: so the end of all our doings should be to God-ward, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example; whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me, by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little book[3] of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child, with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he

(1) Note, how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friends of his saints.
(2) These questions were concerning the mass, wherein the lady Vane desireth his judgment.
(3) He meaneth his book, which he calleth "The Hurt of hearing Mass."

shall so think it need:[1] which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touch-stone. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy, always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever: Amen.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

As to mine own soul, I wish to your ladyship grace and mercy from God, our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both: I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean, his fatherly love; and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised (as you long have been), than others which, to the face of the world, have a more show and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so showeth he more lively his salvation.[2] I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow-prisoners, master Ferrar, master Taylor, master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls which are imprisoned in the common gaol for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also: but, because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your almoner in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly, for his mercy's sake: Amen.

Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer; continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence (for else it shall not come unto you), so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort: Amen.

John Bradford.

To my dear Friends and Brethren, Royden and Esing, with their Wives and Families.

The comfort of Christ—felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake—the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows; especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord: Amen.

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you (as he will doubtless for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him—for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth: "Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them,"[3] etc.), yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting-forth of ourselves more than God's

(1) 1 Pet. i. (2) Psalm l. cvii. (3) Psalm xxii.

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glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent (which God grant us to do), as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

The nearer we come to our journey's end, travelling toheaven, the straiter is the way. Example of the travail of a woman.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write (the Lord be praised), and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary), and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.[1]

Example of Christ and his apostles.

Example hereof we have, I will not say, in the holy prophets and apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards; but, rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

The malice of the devil no new thing.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less, but to forsake the world and the devil as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travail doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, "He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross:"[2] so if we did, we should find at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve, which hath a long journey, to go through a piece of foul way, if he knew that, after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and he at his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, etc., when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, which cannot but be most certain of eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow.[3] And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.[4]

Godly counsel stirring us to the contempt of this transitory life.

The flattering promises of this world, ill-favouredly performed.

Alas! then, why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the world promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many other things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or, if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? or, if so, how long I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ's cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven,

(1) John xxi. (2) Heb. xii. (3) Matt. xix. (4) 1 Pet. ii.

surely this is the way. "By many troubles," saith the apostle, "we must enter into heaven."[1] "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."[2] For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: but you are Christ's, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God's true servants find peace and favour in antichrist's regiment. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past; you are almost in the haven. Hale on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation, he will make an outscape. Now pray unto him heartily; be thankful of his indignation; rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive; and be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy.—God grant it may so be: Amen, Amen. To bear the cross with courage.

Out of prison, by your brother in Christ, John Bradford.

To Mrs. Wilkinson.

Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days, as necessary unto us; so profitable, if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us: Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing,—I mean, to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But now, if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare,—I mean to call you forth as a martyr, and a witness against this filth,—I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost: "Except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless." The cross a great token of election.

You know that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, "That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies."[3] And therefore the cross should so little fear us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty,[4] and we ourselves to loathe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries; be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to

(1) Acts xiv. (2) 2 Tim. iii. (3) 1 Cor. xv. (4) Rom. viii.

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write, praying God our Father to recompense into your bosom all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

Your own in the Lord, John Bradford.

Another Letter, written to certain godly Persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the Cross.

Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly-beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever: Amen.

In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me), as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and, by them which have suffered this day,[1] ye might learn (if already ye had not learned), that life and honour is not to be set by more than God's commandment. They in no point (for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having doctor Death to take their part), would consent, or seem to consent, to the popish mass and papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late king they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider it as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them; if God so will.

Doctor Death, the pope's chaplain.

Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind (of faith, I should have said), as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens' sake,—that is, for your home, house, goods, yea life, will go with the world, lest ye should lose them, then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true: but he which adventureth, yea loseth his life, for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way, which many run in; but the strait way, which few now walk in?

Moses, forsaking Pharaoh's house. *God's love-tokens.* *A strumpet setteth more by her tokens, than by her lover.*

Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us (although by God's word it was plain), whether was the high way (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery): but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root, cannot nor will abide; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our porkets.[3] A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

Gergesites set more by their pigs, than by Christ.

If we be not able,—I mean, if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake,—trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have (God knoweth how soon and when), will ye or will ye not; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake?

If ye go to mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea lose your life also. But, my dearly beloved, open

(1) The lady Jane and her husband were beheaded that day. [February 12, 1554.—Ed.]
(2) In king Edward's time the highway could not be known. (3) Matt. viii.

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the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world-without-end, which lose either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites), and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

The transitory pleasures of this life.

Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties: and when God is angry with us, he can send always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be you purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God (saith Paul), which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear;[1] yea he will give you an out-scape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh! how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! Oh! how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! Oh! how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! Oh! how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if now you should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

God will give ability, not only to bear his cross, but also to rejoice in bearing it

Hath God delivered you from the sweat, to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, unto you. Say with Job, "God hath given, and God hath taken away: his name be praised for ever." Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

A great blessing of God to suffer for his sake.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us; comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation: Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

John Bradford.

An Admonition to certain Professors of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish Religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced Gospellers.

The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God's gospel believed (my dearly beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter: Amen.

(1) 1 Cor. x.

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Though I have many lets, presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet, being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would.

You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ; I mean his church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of God's battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God's children, and to begin at his house. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

Two things to be considered in the persecution of God's people.

For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, etc.

Earnest repentance maketh the cross more pleasant.

Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, etc., and then doubtless the cross shall be less careful, yea it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant;[1] death then shall be desired, as the dispatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels; that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but as [we] rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example; that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

If God's judgment be so sharp to his children, what will it be to his enemies?

Now the second (I mean the sequel, or that which will follow on the strangers), my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his seed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh! what and how justly may he and will he give to Satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners? If judgments begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dregs of God's cup, that is brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs with the Gergesites.[2] They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, "Let us cast his yoke from us;" they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible; they will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; or else they would sanctify him by serving him more than men; they part-stake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and anti-christian idolatry now set abroad amongst us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: *summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds, deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willeth; and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, "Thy will be done in earth," which is, generally, that every one should take up his cross, and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all the pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and

The doings and ways of the wicked described, and what is the end thereof.

(1) Col. i. (2) Matt. viii.

damnation, even in hell fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, etc. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross afore you began with A. B. C.—Go to then; pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men, under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, masters Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, masters Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrar, Bradford, Haukes, etc., be ready to do. The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, "He that will save his life, shall lose it." And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, etc., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing; much more, death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they be that die for the Lord? Oh! what a blessing is it to have death, due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth? O that we had a little of Moses' faith to look upon the end of the cross; to look upon the reward; to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run, and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake: Amen.

Bradford emboldeneth them to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him.

Blessed be they that die *in* the Lord, but more blessed be they that die *for* the Lord. The end and riches that follow the cross.

My dearly beloved, repent, be sober, and watch in prayer; be obedient, and after your vocations show your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not against God's word; therein acknowledging the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or rebellers for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord, for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will: Amen, Amen.—From the Compter in the Poultry.

Yours in Christ, John Bradford.

To my good Brother John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The Father of mercy and God of all comfort, visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Amen.

My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter; the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially, I have more need of God's merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah! that Satan envieth us so greatly. Ah! that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Ah! that I might for ever both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware, of unthankfulness. Good brother Careless! we had more need to take heed, after a lightning, of a foil than before: God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother and right dear to my very heart, I write

After a lightning take heed of a foil.

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unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace; and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me; we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us: Amen, Amen.

This Skelthrop was a free-will man.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt but that he will be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themselves astray. Wo and wo again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also; although we perchance think otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all: Amen. I desire you all to pray for me the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

The charitable spirit of master Bradford in reducing them that be weak and ignorant.

Your brother, John Bradford.

To Master John Hall and his Wife, Prisoners in Newgate for the Testimony of the Gospel.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children for ever, and so he bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your cross (for his cause doubtless) rejoice and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his schoolhouse (whereas you both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truants), that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get): how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness that he beareth towards you? If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that, whatsoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal. Although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel; yet I say, of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him; so, although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodity's sake.

The cross cometh not without God's sending.

What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept in close prison, you will say; your family and children be without good overseers; your substance diminisheth by these means; poverty will approach; and perchance more perils also, yea and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, etc., which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive, that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loathe and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world, and all earthly things; using the world as though

Worldly loss recompensed with endless and perpetual gain by the cross.

Mary.

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you used it not: your heart set only upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, to be saved, and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory? How now doth God, as it were fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer: are these no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that "God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the world?"—that "God chasteneth every one he loveth?"—that the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, that "they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake," as you now do?—that the glory and Spirit of God is upon them?—that, as "you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in reigning?" Doth not the Scripture say, that you are now going the high and right way to heaven?—that your suffering, is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire?

What commodity the cross bringeth.

Promises annexed to the cross.

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad, when ye suffer as now ye do: for, through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where? Forsooth on earth: first, for your children; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly: "Cast thy burden upon me," saith he, "and I will bear it."[1] Do you therefore cast them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread; for he will show mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him.[2] Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first upon earth, shall be felt by your children, even corporally; and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity—at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience: and secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies; much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed! Then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God, that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, "Happy am I that thou hast punished me: for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws."

Care of children to be left to God's providence.

This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God: secondly, that it cometh from God as a father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore, let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon; whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time: help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet cross for ever! Amen, Amen.

Two things to be considered of all men that be under the cross.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon; but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh! that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass—pray! Tomorrow I will send to you to know your estate: send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal.—From the Compter.

By your brother in the Lord, John Bradford.

(1) Psalm lv. (2) Psalm xxxvii.

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To Mrs. Hall, Prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make Answer before her Adversaries.[1]

Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end: Amen.

My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice;[2] be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord's witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us amongst many, to witness and testify that Christ his Son is king, and that his word is true. Christ our Saviour, for his love's sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambassador, prophet, and Messias; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends, than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christ and his verity; but lo! the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiers, therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we should not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us further than he will make us able to bear.

The blood of martyrs standeth for the verity of Christ against the world and Satan, who would suppress the same.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

The Lord will give them that stand in his defence, how and what to answer.

Therefore, as I said, I say again: dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true (as he is most true), it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adversaries, what great cause have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and set your captain, Christ, before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game; you are almost at your journey's end. I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Elias, a fiery chariot,[3] to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our cloak behind us; that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh: Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy, grant us his mercy: Amen. I pray you, pray for me; and so desire my brethren which be with you. God's peace be with us all: Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord?

A blessed thing, seeing a man must needs die, to die for the Lord.

Your brother in bonds, J. Bradford.

To a Woman that desired to know his Mind, whether she, refraining from the Mass, might be present at the Popish Matins, or Evensong; or no.

I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at

(1) Strype, in recording the burial of "Old Mrs. Hall, of the parish of St. Benet Sherehog," states that she was the mother of Hall the Chronicler, and that she is supposed to be the same Mrs. Hall "to whom several of the martyrs wrote letters." Memor. under Mary, chap. 49; June 19, 1557.—Ed. (2) Matt. v. (3) 2 Kings ii.

this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord. Amen. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins or at evensong, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne withal; yet, by God's grace, I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord. Whether a Christian may hear the popish matins, or no.

First therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ; that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself. Three lessons.

Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's fantasies, custom, multitude, etc., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity; that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor ever can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to show.

First, the matins and evensong are in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in the congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment are wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is, overthrown? No Christian may come to the popish matins and evensong.

Again, both in matins and in evensong is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory, which he will give to none other.

Moreover this service, and the setters-forth of it, condemn the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of Antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments. The pope's Latin service is a mark of Antichrist.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of Antichrist (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think), occasioneth the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of Antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue; yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this world be but trifles. The going to the pope's service giveth ill example and offence.

Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes; daily set yourself

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and your doings as before the judgment-seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, "He that will save his life shall lose it." The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, "Follow me:" this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. "Fly from such," saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children: Amen.

Christ's lesson.

Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually: Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large.—The 2d of March, anno 1555.

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear Friend, the Lady Vane.

An epistle concerning the seat of the pope's pretensed primacy.

The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ: Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, specially, and above all other things, do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome (which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us), that you may have as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about; and so, that I will by God's grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now write.

The pope proved to be the great Antichrist.

The pope displacing Christ.

The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures: for whereas they bring in this spoken to Peter, "Feed my sheep," I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, "My sheep, my lambs," to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily, by the like reason,[1] prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, "Feed my sheep," therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church of Christ? If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his ministry. But the papists prate, that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read, that Peter did take any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts: whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

The word of Christ to Peter, "Feed my sheep," expounded.

(1) Argument. Christ, bidding Peter feed his flock, made him head over the universal church; ergo, Peter bidding the pastors feed the flock of Christ, made them also heads over the universal church. Ab unâ exponente ad suam exclusivam non valet consequentia. Christ made Peter a shepherd: ergo, Christ made Peter only, the chief shepherd of his sheep. Peter was excellent for his gifts, and not for the place where he sat.

But be it so that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm—who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs?[1] He hath left (say the papists) to his successors the selfsame right which he received. O Lord God! then must his successor be a Satan: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy; and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptism: then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to be kept; namely, because unto every pastor is grace given after the measure wherewith Christ hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of "plenitudinis potestatis," of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

No cause why any perpetuity of primacy should belong to Rome more than to other place.

But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome, than elsewhere. Marry say they, because Peter's chair was at Rome: this is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert, therefore the principallest place of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness![2] But grant them their reason that it is good; what should Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his president and better.

Peter had no bishopric at Rome. Conjecture that Peter was not at Rome.

No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority because Peter died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures show, that it is but a fable which is feigned of Peter's bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren; and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope and prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul! Paul being in prison in Rome did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were, in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages; but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2d Epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him,[3] or Peter had played his Peter's part.[4] In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome bishop, as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

If Peter's chair make the primacy; why might not Antioch claim as much as Rome, where he sat first?

But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, which were taken with Peter to be as pillars? Why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter's seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the Evangelist taught and was bishop; and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom, being Master, I hope honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peter's apostleship to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the first, bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who plainly, in his works, doth write that this

(1) Argument. Peter left the title which he received to his successors. Peter received the title of Satan: Ergo, Peter left the title of Satan to his successors. No mention of succession nor primacy inheritable in all the Scripture.

(2) As Peter's chair was in Rome, so Moses' chair was in the wilderness: Ergo, the principality of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness.

(3) Phil. ii. (4) Luke xxiii.

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title of primacy, and to be head over all churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to Antichrist; and therefore he calleth it a profane, a mischievous, and a horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe apostle nor pope?

The title of primacy a foretoken of Antichrist.

How the title of primacy first came up, and by whom.

The bishop of Rome seemeth indeed rather a butcher than a bishop.

If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of Antichrist, if God for his mercy's sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-sheep, than a bishop. They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's vicar: this is always in their mouth. But, alas! how can we call him Christ's vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein, do the pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoever he be, that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ.

If they will needs make the bishop of Rome the supreme head, they must first prove him a bishop in deed and not in name.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only head, pastor, and keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them; that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name's sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day! so shall the night never overpress us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever: Amen.

Your brother in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ,
John Bradford.

Here followeth another letter of master Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins,[1] sheriff sometime of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear say) alive. This Hopkins, whom master Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, during the time of his sheriffalty, was detected and accused, by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such like matter, he, being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet; and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins, being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of master Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children, to avoid the realm; and so, leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil, till the death of queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever

(1) He wrote also another fruitful letter to this Richard Hopkins, which you may read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs. [See page 264, Edit. 1837.—Ed.]

of other English exiles thereabout him; God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recarried home again; yea and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by master Bradford, is this. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

A Letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then Sheriff of Coventry, and Prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy Gospel.

Dearly beloved in the Lord! I wish unto you as unto mine own brother, yea as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour, who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption; praised therefore be his holy name for ever and ever: Amen.

I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake: Amen.

Now to make amends to you-ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy; therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, "That they are happy which suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and spirit resteth on them which suffer for conscience to God." Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to God-ward: for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thanksgiving, for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, etc.: but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity. And therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoice therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also. Martyrs persecuted not for their sins, but for Christ only, and the gospel.

You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, "Not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen."[1] Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one? For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for master Hopkins to have suffered as master Hopkins, as it is for master Hopkins also to suffer as master sheriff. O happy day that you were made sheriff! by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so, by suffering in this room, he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a sheriff of a city hath suffered

(1) 1 Cor. i.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any sheriff that hath been cast into prison for conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there kept prisoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if here-for you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to magistrates in this realm! Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first magistrate that, for Christ's sake, should have lost any thing? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you; my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

Hopkins the first magistrate that suffered for his conscience.

Be thankful therefore; rejoice in your trouble; pray for patience; persevere to the end; let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him; yea if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion: for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble; he heareth you calling upon him, yea before you call; your desires are not only known, but accepted, through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true: he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. Oh beloved! wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? shall you not find that as he is true in saying, "In the world you shall have trouble;" so is he in saying, "In me you shall have comfort?" He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive.[1] O great comfort! who shall have this? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly-beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God, therefore, in your trouble, and he will hear you; yea deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to heaven: for by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy's sake. Amen, Amen.

Your fellow in affliction, John Bradford.

To my good Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.[2]

Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

I am afraid to write unto you, because you so overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you than many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens till I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me. Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to me-ward in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompense with the like, and will do, by God's grace, so long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprise. For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully, and none receiveth the gleve,[3] but those that run to the appointed mark.[4] None shall be saved but such as persist and continue to the very end.

Therefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise.[5] Patience

(1) 1 Cor. ii. (2) Now called Mrs. Rushbrough.
(3) Probably the glaivé or lannee, fixed in the ground, as the mark to run towards in obtaining the prize.—Ed. (4) 2 Tim. ii. (5) Heb. x.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites Many make godly beginnings, yea their progress seemeth marvellous; but yet after, in the end, they fail. "These were never of us," saith St. John; "for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end."

Wholesome lessons of life.

Go to now, therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord: as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist, and happily end; and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well. Accustom yourself now to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself: in evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our ornature and seemly apparel in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you: for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash: defile not yourself in soul or body therewith, but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our Father accomplish his good work in you. Amen. Commend me to my good mother, mistress Wilkinson, and to my very dear sister mistress Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

John Bradford.

To a Friend of his, instructing him how he should answer his Adversaries.

My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to desire, the everlasting joy which he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep; that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storms' sake. Amen.

When you shall come before the magistrates to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example: for he set the invisible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power, as with his corporal eyes he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God, which will give such wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further, he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall (will they nill they) serve God's providence towards you (which you cannot avoid though you would), as shall be most to his glory, and your everlasting comfort.

Example of Moses answering before Pharaoh.

Therefore, my good brother, let your whole study be only to please God. put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand lest you should be moved; he is faithful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Christ; and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him (God increase this belief in us all), so doth he now graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the selfsame cup, which not only the very sons of God have drunk of before you; but even the very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good luck. Oh! he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament, not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted, I would you noted these two things: first, that the sacrament of the altar, which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood instituted by him, as Christ's institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no: answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal sense, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so: even so to the eyes, taste, and sense of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul feedeth on to everlasting life in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

Christ is able to keep his promise in the sacrament, the substance of bread still remaining. The papists deny the omnipoteney of God, and how.

By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor any of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipotency, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to give that he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away: for Christ saith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ our Lord! Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain godly Men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Cross, and constant in the true Doctrine which they had professed.

My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many which before times were taken for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of afflictions, to relent, yea to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us: or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of God's curse) we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they, playing wily beguile themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour: "What though with my body," say they, "I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him."

Backsliding of gospellers.

Ah! brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost not thou confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart is good, or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee[1], adventuring thyself for his cause? or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

Ministers of God.

If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are

(1) Psalm xxxiii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah! faith, faith, how few feel thee now-a-days? Full truly said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith, when he came on earth.[1] For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His word is the lantern to lighten our steps,[2] and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to God's lore and law; for else the more part goeth to the devil. As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The devil is called demon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiser than the children of light in their generation:[3] and I know the devil and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life than Christ's church and her children. They (the devil and his synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and shall have commonly, and for the most part until Christ's coming, much more than the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here.

Lack of faith.

Learning to be followed, so far as it concurreth with God's word.

The synagogue of the devil more furnished with worldly helps than the church of Christ.

And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be: not worldlings, but God's children. Consider where you be: not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a strange country, and in the *midst of* your enemies, except you would leave your captain, Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest and quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do. But my sweet hearts! he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness?[4] Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? "Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord."[5] Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery, look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? "You have heard of the patience of Job," saith St. James, "and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long suffering:"[6] even so I say unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient; that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.[7]

What we be: where we be: amongst whom we be.

Affliction no strange thing amongst God's children.

Example of patriarchs and prophets afflicted in this world.

Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

(1) Luke xviii. (2) Psalm cxix (3) Luke xvi. (4) 1 Pet. iii.
(5) Isaiah xlix. (6) James v. (7) Heb. xii. 2 Cor. iv.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Therefore take heed, for the Lord's sake take heed; take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity.[1] Hearken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.[2]

He exhorteth to come from the mass.

Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance, which we have great need of; because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his holy name's sake in Christ Jesu our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Out of prison by yours in the Lord to command,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Master George Eaton.

The prelates persecute and hate the martyrs, not for their iniquities, but for hatred of Christ, and of his verity in them.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your lovingkindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither, I thank God, I am even now a-going; ever looking when officers will come, and satisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved a hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me; but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do him no hurt (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel), therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants.[3] Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins), that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Bradford giveth testimony of his doctrine.

Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me; and cease not to pray, that God, for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall, by God's grace, in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it; and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently show another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my *vale* and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this

(1) Apoc. xviii. (2) Isa. viii. (3) Matt. ii.

present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen.—God bless all your babes for ever. Amen. —Out of prison this 8th of February. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Your afflicted brother for the Lord's cause,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Ann Warcup.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen.—My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a *vale* or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door; I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord! put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess (right dear to me in the Lord!) that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins. Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

God turneth the deserved death of his, to a glorious testimonial of his truth.

O that I had so open a heart as could so receive as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. O Lord! help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me: Amen, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you amen also; and come after, if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an out-scape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord; pray for mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever, God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me; for God's sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen.—Out of prison, the 7th of February.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

In the story of master Bradford, it was above rehearsed, how a certain gentlewoman, being in trouble by her father and mother for not coming to mass, sent her servant to visit master Bradford in prison; who, tendering the woeful case of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this letter unto her: the contents whereof are these.

Marg. A. D. 1555.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends for not coming to the Mass.

I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly-beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called.[1] Amen.

I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of God's elect by you increased, which are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith.[2] And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.[3]

The cross a token of God's election.

If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you, unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me? by which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide;[4] and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David[5] to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you; and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him.[6] For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things.[7] He will confess you before his Father,[8] which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your Father;[9] he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will reward you with himself and all the glory he hath, that now, for his sake, deny yourselves with all that ever you have;[10] he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he show you how steadfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

Satan ever seeketh to disturb the peace of Christ.

Communicating with Christ in suffering.

Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that, for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do (which God forbid), then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell-fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. "For he that gathereth not with me," saith Christ (as no mass-gospeller doth), "scattereth abroad."[11] According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad.[12] If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds.[13] You cannot be partaker of God's religion and Antichrist's

The mass is the principal service of Antichrist.

(1) Rom. i. (2) 1 Cor. i. (3) 1 Cor. i. and x. (4) Matt. x. (5) Psalm xxii.
(6) 1 John iii. (7) Phil. iii. (8) Matt. x. (9) Matt. viii. (10) 2 Tim. ii.
(11) Luke xi. (12) 2 Cor. v. (13) Matt. xii.

service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church.[1] You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed.[2] You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, trow you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

Against mass-gospellers.

God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works;[3] and therefore in Elias's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his darlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds; as do our mass-gospellers.

A false Christ of the priest's and the baker's making.

The mass destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ.

We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priests' and bakers' making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any *thing* blasphemously done or spoken against God; and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia to offer sacrifice unto them, and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or so much Antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than *it* doth? And how can we then say, "Let thy kingdom come," and go to mass? How can we pray before God, "Thy will be done on earth," when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, "Deliver us from evil," which, knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

But what go I about to light a candle in the noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? "How long will men yet halt on both knees?" saith God. "Halting," saith St. Paul, "bringeth out of the way;" that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell-fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

He dissuadeth her from the mass.

Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making eftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness; as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end. God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands in all things; and especially in this his own cause. Amen, amen.

John Bradford.

To One by whom he had received much Comfort and Relief in his Trouble and Imprisonment.

The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. Amen.

(1) 1 Cor. x. (2) 1 Cor. vi. (3) Psalm cxxv.

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When I consider with myself the benefits which God hath showed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now, being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me), that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God, therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his holy Spirit and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one—that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other—that is, the earthly. For Satan's solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but, as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now-a-days I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for Antichrist's pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God now and for ever, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Christ forsaken of many for the preserving of worldly pelf.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old bed-fellow, for his great friendship for your sake showed to me when I was in the Tower. John Bradford.

To a faithful Friend of his, and his Wife, resolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to Auricular Confession.

The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of ourselves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress, yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel,[1] and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory, and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you: but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same; the which once felt and had in deed, then the means by the which we come thereto cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling (I mean it, of altogether), or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

(1) Note that this Nathaniel was not his proper name; but he was so called for his unfeigned simplicity and truth.

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For auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family (my most dear brother), I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear sister your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, whereas indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as you, both out of prison and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, she believeth not, to answer not him but the Lord, and to say, "Yea Lord, help my unbelief; and increase my poor faith, which Satan saith is no faith: make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be." Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea write them in his counting-book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and show her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth (as he doth it but to prove her), so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking; which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and name's sake. Amen, amen.

What to do, if Satan charge our conscience with unbelief.

The Lord, the longer he tarrieth, the more liberally he recompenseth at his coming.

And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as it was first used and instituted (which was by the way of a counsel asking), I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent; that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it as it is now used (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by God's word do allow it), to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinketh, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes:

Confession auricular, to what end it was first instituted.

First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious; this bringer, my brother, can tell you at large how great this evil is.

Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility; that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins; which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth, praying to saints: "Precor sanctam Mariam," you must say, or the priest for you.

Prejudicial to christian liberty.

Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in God's sight.

A mark of the pope's church.

Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a note, yea a very sinew, of the popish church: and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness there-against.

Giveth poison.

Seventhly, because, instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison; or, if you refuse it under sir John's benedicite, you should no less there be wounded in the briars.

Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross; that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirm their strength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their obstinate

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error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited, do show you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two, the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you shall be guided to do that which is best in God's sight, although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise. But be at a point with yourselves as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow, not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

Four crosses, whereof three bring to hell.

The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven; but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train. Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am appointed to be one; and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living for his name's sake, O how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere. As for unableness to answer for your faith, it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ and many other articles: I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B., and my good sister his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do.

Why the more part go that way that leadeth to perdition.

John Bradford.

To a dear Friend N., and his Wife.

God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever. Amen.

Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to God-ward for you, both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me; and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfully great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation (that is, in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilancy in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in God's sight): I have (I say) not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing; so that wo to me for giving you such offence. Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also, by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

Antichrist reigning in England.

My dearly beloved, heavily is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now are God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word: and all

these we have, yea I alone have justly deserved. Oh! that as I write (I alone), I could with David,[1] and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not. I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word: for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly, as it requireth, etc. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: O good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word; it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us; we have done amiss; we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel; we have procured thy wrath; and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But, good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done (for many yet never heard thy word), for our trespasses; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe: grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist now oppressing us. He exhorteth them by his confession to do the like. His prayer to God.

O good Father, which hast said, that "the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also;"[2] make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldest in the meanwhile, before thou dost deliver us—that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand; and that justly and mercifully; justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poison still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee, whereas they stand so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness' sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here, that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive. Oh! that our eyes were open to see this: that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life; in whose company do thou place us, and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen, amen, amen. The cross sent from God, and to what end.

And thus, dear hearts, I have talked methinks, a little while with you, or

(1) 2 Sam. xxiv. (2) Psalm cxxv.

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rather we have all talked with God. Oh! that God would give us his Spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you.—This 20th of December, by him whom by this bringer you shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen.

To my good Brother Augustine Bernher.

Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you; but come as secretly as you can: howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what master G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. The Lord's will be done. "Behold, here I am, Lord, send me."[2] Ah! mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. "I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against him."[3] Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleedeth: the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end! I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did: and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah! my God, the hour is come; glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen.—Ah! mine own bowels, praise God for me; and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all others most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy, praised be his name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Pierrepoint to learn of the sheriff, master Chester, what they purpose to do with me; and know, if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. "I am like to an owl in the house, and as a sparrow alone in the house-top."[4] Ah! my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet, I trust, that I shall speak with you.

John Bradford.

To these letters of master Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for christian consciences to read and understand.

A Letter of Master Bradford, describing a Comparison between the Old Man and the New, etc.

Comparison between the old man and the new.

A man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, "Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word," according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the

(1) This Augustine being a Dutchman, was Latimer's servant, and a faithful minister in the time of king Edward, and in queen Mary's time a diligent attendant upon the Lord's prisoners.
(2) "Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me."
(3) "Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei."
(4) "Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio, et passer solitarius in tecto." Psal. ci. [Vulgate. —Ed.]

doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord): a man, I say, that is regenerate, *consisteth of two men (as a man may say)*; namely, of the old man, and of the new man: *the old man is like to a mighty* giant, such a one as was Goliath, *for his birth is now perfect; but the new man* is like unto a little child, such a one as was *David*; *for his* birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

Why the old man is stronger than the new.

The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satan's seed, the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And as, inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the serpent (wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception) inclineth him, yea enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

In what respect one man is both an old man, and also a new man

How one man may be called always sinful, and always just.

Why the old man oftentimes prevaileth against the new man.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satan's seed, and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man (being but a child in comparison), and that in such sort, as not only others, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away;[1] whereas, yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell, by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: even so our cecity or blindness, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter,[2] David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For these (I mean God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

As the wife is no sueable person, but the husband; so Christ being our husband, let him enter the action for our sins against him.

This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost, *to the end that he might become our husband (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh), hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by* [it] in his own person, to us all his children, his divine majesty (as Peter saith), and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our sins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our husband Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

(1) The old man so mightily prevaileth sometimes against the new in the children of God, that the spirit and seed of God seemeth to be utterly taken from them: whereas indeed it is not so; as afterwards, to their great comfort, they find and feel.

(2) 1 Pet. i.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do consist of two men), one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

The law pertaineth to the old man, and the gospel to the new.

The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring, doing and avoiding: under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, etc. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us; and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God, as "I am the Lord thy God," etc.[1]

What the law is.

The gospel.

In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good husband Christ, and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feeleth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man; in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it, altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if she lay her head with St. John,[2] then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, etc.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed (that is, God's sweet promises) alonely for ourselves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy husband Christ, and forthwith thou shall see him play Phineas's part.[3] Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you, in few words, a sum of all the divinity which a christian conscience can want.

To the conscience quieted and at peace with God, the law serveth only to keep down the old man.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a Farewell, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

The Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.—If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children; then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away;[4] among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in a house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessaries for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is

(1) The conscience feared and beaten down with the terror of God's judgment against sin, may not look upon the law, but fly to the gospel for relief and comfort.
(2) John xiii. (3) Num. xxv.
(4) He meaneth the danger of more strait imprisonment that might hereby follow.

far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation. *Mary.*

But besides all this, for my soul, I find much more commodity; for God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore, in prisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is, I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs and confessors: which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word? A. D. 1555.

Now, mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them!—I (I say) which always have been and am so vile a hypocrite and grievous a sinner. God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear mother, his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for any such vices, but only for his Christ's sake, for his gospel's sake, for his church's sake, that hereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ; for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was; yea never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah! good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy son's captains and men of war to fight and suffer, for his gospel's sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldst forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death, for thy truth, religion, and gospel's sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee for Christ's sake to accept this my gift, and give my son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen, Amen. A prayer for his mother to offer unto God in his behalf.

If on this sort, good mother, from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good mother, therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily; and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice if that you continue, as I trust you do, in God's true religion, even the same I have taught you, and my father Traves I trust will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily: go to, therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ's sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith,[1] shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, some instructions.

Now, therefore, will I make an end, praying you, good mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you. And therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder. Amen.

I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you; bring up your children in God's fear, and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, Thomas Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, master vicar, the parson of Mottram, sir Laurence Hall, with Exhortation to his two sisters.

(1) This letter came not to our hands. [See Letters of the Martyrs; edit. 1837, page 349.—Ed.]

Mary. A. D. 1555.

all that love, and I trust, live in the gospel; and God turn sir Thomas's heart: Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name; you know it well enough.

Because you should give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good mother, and another for all your house in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them still, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the latter prayer.

Another Letter to his Mother, at his last Farewell unto her in this World, a little before he was burned.

God's mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself: I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, etc.: but I die as a witness of Christ, his gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) as well by preaching as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope): but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates do persecute in me Christ, whom they hate, and his truth which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness. Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the father through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: serve God after his word, and not after custom; beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it; carry Christ's cross as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do; commit my cause to God our Father; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

Bradford persecuted of the prelates, not for his sins, but for the truth of Christ.

I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger: do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would: he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience; he make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity: wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.—Out of prison, the 24th of June, 1555.

Your son in the Lord, John Bradford.

A Letter sent with a Supplication to Queen Mary, her Council, and the whole Parliament.

In most humble wise complaineth unto your majesty and honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity: the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honors and authorities. Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God the constant confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outsweepings of the world: yet (I say) the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your highness and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where

it is enough and sufficeth only to accuse. It behoveth, kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting—much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your highness, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to Antichrist and his prelates, which have brought your highness and honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if, first, it would please your excellent majesty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees (I mean the bishops and prelates) than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For it (the doctrine, I mean) is higher and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained king, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Difference between kings and tyrants.

Good warning to queen Mary.

Princes made slaves to Antichrist.

Christ ordained to bear dominion over all.

But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to whist against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God; calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, etc. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation: yet here will I occasion your majesty and honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

Christ's martyrs falsely belied of the prelates for heretics and schismatics.

John Bradford.

To certain of his Friends, N. S., and R. C.

* I wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of mercies to give me, for his holy name's sake. Amen.

Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion,) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by

A letter to certain persons being at that time not thoroughly instructed in the doctrine of God's election.

True faith.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

reason of miracles,[1] or by reason of earthly commodity, custom and authority of men, which is commonly seen—the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God:[2] but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith): I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the children of God; that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated in Christ unto eternal life.[3]

Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men,[4] but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God.[5] They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most justice; although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by master Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

John Bradford.

NOTES UPON THE SAME EPISTLE, AND TO THE MATTER OF ELECTION[6] APPERTAINING.

As touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of master Bradford, and many other his letters more do much entreat) three things must be considered.

1. First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.
2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.
3. Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation: in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will,

(1) John ii. Acts viii. (2) Matt. xiii.

(3) N.B. For the certainty of this faith, search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord, for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish; for then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost. When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you shall not lie still. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, until you have been scholars in the school-house of repentance and justification, which is the grammar-school, wherein we must be conversant and learned before we go to the university of God's most holy predestination and providence.

(4) 2 Thess. iii. (5) Jer. ix. John v.

(6) Of this matter he writeth more at large in the book of Letters of the Martyrs; [edit. 1837, London. page 302.—Ed.]

through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

The parts of the definition examined.

In this definition of election, first goeth before, "the mercy and grace of God," as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, etc.

Mercy and grace. Free mercy and grace.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be "free," thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, etc.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose; as it is written, "The wind bloweth where it listeth."[1] And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the pre-eminence); and another seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem and chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted: the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted, etc.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own will.

Thirdly, where it is added "in his own will," by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy:"[2] so we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more; and yet they which came last, were rewarded with the first.[3] The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather to justify the publican.[4] The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away,[5] whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, "Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God."[6] Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

John i. God's mercy in saving the elect ever includeth the condition of faith in Christ.

The free grace of God in his own good will, through faith in Christ.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, "Through faith in Christ his Son:" which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle of master Bradford doth well express: for whosoever will be certain of election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all

(1) "Spiritus ubi vult, spirat," etc.
(2) "Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei," etc.
(3) Matt. xx. (4) Luke xviii. (5) Luke xv.
(6) "Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt," etc.

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God's promises to salvation, do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, "If ye abide in the faith."[1] Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ, without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise, worketh our justification; according as it is written, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house."[2] And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared; which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple: so all they that be born of Christ (which is by faith), take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.[3]

Faith only is the immediate cause of our justifying.

Grace, election, vocation, faith, justification, glorification.

Now to the second consideration, let us see likewise, how and in what order this election of God proceedeth, in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first, God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification; justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

Man's free will, blind fortune, wisdom, learning, and merits, works of the law, excluded from the causes of our salvation in Christ.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

Papists confound the doctrine of election.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, which have miserably confounded

(1) "Si permanseritis in fide," etc. Col. i.
(2) "Crede in Dominum Jesum, et salvus eris, tu et domus tua." Acts xvi. (3) Rom. v.

and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. "Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam." And again, "Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:" that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

Election.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election, is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nahor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise than thus: because it was so the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation,[1] and also faith, if the question be asked, why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, "I thank thee Father, which hast hid this from the wise," etc.[2]) why to the unwise, the simple, abjects and outcasts in this world? (of whom speaketh St. Paul, "Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you,"[3] etc.) why to the sinners, and not to the just? why were the beggars by the high-ways called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour, "Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."[4]

Vocation bringeth faith.

And so for justification likewise—if the question be asked, why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee?[5] why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter?[6] why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom?[7] why the son of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's son, being his elder, rejected?[8] why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?[9]—we have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, "Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith:" which faith, as it cometh not by man's will (as the papist falsely pretendeth), but only by the election and free gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read: "And therefore of faith is the inheritance given as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed.[10] Item, in the same chapter, "Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness."

Justification by faith only.

How faith and election are linked together in the act of justifying.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify

(1) That vocation he meaneth here, which is after purpose.
(2) Matt. xi. (3) 1 Cor. i. (4) "Quia, Pater, sic complacitum est ante te." Luke x.
(5) Luke xviii. (6) Luke xi. (7) Matt. xxi. (8) Gen. xxi.
(9) Rom. ix. (10) Rom. iv.

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us, being so linked with God's mercy and election, that wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Election known to God simply. Election known to man by means. Faith is the mean whereby we be certified of our election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *à priore;* yet notwithstanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, *à posteriore;* that is, by means, which means is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by his faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life; for how can a man be justified but he must needs be saved? and how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said, "We must judge of election by that which cometh after,"[1] that is, by our faith and belief in Christ: which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Election first known to God, and last opened to man.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of master Bradford, wherein he saith, "Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first," saith he, "with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and justification by faith, and so to election." Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Every man to stay himself upon God's general promise.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's holy Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations; knowing this, that "Whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish,"[2] "shall not be confounded,"[3] "shall not see death,"[4] "shall not enter into judgment,"[5] "shall have everlasting life,"[6] "shall be saved,"[7] "shall have remission of all his sins,"[8] "shall be justified,"[9] "shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life,"[10] "shall never die,"[11] "shall be raised in the last day,"[12] "shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed."[13]

What faith is. Divers kinds.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss, in like manner, what is this faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds

(1) "De electione judicandum est à posteriore."
(2) John iii. (3) Rom. ix. (4) John viii. (5) John v. (6) John iii. vii. (7) Matt. xxviii. Acts xvi. (8) Acts x. (9) Rom. iii. Gal. ii. (10) John vii. (11) John xi. (12) John vi. (13) Matt. xi.

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there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation: as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day, to be God's only elect people.

Every truth hath its faith, but every truth justifieth not, no more doth every faith.

The only faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

Faith and Christ correlatives.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ: neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

Christ without faith, saveth not. Faith without Christ helpeth not.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, etc., all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this: that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

Grace, election, vocation, Christ's death, causes external of our salvation.

For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with its object, and taketh its virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their

Virtues and works of charity, though they be good gifts of God in man, yet they serve not to justification.

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looking up: even so, after like sort, are we saved by faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this: to believe Jesus Christ to be the son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

The error of the papists perverting the mind of God's testament, how, and wherein.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretensed Catholics do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For whereas the Scriptures, in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholics do quite leave out faith, and, instead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, etc.

And besides these letters above specified of master John Bradford, there have come to our hands certain other letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old friend of the said John Bradford unto us: which letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not yet been printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the christian reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him, that with godly eyes shall devise the same.

To Father Traves, Minister of Blackley (No. 1).

The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, etc.

I have received your two letters, good father Traves, since that I did write any unto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon), than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied); but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not, but because I could not? I mean, because my canning[1] is taken away by sin; for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me; and because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me: I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution (you know what I mean), and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another manner of man, than now I am, and yet God's deserts[2] have otherwise bounden me: but the scripture is true, "I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me; I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me."[3] Perchance you will ask me wherein? O father Traves, I warrant you, this my style, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something show unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things it is nothing. For whereas the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amendeth, as Paul saith, "The outward man is corrupted day by day;" and therefore, except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry; "every

(1) "Canning," wisdom.—Ed. (2) "Deserts," mercies.—Ed. (3) Deut. xxxii

building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple," as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worser.[1] I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by letters I can persuade you. Wherein, will you say? For the first, second, and third, and, to be brief, in all things: as for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me; love to my brethren is exiled from me; faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof are distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning, and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples, not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected), but also of others, on whom lately, for my warning, God hath showed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this: "For the wicked," saith Solomon, "when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security."[2] I am, I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas! the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me! I am sold under sin;[3] I am the bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it?—No, I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey; I obey, I say, mine own concupiscences, namely in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness; I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea too true, thou knowest it, O Lord! for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer[4] (wherein you even take me by the nose), etc., his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh! it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar; for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord, be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say, or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber: the Lord pardon me; I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it, O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

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For God's sake pray for me, good father Traves, and write unto me as you may by your weakness: your letters do me good. But this which I have now written, you may consider more: touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge; there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if when I shall come down, I shall show myself another man outwardly, but alas! feignedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be, I know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and eftsoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need.—This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's day, at Pembroke-hall.

The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner,

John Bradford.

(1) 2 Tim. iii. (2) Prov. xiv. 16. (3) 2 Tim. ii. (4) "Belly-cheer," selfishness.—Ed

Mary.
A. D. 1555.

To Sir Thomas Hall, by Father Traves, of Blackley.

The grace of God our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow-heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday (as we call it), which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us: us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice, then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful, by the which sacrifice we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer, and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and said the Holy Ghost, blessed for ever: Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend John Traves shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which, though it be not so beautiful without, as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes I mean of the body: for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul, if she be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof: If your soul be not delighted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it (I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book), surely your soul is sore sick; for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom you must believe afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in Matt. iv.: "Not only in bread, but in every word of God, the soul doth live." Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an epistle, or a gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he never so holy; for he that is of God[1] heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text? Christ saith, "He that is of God, heareth the word of God:" but other word of God have we none, than in the canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning, saith St. Paul, whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a learning, yea *our* learning, that we must learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either persuade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade men from embracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the gospel Christ saith, when a man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay the devils but no men) think not necessary, God help them! Christ bade his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword: which is none other thing than the word of God; for so St. Paul calleth it, "the sword of the Spirit." Nay, say our great learned men (I lie, they *have* said so, *now* they are ashamed), fetch fire and burn it.

This I say, sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocrisy should persuade or dissuade you from reading the holy word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson: attend reading, and let the word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, saith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: "even as much as in you is," saith Peter; not once a year or once a quarter as a strawberry,[2] but so much as in you is. This word of God trieth all doctrine; for we ought to have our conscience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the word of God in the canon of the Bible set it out (I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words); for no other foundation can any man lay, beside that which is laid. St. Paul saith, the groundwork is laid already. Even so, saith he to the Ephesians: "We be his workmanship, to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them." He saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think, then, of such works as man's wit hath founded, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and

(1) John viii. (2) A trifling matter, or, perhaps, a dainty.—Ed.

reverently with prayer (I mean not Latin service not understood, but with true hearty prayer), and mark what the law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we, seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so amplect Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased: which Christ is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain Antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth. For the trumpets of the army (I mean, still God's word), when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace therefore God's holy word, and be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers, as I am now (which, if I may use this term, defile God's word). God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeal but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's holy word. I wot not what I do to confess it. So it is. I have sent to you other books which I pray you read. I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, etc., Sir Laurence, etc.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

This 20th of March.

A very painted hypocrite, John Bradford,
Yours in Christ for ever.

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste.

If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves (which God forbid), I pray you burn my letters out of hand.

To Father Traves (No. 2).

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro."—If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me, unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess mine ingratitude towards you, upon your behalf anempst me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so show I myself to write; and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, etc., whereof you accuse yourself, I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned; not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glass I may learn by you, in dejecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed "duplici vestitu," now only but with fig leaves hypocritishly gilded, of which dejection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud: for what have you that you have not received? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living: for "through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven."[1] Yea they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter *Thau*, the instruments which work "suspiria æternæ vitæ," and therefore to be embraced. Believe me this is the most excellent gift of God; a man to deject and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I, most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a-going to bed with Jesabel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is, "afflictio maxima." O Lord, help me and deliver me for Jesus' sake; anoint mine eyes with ointment, that I may see. O give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense; but awaken my sleeping soul, that Christ may shine in me. You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me; but I am little or nothing moved therewith. I work therein (yet not I, but God's Spirit); not of a repentant faithful mind, but (I cannot tell how) of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord! forgive me for saying so (it is thy gift); forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus' sake, and grant me, as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou, by thy Holy Spirit, glorify by me the same. So be it So be it.

(1) "Per multas tribulationes oportet ingredi regnum Dei."

Mary. A.D. 1555. Since my coming to London, I was with master Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose, by God's grace to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, *fiat.*) He willed me (as I have done) to write to my master who is in the country, and to show him, that if within a certain time which I appointed (fourteen days), he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my lord protector, and the king's majesty's council to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail; and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose mine own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, etc., shall ensue. What then? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am: if death come, welcome be it: if slander, etc. Even as thou wilt Lord, so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein; and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen.—Pray, pray for me; cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that this bringer hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who (as no man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth (to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family), the shortness of time, and this said bringer's importance, is the only let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir John Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknown that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling; which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after master Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did hear.

By your poorest friend, John Bradford.

It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common Places, for I have another.

To Father Traves (No. 3).

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now, and ever, Amen.

To excuse this my long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) letters written to you by John Moss; it pleased God to send my master hither to London, whom (as I lately before had advertised by letters) I moved (you know wherein), and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, etc. Whereunto he answered, that if the books would declare it, he would satisfy, etc. The books I showed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved than he had cause (God be praised there-for, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it), at times, as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He, thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time, and the fear of God's justice (which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me), he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious conscience (for "animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei:") and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I showed him that (God witnessed with me), I went about no such thing: he said, that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving eftsoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than before, I, doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon (the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart, mind, and all others) I was something more sharp, and told him, "non ego tamen, sed gratia tua, Domine," I would obey God more than man: the

which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to master Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my lord protector (whose grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the ports) master Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter. In this mean time I bade my bedfellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally, for my master discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either house or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his (untruly, thou knowest, good Lord), and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could,—I bade, I say, my said bedfellow to show my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises, that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I trust (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness which ever hath borne with me), I spent the time in which I have been silent, to write, nay babble to you. And he, departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life according as my bedfellow, and therefore more to be suspected (for though "pietas non est suspiciosa," as I should think myself rather *impius;* yet Christ bade us to be "prudentes sicut serpentes"), this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and ability preserved ("et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?") And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money; which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it. For thus master Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Samson, that moved David to slay Uriah, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than *timor Domini*. What say I? "there?" Yea, yea, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us): doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter (though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented. Pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly), that I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not (grant it Lord), but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly. Thus I have (like myself) foolishly but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly comprehended (arrogant, nay God's working unthankful, wretch!) my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me in expecting from you correction, as I have herein given cause, may, though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch, to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life. But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice (mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation, O Lord be merciful unto me), I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so? as though this so were any thing: O! hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas! father Traves, (let me so call you,) I am hard-hearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so beneficial a Lord, yea a Father, as I, wretch and most miserable sinner, am. This I speak, but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee good Father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly; as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy

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of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself, I hide me with Adam in the garden; I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jesabel's bed (quod est afflictio maxima), until it please God to anoint mine eyes "collyrio," until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy mere grace; it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature, and most unthankful hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name. Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption. I will confess it (thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee), I will confess it; it is most true, John Traves; I but only write it, for it is not I, it is Hypocrisy. "Scientia" (if I had it) "inflaret," O Lord, grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me: yet I feel them not. The Lord deliver me! Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me. O Lord, even "tua fiat voluntas:" unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, etc. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked): memento "Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis." This text as a text of most comfort (as it is indeed, and when God will, I shall feed on it) did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation (this day of resurrection) is nearer now than when we believed. Therefore, "qui perseveraverit salvus erit." For "consummabitur prævaricatio," saith Daniel, "finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit, et quandocunque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis." O Lord, open mine eyes, which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words: open mine eyes, good Lord, "ne nunquam obdormiam in morte." Pray for me, and commend me to your good bedfellow, "et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto." Thus I make an end (for it is time, you may say), and I pray you still, water sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and, when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for me. And as you can see a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never, in my being in the country this winter, at any time called it to remembrance; the Lord forgive me! I would by some occasion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us. Amen.—The peace of God be with you, Amen.

From the Temple, this 22d of March, 1547.

Yours in Christ most bounden, John Bradford.

I have sent you three pair of good spectacles, I trow; and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

To Father Traves (No. 4).

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax," etc.—My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coarcting me, to write not so much of things (which I will omit), as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This master Latimer thinks to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name; as for that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me (God I should say) through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as before I had ado withal: I call it a contempt. Well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vaingloriously spoken; for the which fault amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you, even to this end; that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working. If the thing seem, by God's Spirit in you, that I presume, then, for the Lord's sake, advertise me: for I am much given to that disease; the Lord deliver me! I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant: yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years. You look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient), I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my book at Cambridge; and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my *etiam non*, and not *etiam, etiam*. A tumbling stone gathereth no moss: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a cross to you, for "sufficit sua diei afflictio," we are more set by than many sparrows. But if my mother, or sir Thomas Hall, murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough (presumptuously spoken), I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

I have sent you a book of Bucer[1] against Winchester, in English, lately translated, which I never read; therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more than you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common-places, or the Declaration of the Faith, by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly by God's grace, I will send you Primitiæ Laborum meorum, a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet, to warn you of that you know not: in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so are all that know me; I

(1) Namely, "The Gratulation of the moste famous Clerke, Martin Bucer; and hys Answere unto the two rayling Epistles of Stevē, Bishoppe of Winchester, concerning the unmarried state of Præstes and Cloysterars, etc.; imprynted at London by R. Jugge." Dibdin's Ames's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iv. p. 264. The same work gives the title of the "Common Places," mentioned by Bradford, "A Declaration of the Twelve Articles of the Christen Faythe, with Annotations of the Holy Scripture, where they be grounded in," etc., by D. Urbanum Regium, 1548, p. 243. See also Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 106. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

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never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the priest saith matins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us

From the Temple, this 12th of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him, and for me.

A very hypocrite, John Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 5).

The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increase with you unto the end.—To declare myself, as I am, a carnal man, which understand not the things that be of the Spirit: these my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare not less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end: for how can a man gather figs of briers? These words, as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise: but, father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am: but to the matter. This present day, by God's grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge, where, I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas! I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account, even for every hair-breadth, as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart), I should then come to the feeling of myself; then should I hate sin, which I now love; then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn; then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray; whereas now, I am as dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying as he that never knew any taste of it. Which thing once I felt (thanks to the Lord); but now, for mine unthankfulness, I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas! why do I lie, in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercy's sake draw me, yea compel me, to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to call from, as I have called to, sin; but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogancy. Alas! what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member; I thought I should have been therein profitable, but *Medice, cura teipsum.* How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate. Nothing I fear me, yea I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word: yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore eftsoons I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me, whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured.' My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend, by God's favour, to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part; it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the Prologues, etc.

John Bradford.

I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge. Write to me.

To Father Traves (No. 6).

The loving kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek Lamb, Jesus Christ, our

only satisfaction and mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be increased, and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, etc. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs and spiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, etc., and worldliness, the Lord deliver me! I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interturb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I am wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss; and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you: "Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, etc. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et con-regnabimus." You know that Christ, "etsi Filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam." "Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaque in parte diminuti:" and doth not *patientia* come of *probatio?* The one then you had, so that you were going a-school to learn the other, which learnt, what want you? The end of all God's proving, is, as Paul saith, "Ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri, qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, etc. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat." And that the Lord knoweth how "eripere pios è tribulatione," and that "in tempore opportuno," even shortly: for "haud tardat qui promisit:" "nam modicum tempus, et videbis me;" "veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit." "Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi, gaudete," saith Peter, "ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes." Oh, how doth my will over-run my wit. Why, Bradford! whom writest thou unto? thou showest thyself. Thus, father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, rhyme, or reason. I will not blot it out, as I thought to have done: for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write, for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling-block, "ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant." Send me such counsel as the Lord's Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be "minister verbi." *Alas!* I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea most wickedly mispent it, etc. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you and your bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me.

This Assumption-day in Katherine's-hall, in Cambridge.

Yours, with all I have and can, John Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 7).

The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold, either in writing much or often, as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit, I am certain, doth not move you to write to me, yet, for God's sake, pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though

Mary. A. D. 1555.

it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lord's pleasure, to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning: pray for me. "Herus meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus." I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me "in egestate aut angustiis esse." No, father, the Lord giveth me "omnia affatim," and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship: I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Arts, which else I could not have attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need "de crastino solicitus esse," as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste, as appeareth, the 22d of October. Ne sciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, etc. Miserrimus peccator,

J. Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 8).

The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, "qui effieit omnia in omnibus." Amen.

Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain: yet, because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you, for God's sake, to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord, who knoweth all things, doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, your good prayer shall return into your own bosom. And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner by prayer (whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, etc.), the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God, for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake, therefore, begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden conscience of the great weighty burden, for so I did write to you; yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burden also: for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For whereas you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars, did forsake me,[1] and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean "per herum et heriles amicos," yet the Lord hath given me here in the university as good a living as I would have wished; for I am now a fellow of Pembroke-hall, for the which neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine-hall, and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke-hall, whether should have me, "fit hoc tibi dictum." Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pound a year; for I have allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings four-pence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, etc., and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I new to God, for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he showeth unto my soul. Surely, father Traves, I have clean forgotten God; I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my letters to you. I am all sensual, without the true

(1) Gen. xxxvii. 9.

fear of God, another manner of man than I have been since my calling. Alas! father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance; but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very worldling, and to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all others. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord: and if my mother had not sold the fox-fur which was in my father's gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth. Yours for ever,

Mary. A.D. 1555.

John Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 9).

The selfsame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteously, though now, through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess; yea, if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me: the same mercy, etc., I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness: hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you, in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for me, which am fallen into such a security, and even a hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's abjection do write this: before the Lord, which knoweth the hearts of all men, I lie not. Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good father Traves, my necessity, though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For whereas I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as alas! if shame were in me, I might be ashamed to write it; but much more to write it, and think it not: such is the reward of unthankfulness. For whereas God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of (the which benefit should bind me to all obedience), alas! father Traves, I am too unthankful: I find no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you; but now, through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum, possesseth me. The Lord, whom I only with mouth (my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me; and for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution. Pray to the Lord, that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen.—I thank you for your cheese, and so doth father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese; and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means showeth nothing but most high love to me: and I again a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haste. The sinful John Bradford.[1]

*In [2] the month of May before, mention was made of certain letters directed from the king and the queen to Bonner, then being bishop of London. Besides which letters, certain others had been directed a little before from the council to the said bishop; by occasion of which letters, Bonner, not long after, caused a certain declaration to be made at Paul's-cross, by Chedsey, unto the people, to purge and wash himself from the common and general suspicion of cruelty, which was spread abroad of him among the common people: the copy of which his declaration I thought here not to suppress, but, in this place, to set forth.

(1) In the Tract Society's Works of the British Reformers another letter is here added on Romans viii.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, page 1217.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

A Declaration made at Paul's Cross by Doctor Chedsey, at the commandment of Bonner, then Bishop of London.

My lord mayor, master aldermen, master sheriffs, and all you here now assembled: my lord bishop of London, your ordinary, hath desired to declare unto you all, that upon Friday last he did receive two letters from the court; the one came from the king's and queen's majesties, the other from their majesties' privy council. The effect of that letter which came from the privy council, was concerning procession and prayer to be made for the obtaining and concluding of peace between the emperor's majesty and the French king; the effect of that letter which came from the king's and queen's majesties was for the charitable instruction and reformation of heretics, if they would amend, and for their punishment if they would be wilful and obstinate; and you shall hear the tenor and words of both. The superscription of the letter coming from the privy council was this: "To our very good lord the bishop of London, with diligence." The subscription was: "Your lordship's loving friends, Francis Shrewsbury; Pembroke; Thomas Cheney; William Peter; Thomas Wharton; Richard Southwell." The words of the body of the letter were these: "After our right hearty," etc.

The superscription of the letter coming from the king's and queen's majesties was this: "To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved the bishop of London." The sign manual was "Philip and Mary:" the tenor was "Right reverend," etc.; and lo, here is the signet put to the said letters.

And whereas by these letters, coming from the king's and queen's majesties, it appeareth that their majesties do charge my lord bishop of London and the rest of the bishops with remissness and negligence in instructing the people infected with heresy, if they will be taught, and in punishing them if they will be obstinate and wilful, ye shall understand that my lord bishop of London, for his part, offereth himself ready to do therein his duty to the uttermost; giving you knowledge that he hath sent to all the prisons of the city to know what persons are there for heresy, and by whose commandment: and that he will travail and take pains with all that be of his jurisdiction for their amendment; and sorry he is that any are in prison for any such matter. And he willed me to tell you, that he is not so cruel or hasty to send men to prison as some be—slanderous and wilful to do naught, and lay their faults on other men's shoulders.

Moreover my said lord bishop willed me to declare unto you, that upon Wednesday next at eight of the clock in the morning, there shall be here at Paul's a sermon before the general procession; and, that sermon being done, there shall be a general procession through this city, according to the tenor of the council's letters; and I do warn here this assembly, and, by them, all others of this city, to be present at the same.*

WILLIAM MINGE.

The next day after master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel: which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake; and as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

JAMES TREVISAM BURIED IN THE FIELDS, AND SUMMONED AFTER HIS DEATH.

On the 3d of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who, being impotent

and lame, kept his bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible; and, as he was in reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman; all which folks, the said Berd the promoter, there being, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door), but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller, a founder. "Yea," saith he, "be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moor-field, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befel upon him, I have not certainly to say.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Farthing, parson of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, accuseth Trevisam.

The History of Master John Bland, Preacher and Martyr, constantly suffering for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together, for one cause; of the which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvenden. This master Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men; for his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue: under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this present do handsomely flourish; in the number of whom is Dr. Sands,[1] a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well beseem a scholar meet for such a schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

(1) Some time bishop of Worcester, now archbishop of York.

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After this he, coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he, being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword," etc. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

Bland offered by his friends to be delivered, refuseth.

A Discourse of the whole Process and Doings of Master Bland, written and reported by himself to his Father in his own Letter, as followeth.

Dearly beloved Father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and, to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever. Your son, John Bland.

Declaration of the Troubles of John Bland, how and by whom he was apprehended, and brought to his Condemnation.

First, the 3d of September,[1] being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord's table), and laid both his hands upon it, saying, "Who set this here again?" (Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again.) The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, "He is a knave that set it here." I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, "Goodman Austen, the queen's highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition." And ere I could speak any more, he said, "Thou art a knave:" and I said, "Well, goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said." "By God's soul," quoth he, "thou art a very knave."

Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure: but he said, "Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face." And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it.[2] Wherefore I rode by and by to master Isaac, and showed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable or borsholder, which was incontinently served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

Isaac a good justice.

The communion table set up again.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid table after the communion was done; and as I

(1) A.D. 1553.—Ed.
(2) Note the uncharitable spirit of this papist, and so commonly of them all.

was going by them, Richard said unto me, "Master parson, we have to speak to you." And I said, "What is your will?" And he said, "You know that you took down the tabernacle or ceiling wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompense you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again." Quoth I, "I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment." "No," said Thomas Austen, "ye will not know the queen's proceedings." "Yes," said I, "I refuse not to know them."

Then said Richard, "Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass." "Goodman Austen," said I, "if I so said, I will say it again; and, God willing, stand to the proof of it." "Masters all," quoth Richard Austen, "bear record of these words;" and went his way. Thomas Austen and Richard Austen pick matter against Bland.

Quoth Thomas Austen, "Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them." "No," quoth I, "not so soon." "Tell us," quoth he, "what that devilishness is, that is in the mass." "I have often preached it unto you," said I, "and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you." Bland charged for speaking against the mass.

"Thou," quoth he, "hast told us always, like a heretic as thou art." "Now ye lie, goodman Austen," quoth I, "by your leave." "Marry," quoth he, "thou liest." And I said, "And you lie; for I have taught you Christ and his truth."

Quoth he, "Thou art a heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true." "Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven; and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly."

Quoth he, "Thou hast taught us like a heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell." "Well," said I, "lie on; me thinketh you can say little truth." False accusation.

Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, "Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?" "No," quoth I, "except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did."

"Well, if you will not," said he, "then will I: for I am churchwarden." "I charge you," said I, "that you do not, except you have authority." Austen threateneth to bring in a popish priest against Bland.

"I will," said he, "not let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher, that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming." "Yes," quoth I, "God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached."

"Yes," quoth he, "and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then." "No, goodman Austen, I will not run away."

"Marry," quoth he, "I cannot tell; thou art as like yea, as nay." With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning-prayer I said to the clerk, "Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day." "No," quoth he, "master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said, his master hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come." That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead.

Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie; for some said, I had them at Adisham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Other said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adisham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed, the other should not. God forgive them all! Now upon these two matters they crack that they sent two bills of complaint to the council: wherefore by the counsel of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by master Wiseman. False slander against Bland.

The behaviour of John Bland, Parson of Adisham, in the County of Kent, the Sunday, the 3d Day of December last past [1553], containing the Words which he there spake unto the People.

Whereas upon certain communication had between the said parson and Richard Austen and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adisham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then

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declared, that the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour, divers and sundry persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the parson, that the preacher appointed had urgent business, and could not come: so that the multitude being now come together, the same parson, perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, "Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who now cannot be present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some exhortation for your edifying." And so further declaring that he had no license to preach, said that he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle of the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the same epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another. And there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places; and so, making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

Bland, parson of Adisham, cleareth himself of false slander.

Bland exhorting the people to love and quietness.

Witnesses the undernamed, with divers others:

Edmund Mores. William Forstall.
Richard Randall. Thomas Gooding.
John Hills.

Another Matter of Trouble wrought against John Bland, as appeareth by his own Narration.

Upon the Innocents' day, being the 28th day of December,[1] they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, "Master parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings." "No," quoth I, "I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing." "What say ye?" quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time (that all in the church heard), that I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, "I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people." And the clerk did so.

A popish mass-priest brought to say mass at Adisham.

And the priest came down to the stall, where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel-door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always showed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book doth, saying, "Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation:[2] so that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood."

Bland again exhorteth the people in his parish church.

The right institution of the sacrament.

And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament: and showed

He speaketh of the abuse of the sacrament in the mass.

(1) A.D. 1553. Bland states, in his own report of an examination which he underwent on the 2d of March [1555], that he had been in prison "a whole year." On the 9th of March he states, that he had been in prison ever since certain words were uttered by him; and he then names one year and ten weeks as the interval which had elapsed. He therefore evidently refers back to this occasion (28th Dec. 1553.) There is however some error here, which it is difficult to set right. By Bland's own narrative it appears that he was *arrested* on this 28th of Dec. [1553], and taken to Canterbury, but bailed the next day: that he remained out upon bail, until the 23d or 24th of Feb. [1554], and then lay in Canterbury Castle ten weeks (namely, to about the 5th of May); that he again continued out upon bail *until* the 3d of July [1554]: after which time he was in close confinement until his martyrdom. Taking these data, furnished by himself, the periods during which Bland had been confined previously to the 9th of March, 1555, do not exceed ten months and a half.—Ed. (2) "Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ," etc.

how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship. *Mary.*

And after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass. A. D. 1554 to 1555.

And ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the borsholder, his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, "Thou heretic;" some, "Thou traitor;" some, "Thou rebel;" and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was something past, "Be quiet, good neighbours," said I, "and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me." But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, "Peace, masters; no more till mass be done:" and they ceased. He declareth how the mass was patched and pieced together, and by what popes.

Then said I to the churchwarden and the borsholder (either holding me by the arm), "Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done." "No," quoth the churchwarden, "thou shalt tarry here till mass be done." "I will not," quoth I, "but against my will." And they said, "Thou shalt tarry: for if thou go out, thou wilt run away." Then said I to the borsholder, "Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me:" and turned my back to the altar. Bland violently plucked down in his sermon, by the churchwarden.

By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the borsholder and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me; and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. Bland thrust into a side chapel till the mass was done;

When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden (after many brablings that they made with me), "Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's." "Ye lie, goodman Austen," said I, "it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's." his dagger taken from him.

Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, "Sir, where dwell you?" And therewith Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, "Come on, sirra, you are of his opinion:" and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. "I am content," said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. Ramsey apprehended by T. Austen.

By this time there came in at the church-style, one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, "How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws?" "No," quoth he. "Then there is no transgression." Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, "Ye are one of their opinion; ye shall go with them for company:" and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons weaponed. A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with master Hardes, justice, master Oxenden, master Spilman, and master Tutsam. John Gray of Wingham troubled. Bland and Ramsey carried to Canterbury.

The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes, were bound in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogeking and Simon Barrat.

Now the 23d or 24th of February [1554], sir Thomas Finch, knight, and master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by sir Thomas Moyle's commandment (they said), where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the 19th of May: but in the meantime the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court. Bland taken from his sureties. Sir T. Moyles.

Mary. A.D. 1554 to 1555.

The first Examination of Master John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Master Collins, Commissary, May 18, 1554.

The 18th day of May, master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and master Collins, commissary, into Christ's church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, "Art thou a priest?" And I said, "I was one." And he said, "Art thou a graduate of any university?" And I said, "Yea." "What degree," said he, "hast thou taken?" "The degree," quoth I, "of a master of arts." "The more pity," quoth he, "that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not?" And I said, "I have been so." "Marry," quoth he, "so I understand."

Bland master of arts of Cambridge.

"What hast thou preached?"

And I said, "God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people."

"No, no," quoth he; "to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me."

"I told you," quoth I, "what I have preached."

"Nay, but tell me," quoth he, "what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest? I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me."

"No, by my faith," quoth he, "but only that I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal: for thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration.[1] Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?"

"Sir," quoth I, "I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But, seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think thus I am not bound to make you an answer."

Collins:—"Master Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

A man not bound to answer such as ask of purpose to bring him into trouble.

Bland:—"I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I know that master archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble."

Then they said, "No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here."

Bland:—"I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise."

Master Bland upon promise talketh of the sacrament.

And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last master Collins said, "Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?"

Bland:—"Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake."

And they said, ye shall not, but it is for other matters.

Mark what fidelity is in the promise of these men.

Bland:—"Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to master Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal."

Then said master archdeacon, "I will write to master Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss."

Bland:—"That shall not need; for I can sustain no great loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day." "No," quoth he.

Bland warned to appear again before them.

Bland:—"Sir, I cannot well come on Monday."

Harpsfield:—"Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?"

Bland:—"I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day."

(1) Note how these papists seek for matter, to suck the blood of poor men.

Harpsfield:[1]—"Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Bland:—"Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or master Collins, for God's sake, to confer scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?"

Harpsfield:—"With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt:" and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Cranbrook, the 3d of July.

Another Appearance of Master Bland before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.

The 21st day of May I appeared in the Chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and master archdeacon said thus to me, "Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I, for my part, shall be right glad to show you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What sayest thou?" False surmises pretended against Bland.

Bland:—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And whereas your mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there master Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: whereat I much marvelled, and said to him that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this can master Vaughan, master Oxenden, master Seth of Overland, and master Ugden witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it." The answer of Bland to Harpsfield. Cleareth himself of the false report of Harpsfield.

Harpsfield:—"Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is."

Bland:—"I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience."

Harpsfield:—"Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

Bland:—"I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, etc., with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true."[2]

Harpsfield:—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland:—"No."

Harpsfield:—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were, since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith;" with many words more which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, Popish faith of Harpsfield.

(1) Note here the extreme dealing of the pretensed Catholics.
(2) To believe the articles of our christian faith never so well, will not suffice the papists.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, "By what law and authority will ye proceed against me?" Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

Bland requireth to have his counsellor.

Bland:—"I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield:—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland:—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and master Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me."

The papists ever false of promise.

Harpsfield:—"I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my lord of Dover, and master Collins, to hear us."

Bland:—"No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands." Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, "Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question?" And he said, "Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won."

Bland's question to Harpsfield.

Bland:—"Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, 'Hail, full of grace,' etc., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man?" Whereat as well master archdeacon, as my lord of Dover, and master Collins staid. But my lord spake the first, and said, "The Holy Ghost came to her;" and ere he had brought out his sentence, master Syriac Peters said, "Virtus altissimi obumbravit." "Truth," said master archdeacon, "it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost."—They had forgotten, that "genitus fuit ex substantia patris;" or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I said, "Sir, shall I ask one other?" And he said, "Yea." "Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?"

Another question of Bland to Harpsfield.

The answer of Harpsfield.

Harpsfield:—"Hark," said master archdeacon; "hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament: but it is no absurdity; for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question."

Bland:—"Sir, if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration."

Harpsfield:—"I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?" And while he spake many other words, I said to master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his Apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying master Petit partly recited to master archdeacon.

Harpsfield:—"Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act?[1] and yet no inconvenience, although his

(1) How can the glorified body be in the sacrament, when the sacrament was given before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified? "The body unglorified was given in the sacrament, in a glorified act," quoth Harpsfield.

natural body was not crucified: for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?" *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, "When Christ was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight."

Harpsfield:—"Ye say truth, my lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles."

Bland:—"This methinks is new doctrine."

Harpsfield:—"Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in, and prove these matters against him." And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then master archdeacon rose up and said, "See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him." Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, "I pray you," said he, "let us be no more troubled with him." Harpsfield reviveth the bill of complaint against Bland.

And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but "Do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it." Then said Thomas Austen, "Bland, ye were once abjured." Thomas Austen chargeth him with another untruth.

Bland:—"Ye say not truly, goodman Austen, I was never abjured." "Either," said he, "ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon." "Neither of both; ye speak this of malice:" with many other brabling words more.

Then master archdeacon departed, and left master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to master commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to master commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor: but master commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

Now in the meantime was the sessions holden at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the 3d of July. And sir John Baker said, "Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot: where were ye born and brought up?" And I said, I was born in England. And he said, "where?" And I said, "In Sedberg, and brought up by one doctor Lupton, provost of Eton college." "Well," said he, "I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon." Bland appearing at sessions in Cranbrook. Dr. Lupton, provost of Eton college.

Then said sir Thomas Moyle, "Ah! Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called." "Nor will," quoth sir John Baker. "Master sheriff, take him to your ward:" and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person. Bland laid in Maidstone gaol, and carried to Rochester.

Then master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what, I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, "Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden." Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the 18th and 19th of February [1555]. I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to sir John Baker, master Petit, master Web, and two others whom I know not. Bland carried again to Maidstone. Bland appeareth at Greenwich.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Another Examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker. Feb. 19, 1555.

Baker :—"Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?"

Bland :—"I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in."

Baker :—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"

Bland :—"For an unjust complaint put upon me."

Baker :—"What was the complaint?"

(I told him as truly and briefly as I could.)

Baker :—"Let me see thy book;" (and I took him a Latin Testament.)

Baker :—"Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"

Bland :—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do."

Baker :—"Will ye do as I said?"

A question propounded to sir John Baker.

Bland :—"Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"

Baker :—"Yea."

Bland :—"Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?"

Baker :—"Away, away:" and threw down the book, and said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And master Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, "Master Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If ye have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."

Hasty judgment of a justice.

Baker :—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldest be unburned: hence, knave, hence!" And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar.

Bland and his fellows sent to the ordinary.

And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, "Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution." And one of our company said, "My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever."

Another Appearance of Master Bland in the Spiritual Court. March 2, 1555.

Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the 2d of March, at which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Creechurch, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, master Collins, master Mills, with others; and then went to them master Oxenden, master Petit, master Web, and master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, master Web said, "Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy."

And I said, "Master Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?"

Web :—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge."

The answers of master Bland first to the justices.

Bland :—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."

Web :—"Yes; ye denied to sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."

Bland :—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words there than I well remember.

Then stood up master Petit, and said, "Ye were cast into prison, because ye fled away from your ordinary."

Bland :—"Then have I had wrong; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No," quoth he; "ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear

the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented: and then we were sent to Westgate, into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they dispatched (by what means I cannot tell), whose name was Cornwall a tanner.[1] *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover,[2] or suffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these catholic persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain popish letter, written of a papist unto him; wherein is declared what a gospeller the said Richard Thornton was in king Edward's time, who now, turning with the world, showeth himself such a bitter persecutor against God's servants in queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popish Letter written to the Bishop of Dover, by one Thomas Goldwell a Priest, declaring what a Professor the Bishop was in King Edward's time.

Right reverend, and my good lord,—after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my lord's grace,[3] I gave him your letters: but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in England, as well against the holy sacrament of the altar, and against the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as with the use of the abominable late communion, and with the marriage of priests, as well religious as secular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet, if any new mutation (the which God forbid) should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide that your absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters past, yet your lordship (more regarding the vanity of the world, than the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing mass in pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following; and also to ministrate to children the sacrament of confirmation, because that one (being a member of the devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

Thornton, bishop of Dover, a great doer against the pope and sacrament of the altar, in king Edward's time.

O my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and yourself, and also edification to all good people (though all worldly men and heretics would therefore have laughed you to scorn), if you, considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would, like as you have offended in the face of the world to the damnation of many, likewise have showed yourself penitent in the face of the world to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrated for vanity pontificaliter; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence totaliter from the altar, according to the old custom of the church; the which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto enjoined of any man: but that which is past cannot be called

(1) Cornwall, a tanner, dispatched in secret prison.
(2) See an act passed in the 26th year of the reign of Henry VIII. c. 14, naming certain towns from which suffragan bishops were to take their titles. This act was repealed in the reign of Elizabeth.—Ed.
(3) He meaneth of the arrival of Cardinal Pole.

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again. And I thought it not my part to leave your lordship, mine old friend and master, in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not to solicit your cause with my lord's grace, till at the last I obtained of his grace, for your lordship, all the faculties of the which I send you a copy here enclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for others, desiring your lordship so to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke; not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them: for hitherto there is never a bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his cure. Only master archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great than be these your lordships. Wherefore your lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such priests as have cure of soul, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your lordship to the protection of Almighty God.—Written at Brussels, the 16th of June, 1554.

Power to give absolution granted to the bishop of Dover from the Cardinal.

Your lordship's bead-man,
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the bishop of Dover, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examinations of Master Bland, let us hear his own report of his answers, as followeth:

Bland:—"Here followeth mine answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the 9th of March, in the chapter-house of Cree-church, in the presence of as many as they had chosen; the mayor of the city being called to be assistant, and all others shut out."

The Answer of Master Bland in his Appearance before the Commissary and others in the Spiritual Court. [March 9, 1555.]

Master Collins said, "Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?"

Bland unjustly suspected of heresy, and more unjustly punished.

Bland:—"I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it."

Collins:—"Ye were convented before master archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge."

Bland:—"That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law."

The bishop of Dover once abhorred the mass.

Then said my lord Suffragan, "But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol."

Bland:—"You, my lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years." "Thou liest," quoth he, "I never said so."

Collins the commissary professed before, the true doctrine of free justification by Christ.

Bland:—"My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear master Collins, at a visitation in Wingham say, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come; contrary to that he saith now."

And here we had more words of this matter, which I do let pass for lack of good remembrance.

Master Collins said, "This is but a drift. You were better answer now; for

eise you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you."

Bland:—"Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law."

Collins:—"This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now."

Bland:—"To that then will I answer: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same creed; and I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the mass creed; and in the creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true."[1]

Bland confesseth all the articles of his creed.

Collins:—"This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you."

Bland:—"Let me know the law, that it is in that force (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me), and I will answer.'

Collins:—"How say ye, will ye answer?"

Bland:—"Sir, I have answered you." "Have him away," said my lord of Dover; "he had better have answered."

Bland:—"My lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law."

Bishop of Dover:—"Ye have preached many heresies in Adisham, where I am parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them."

Bland:—"Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year and more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow."

Collins:—"It is not a year ago since you were before master archdeacon and me."

Bland:—"It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinketh your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty."

Bland appeared at five sessions, and could not have his cause tried.

Collins:—"All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?"

Bland:—"I pray you, wherefore am I brought hither?"

Collins:—"To answer to such things as are demanded of you."

Bland:—"Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law."

Collins:—"Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you."

Called before the spiritual judges, not for any matter they had, but that they would have against him.

Then they had spied master Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, "Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer:" and he said, as they had said.

Collins:—"Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and Man?"

Bland:—"Master commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question more than any other man here." And after a little talk, my lord of Dover asked me this question: "Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?" And I said, "No, I do not so believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh."

Bland denieth the reality of Christ's presence in the sacrament.

Then master Glasier said, "That was the opinion of the Capernaites; there is no man here of that opinion:" and spake long of cutting Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.[2]

(1) If the faith of the sacrament be in the Scripture, and so necessary a thing, why did not the apostles then put it in the creed, and make thirteen articles? If it be not in the Scripture nor yet put in the creed, why then doth the pope so extremely bind us unto it?

(2) The Capernaites took Christ to speak literally of his body, and so do the Papists, and not the Protestants.

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Then master doctor Faucet said, "Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus stand against the church, for Christ saith, 'Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him.' And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ."

Determination of the church is to be followed so far as the church determineth by the Scriptures.

Bland:—"Master doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation; nor ever will, God willing." "Then," quoth he "I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog."

Then said master Glasier,—"How think ye? Did Paul, when he said, 'Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ?' did he mean baker's bread?"

Bland:—"Though he did not mean baker's bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh."

Glasier:—"No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine."[1]

Bland:—"Then the apostles had it not as we have: or else his glorified body was crucified for us."

Glasier:—"Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures; for Christ's body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the godhead: yea, and he showed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Tabor; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?"

Bland:—"Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body: and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water."

"Tush," quoth my lord of Dover, "that was done by prayer." But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my lord said.

It availeth not to reason with the papists in time of their kingdom.

Bland:—"Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booted you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius,[2] Cochlæus, nor yet of the detection of the devil's sophistry of my lord chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known that some be here, that something I can say in them."

Dover:—"No, you know Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and such others."

Bland:—"Indeed, my lord, I have seen part of their doings."

Dover:—"That is seen by thee to-day."

Glasier:—"I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the catholic church; and now go you from it?"

Bland:—"No, that I do not."

The church visible.

Glasier:—"Ye know that Christ saith, 'If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it to the church, dic ecclesiæ; if he hear not the church, take him as a heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?'

Bland:—"Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted."

Bland commanded away.

Then my lord of Dover cried, "No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another."

Collins:—"Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the meantime ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend Dr. Faucet, or Master Glasier, if ye desire them."

Bland:—"I will refuse to talk with no man. As for any conference of

(1) Argument:—*Festino.* The glorified body of Christ was not crucified. The apostles did eat the body crucified: Ergo, the apostles did not eat the glorified body of Christ.

(2) A well known opponent of Luther (vide supra). His "Enchiridion loc. communium adv Lutheranos," was very popular, he himself having published a seventh edition at Ingoldstadt in 1535. Possevin. Apparatus sacer. tom. i. p. 871.—Ed.

your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are: but when there was no law, I did desire conference." And so for that time I departed. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform myself. But, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which, they said before, I should see.

Dover:—"What needs that? we have enough against you: for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament."[1]

Bland:—"I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer."

My lord of Dover took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland:—"My lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me: I take master Collins and master Glasier to witness." The pope's key.

Then they brought forth a Decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they, so examined, must needs answer. But I said, that it meaned of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid. But master Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass. Oxenden helpeth the catholics.

Bland:—"That is not true; for, after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did."

Collins:—"Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you. Now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it."

Bland:—"As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures: and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet[2] would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference: for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor."

Collins:—"Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?"

Bland:—"Sir, I am a prisoner; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will," and so departed.

At this time we were three:[3] but they took another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier.

Here followeth a certain Confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Master Mills, Priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

Mills:—"We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure." The popish faith of the sacrament.

Bland:—"This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say,[4] 'Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum.' And God by his power worketh no miracles with 'Hoc est corpus meum,' so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed

(1) Yea, but why then did you prison him a whole before before?
(2) Bland was tutor to Dr. Faucet.
(3) These three, belike, were Bland, Sheterden, and Middleton.
(4) The matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. If Christ be able to be where he list, and occupy no place: why then is not he able to be as well under the *substance* of bread, as under the *accidents* of bread, seeing he is omnipotent? Christ may be where he list: Ergo, Christ is really in the sacrament, without occupying of place. The antecedent is true, and the consequence false.

Mary. to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work."

A. D. 1555. *Mills:*—"To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place."

Bland:—"Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth. By the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: Ergo, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list. For if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and in earth, so that that is the cause, by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body; and then he was not equal with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *filius*. Here is more danger than ye are aware of; if ye would stand to it with just judges."

Mills:—"We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not invisible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood."[1]

Fantastical absurdities in the pope's doctrine.

Bland:—"I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken,[2] for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qua[illegible] and quantities, without the substance of blood;' for indeed blood hath no su[illegible]ities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. If a ma[illegible]nken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will h[illegible]at the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and w[illegible]e operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that [illegible]ay be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, b[illegible] is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receive is lively, b[illegible]use it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your ne[illegible]ns, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead *w inventi*[illegible]ely by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of *it a thi*[illegible], the other li[illegible], that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without [illegible]*ng so fantastica*[illegible]*es* and *quantities* without substance, and a living body *a body, as ye do quali*[illegible]*antities.*" *without qualities and q*[illegible]require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to

Mills:—"If case so [illegible]secration thereof, there is present the body and blood consecrate, after the con[illegible]ubstance but accidents without substance, to a true of Christ, and no other s[illegible] believer."

Bland:—"Ye grant three absurdites,[3] that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two

(1) Case being put that the priest, taking a great quantity in the chalice, be made drunk: which of these three is it that maketh him drunk? the nature of the blood; the accidents only of wine; or else the true substance of wine; let any reasonable man judge.

(2) Argument:—Christ's blood hath not quality to make a man drunk: receiving of that in the chalice can make a man drunk: ergo, that in the chalice cannot be the blood of Christ.

(3) Three inconveniences granted by the papists:—1. That a tun of wine being consecrated, nothing remaineth but accidents: which is false by the operation thereof. 2. Where he saith, that the word of God doth not consecrate without the intent of the priest: which is against their own doctrine, saying, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. 3. Where he saith, that to the unbeliever it is not the sacrament: as the papists say, that the wicked receive the body.

inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. 'Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim.'" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Mills:—"The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh."

Bland:—"Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly,[1] but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver; for, if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing.[2] And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread;[3] and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents."

Mills:—"Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body."

Bland:—"Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated, ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, 'Men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine;' and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For *ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur mixta*, or else all that is the nutriment in man, is accidents, and no substance." *Another absurdity, that men's bodies be nourished naturally with accidents and qualities.*

Mills:—"If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again."

Bland:—"Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again: for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not), that it were there. God Almighty open your heart—if it be his will and pleasure—to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same." *Another, that substance is made of accidents, when ashes or worms be made of the forms of bread and wine.*

Your orator in the Lord, John Bland.

(1) Argument, a contrario sensu:—The mouse receiveth not the body inwardly, but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the body inwardly. Argument: The mouse violateth not the body of Christ. The mouse violateth the substance which he eateth: ergo, the mouse eateth no substance of Christ's body.

(2) The mouse and the unbeliever receive the body of Christ both alike, by the papists' doctrine.

(3) Argument:—No mouse can live with accidents only, without substance. A mouse may live with consecrated hosts: ergo, consecrated hosts have not only accidents, but the substance of bread.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE AND EXAMINATION OF JOHN BLAND. JUNE 13, 1555.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tost to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal, by his letters patent, had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this aforesaid master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said bishop and his colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Cocker, was examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, etc. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover.

The words of Bland at his examination.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF JOHN BLAND. JUNE 20, 1555.

Whereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the 20th of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examinates which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that country of Kent, to be repeated.

Another appearance.

His last appearance before the bishop of Dover, and others.

Articles Ministered by Richard, Bishop of Dover, to Master Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him,

First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

II. Item, that thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

III. Item, that all parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say, within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretic, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

IV. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

V. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm,

and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man, safely and with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

VI. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

VII. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury.

The Answers of Master Bland to the foresaid Articles.

To these articles master Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first (granting the same), that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury. Answer to the first article, out of the register

To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

Item, to the third he answereth, that the article is true; meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

Item, in the fourth article, as touching the first part of the article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

Item, to the fifth article he granteth.

To the sixth, he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the article.

Item, to the seventh and last article he granteth the same, etc.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, the 25th day of the said month of June, he, making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of master Rogers.[1] Bland denieth the pope, and is condemned.

The Prayer of John Bland before his death.

The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of this cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the

(1) See vol. vi. p. 601. John Bland's sentence is given in the First Edition, p. 1230, and will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

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sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it!

The History of Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, and Humfrey Middleton.

Having now passed over the examinations of master Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows con-captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest, constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the 25th day of June, the year above expressed; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lord's help) you shall hear. In the meantime, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

The first Examination or Reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden with Master Harpsfield, Archdeacon, and Master Collins the Commissary, for the which they sent him to Prison.

First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, "This is my body," did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

Sheterden:—"Then, belike, when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine."

Harpsfield:—"Not so; for when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup."[1]

Sheterden:—"If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup."

Harpsfield:—"There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand: but of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning."

Sheterden:—"Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's Supper."

Harpsfield:—"Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, 'This cup is my blood.'"

Sheterden:—"Then show me whether the words which the priests do speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?"

Harpsfield:—"The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words."

Sheterden:—"If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot, instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest;[2]

(1) The Romish catholics cannot deny a figurative speech in the cup, and yet will not grant the same in the bread.

(2) If the mind, and not the words of the priest doth it: how then is it that Duns and his fellows say, that the words be the form and formal cause only that maketh the sacrament?

for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry."

Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, "I pray you, master commissary, speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of."

Collins the commissary taketh the martyr in hand.

Then stood up the commissary, and said, "Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup."

Sheterden:—"My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood."

Commissary:—"It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, 'This cup is my blood;' but he meant the wine in the cup."

Sheterden:—"Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon; that is, whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?"

Commissary:—"Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea the intent and the words together do it."

The commissary brought to an absurdity.

Sheterden:—"If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, 'This cup is my blood,' and the intent ye say, was the wine: or else the words take none effect, but the intent only."

After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.

The intent of the priest maketh not the sacrament.

Sheterden:—"If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread; because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it: so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend."

Christ's body, whether it may be in two places at once.

Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in John iii., where he saith, "No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of Man which is in heaven." By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven and in earth also, naturally and bodily.

Sheterden:—"This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error."

Commissary:—"That is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, 'the Son of Man which is in heaven.'"

The commissary brought to another inconvenience.

Sheterden:—"If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him."

Commissary:—"Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself; for it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible: for God cannot come down, because he is not passible." [1]

Sheterden:—"If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible; then it might be said, by the like argument, that God could not sit; and then heaven is not his seat: and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at."

Then the commissary affirmed plainly that it was true, "God hath no right hand indeed."

Sheterden:—"Oh! what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that, because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and

(1) If God cannot come down, then Christ were not God: for Christ came from heaven.

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then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven: and then, at length, I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God, but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel."

Commissary:—"Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?"

God's hand is spiritual.

Sheterden:—"Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what hand God hath, therefore, if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ."

Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but, he said, they had power so to do.

My First Answering, after their Law was established.

Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, "There it is, and the king and queen's letters also."

Three quarters of a year in prison before the law took place.

Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the Church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him.

Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly.

Sheterden:—"And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done, I ask no favour."

He said I was suspected. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect.

Suffragan:—"Thou wast cast into prison for that cause."

The proceedings of the papists were against the law. The bishop of Dover a protestant in king Edward's time.

Sheterden:—"That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you which preached the same yourself not long before."

Suffragan:—"That was no matter to thee, what I preached."

Sheterden:—"Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than you yourself."

Then said master Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions.

Sheterden:—"In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in prison for any evil. And that was before the law, also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like."

Mills:—"Well, ye are required here to answer directly, yea or no."

Sheterden:—"First, then, I require of you to prove his suspicion." And thus we tossed to and fro. At last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby?

Suffragan:—"Well," said he, "I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby."

Sheterden:—"But your commission doth not serve you so to do without just cause of suspicion."

Suffragan :—" Well, yet did I suspect you."

Sheterden :—" It is not meet for you to be my accuser, and my judge also; for that is too much for one man." And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills :—" If you were a christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required."

Sheterden :—" I am not ashamed indeed I than God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but, forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you."

Mills :—" If you will not, then will we certify th king's council."

Sheterden :—" I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprison nent; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles,[1] though there were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal al your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not."

Here much ado there was, to prove that he had no wrong; and again, that it was not they that did it. But said Sheterden, "The commissary was one of them." He answered, "No, it was the archdeacon." Sheterden said, "You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it: and yet if it were he, it was your church—except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another." "Well," said they, "will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?"

Sheterden refuseth to answer before it be tried wherefore he was imprisoned.

Sheterden :—" I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise: and again you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment. I ask no favour."

Sheterden refuseth to submit himself.

Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was nought, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

"Nay," said Sheterden, "you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith: but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me."

Suffragan :—" Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion."

Sheterden :—" I am content with that; yet all men shall know that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice."

Suffragan :—" No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion."

Sheterden :—"That we shall see: for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and, by that, I shall know whether you seek blood or no." Many other words were between them.

At last stept up one Lovels a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the Fourth, and Henry, etc.; but, at last, he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said, it was no wrong.

One Lovels a loveless lawyer.

To this Nicholas said, If he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the meanwhile make laws, and then, under that, hide the first wrong, then he said true; or else not.

Thus he kept the ban-dogs at staves' end, not as thinking to escape them, "but that I would see," said he, "the foxes leap above the ground for my blood: if they can reach it (so it be the will of God), yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it."—From Westgate in haste.

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false Worship and Oblation of the Sacrament.

The holy sign instead of the thing signified is servile servitude; as St. Augustine termeth it, when the bread in the sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped, instead of the flesh assumpted of the word of God.

False worshipping of the sacrament.

(1) Upon this it appeareth the letters were written to the bishop of Winchester, by whom he was sent for afterwards and examined.

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There was no mention of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

Against sacramental oblation.

The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the soul as well of the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews: "With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified." Again, "Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him."

This word "by himself" hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all priests from authority to enterprise such oblation; whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for others to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past and done, not to come and remaining to be done.

The Examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor.

I was called into a chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

Then said he, "I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself." I said, "If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made."

Unjust imprisonment of Sheterden.

Winchester:—"Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge yourself."

I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, etc., trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right. Winchester said, "If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment," etc.[1]

I said, "I am not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may be that my conscience is not persuaded, nor will be, in prison; seeing those things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm." And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament. I said, against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

Winchester said, By no law, and that it was notable to consider that (all that while) God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

I said, "Their law did not only persuade me, but this most: when they preached unto us, they took pain to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they say true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so; which is to me a great persuasion."

The catholics stand upon the number.

Winchester:—"It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the doctors and all the whole church. Now whom wouldest thou believe, either the few or the many?"

Sheterden:—"I do not believe for the few nor for the many; but only for that he bringeth the word, and showeth it to me to be so according to the process thereof."

The faithful stand upon the Word.

"Well," said Winchester, "then if an Arian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he show this text, 'My Father is greater than I.'"

I answered, "No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, 'My Father and I am one.'"

"Yea." said Winchester, "that is by charity, as we be one with him."

(1) Winchester maketh a miracle that there was no law in king Edward's time against the sacrament of the altar.

I said, that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said, "I am the very same that I say to you;" "He said the truth, and the truth was God," etc. with much such like.

And here he made many words (but very gently) of the sacrament: "Likewise Christ said," quoth he, "it was his body; yea (that is to say) a figure of his body;" and how men did not consider the word was God, and God the word: and so provoked me with such temptation. But I let him alone, and said nothing.

Winchester defendeth images.

So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said, that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness.

Winchester:—"Where find ye that?"

No image of God to be made.

Sheterden:—"Forsooth in the law, where God gave them the Commandments: for he said, 'Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:' and added a reason why; 'lest they should after make images, and mar themselves:' so that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him which was the true God," etc.

Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should strait be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latin.

"Why," said Winchester, "can ye read no Latin?" "No."

Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; "Lo, here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish" (the place was Deut. iv.). I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, "This is an image of God."

Winchester:—"Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old[1] man," etc.

The Holy Ghost like a dove in some qualities but not in shape.

Sheterden:—"That is no proof that we make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities. And therefore when I saw the dove[2] which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, etc.:" and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson; and asked who taught me; with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, etc.

At the last I said, "My lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents:" and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself.

I said, that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended.

Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived.

I said, "Well, then I am under the law," etc.

How the catholics falsely slander the faithful innocent.

The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogancy and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, etc. And many lies he laid to me, "that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable."

I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me; "and I did use him then," said I, "as I used your grace now, and no otherwise."

(1) But the Commandment saith: (Deut. iv.) "Thou shalt make no image of God, either man or woman," etc.

(2) The qualities of this dove seemed here to want in Winchester.

Mary. Winchester said, that I did not use myself very well now.—I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

A.D. 1555. Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient.—I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed

By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

THE LAST EXAMINATION WITH THE CONDEMNATION OF THE FOUR GODLY MARTYRS, MASTER BLAND, JOHN FRANKESH, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, AND HUMFREY MIDDLETON.[1]

And thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of master Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of master Bland, as may appear before; it shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself: which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the real presence, and the sacrament to be ministered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, etc. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God," etc. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four, upon these answers, were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the 25th day of June, Anno 1555.

Thacker recants.

And so, being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury the 12th of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together, where they, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Christian Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands. Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of

(1) Ex Regist. Cant.

the worldly minded for thy law's sake: yea Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For Lord thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will. And now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen.

Sacrifice of thanks for redemption.

Sacrifice of the body.

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and, first, a Letter to his Mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but, having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, doth by his ministers make many believe, that those things which they compel us unto for their bellies' sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they be; even as did the serpent in paradise to our first mother Eve. "What," said he, "hath God commanded ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?" The woman said, "Of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat." "But of the tree in the midst of the garden," said God, "see ye eat not, lest ye die." Even so our ministers now a-days, say, "Hath God commanded ye shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing?" "Yea, forsooth." "Tush," say they, "what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his image or picture? for they are good books for the laymen:" but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light.

As the serpent seduced Eve by an apple, so priests seduce the people by images.

Images more profitable books for priests than for laymen.

And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind. And this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore surely, except we repent shortly, God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues: as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

Sheterden prophesieth of God's plagues

Mary. A.D. 1555.

But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say, "Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life?" And lo, they say that it is good hay: although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet; and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir! be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What! wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach; or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning, belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift; for, peradventure, they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ, coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ: yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath Antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

Learning without God's word is vain.

Antichrist hath turned the church clean upside down.

Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off: we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure: I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge: but let us take heed that they condemn not us, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not: "Yet shall the gospel," saith he, "be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come."

The fathers that heard no better are not to be condemned, but rather will condemn us that hear and receive it not.

And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. Oh remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now, peradventure, are jealous over me amiss: but, I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the even balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs, and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then, I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

God's visitation not to be refused.

Experience how God's martyrs seek not the world.

Your own child, Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate, 1555

A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.

I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is showed me, my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother

My uncle hath been with me, and made great promises.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But, if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe (I trust in God), shall get it of me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call learning), yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his Supper, and a difference between the water of baptism, and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together; so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say thus: "I believe as holy church believeth." If he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments! If I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

No order nor reason in the pope's doctrine.

For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well say, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised; and that were even right Antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, "Oh! ye must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things," etc. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time; neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the blossom; and yet is he nevertheless Almighty.

So should we have two bodies at once, one glorified, and another mortal.

We are bound to believe what God hath expressly willed, not what he is able to do.

But if, peradventure, ye shall think with yourself, Why, they are learned; it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept no such study, etc.: to that I answer, that if they had studied God's word, the Author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reasons.[1] But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, which would not believe nor walk in his truth.

And again: this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles' time, by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins' sake. And why should not we think that this and such like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christ's and his apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very Antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

Why God taketh his word from realms.

By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

Another Letter to his Brother.

God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same), grant you, my brother, such

(1) He speaketh not against the true use of logic.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a taste in heavenly things, that all treasure of earthly things may savour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain; so shall ye never take them for no better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know ourselves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his word, we shall not only enrich ourselves against the time of need, but also arm ourselves against the battle with weapons and harness which is invincible, and clothe ourselves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord, sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God, that cannot deny himself.

Time of God's visitation to be received.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past, as St. Peter saith, after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable idolatry, etc. And now let us assay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest, peradventure, we might run past any return in the contrary. But, if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But, alack, the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me—*I will not say of you*, for I had rather ye should accuse yourself—for no doubt the best of us both hath not sought for wisdom in God's word, as some in the world whom we know have sought for money: therefore they shall be our judges, if we do not learn by them. Yea the very emmet, as Solomon saith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in summer against winter.

Certificate of conscience.

Spiritual provision.

This is the best token I have for you now, which, though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my heart's desire to you-ward, which is even as mine own soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I shall have victory in the truth, which truth is stronger than kings, wine, or women. For, as Zerubbabel saith, "Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end." Therefore this is to desire you, and all other my friends that wish me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath begun, which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under heaven; for I desire nothing in comparison of God's truth. I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought; for I take it as a sure seal of the endless joy which shall hereafter follow—which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is; Amen.—From Canterbury.

The victory of truth.

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother, written the day before his Death.

O my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. O my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope myself to feel, and partly taste of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. O let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould; and I take Christ's Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and

Testimony and warning against the idol of the altar.

a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath showed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your fathers be in, leave that to God; and let us follow thë counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection; read it with obedience; let it be your pastime: but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things; so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore. O farewell my friends and lovers all: God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.—From Westgate, the 11th of July, 1555.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

God's word must needs be followed.

Your child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be slain.

The Copy of a Letter written to his Wife.

I wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreat Esau, the elder brother by nature, gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say, "they be Jacob's, and are sent for a present to my lord Esau;" but he will not take it, etc. Now, my beloved, ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and Wisdom, our mother, hath taught us the same, and I know ye do complain of your servant the Flesh,[1] that he is rebellious, disobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly, ye think, he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in servants; yet, I say, can you show your cause to no indifferent judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessaries meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage against your servant; and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward service, because ye have misused him.

How a man's body is to be ordered with discretion.

And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppression, cruelty, and covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently (as, no doubt, sometimes he will), yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion; and sometimes, if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually,[2] but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God, yet be good to strangers; for we were all strangers in darkness, and captives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the stranger,—I mean, one reward abideth both for body[3] and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And therefore entreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow-heir with your younger brother.

The Gibeonites, though they be but strangers and not to be pampered, yet are they not to be cast out.

Circumcise him, therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own; but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, "Oh! of what understanding heart is this people: who hath God, or where is God, so nigh as to these?" God make you wise and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod. But kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers. And be glad because your disease is so remedied; for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a soberwise tale. Yea it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven: yea, blessed shall she be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourself upon that churlish Nabal; which

(1) By this servant, belike, he meant her own body, which she pinched too much with penury or fasting more than needed.
(2) Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiscentias.
(3) The body of man is redeemed as well as the soul.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

thing I hope to do now with these sweet raisins and frails of figs. I, being of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that Churlishness is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell, mine own heart.

Yours in bonds at Westgate, Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the 26th day of July, were also condemned for the same articles, William Coker, William Hopper of Cranbrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, William Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

Nicholas Hall and Christopher Wade, Martyrs.

The same month of July next after the suffering of the Kentishmen above named, followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Wade, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

A brief Sum of their Articles.

First, That they were christian men, and professed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

5. Item, that they have been and be, amongst the people of that jurisdiction, vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted, etc.

Their Answers.

Their answers.

To these articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended catholics, and their sinister doctrine.

This word mother-church is not found in the Scripture.

First, granting themselves christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ,—save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word, "mother," in the Scripture.

To the 2d they granted.

To 3d article as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and in the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, that whereas, before, he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now, he said, that therein is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, etc.

Answer of Hall.

Answer of Wade.

And concerning the mass in the 4th article, to be abominable, Christopher Wade with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said.

To the 5th article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same.

Mary.

A.D. 1555.

Condemnation of Hall and Wade, martyrs.

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men: which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence, as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ; so the same being exemplified before in the story of master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted.

Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th day of July.[1] Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Wade, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop aforenamed, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol of Rochester, and Margery Polley: of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

The Examination and Condemnation of Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.[2]

Margery Polley, widow, wife some time of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June: which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:—

"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," etc.

Thus the oath first being ministered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Wade before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the 3d and 4th Articles, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Wade above-mentioned.

THE EXECUTION AND MARTYRDOM OF CHRISTOPHER WADE.

Christopher Wade of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was, betimes in the morning, carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimpt, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of

(1) Ex Registro. (2) Ibid.

Mary. broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood: unto which place
A.D. resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tar-
1555. ried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many of other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him therein, and with them Wade, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge; both singing of a psalm: which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day."

And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until the sheriff returned from Wade's execution. And Wade, being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led up on foot again to the foresaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitchbarrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and, with two staples, made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of Psalm lxxxvi.: "Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into the which place, as Wade was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Wade espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in king Edward's days; whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, "Be quiet, Wade! and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, master sheriff! and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Wade very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, "Lord Jesus! receive my soul;" without any token or sign of impatiency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by

no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted; as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, showed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution: this was his end; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præsentes, Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc minister ecclesiæ Cranbroke; Richardus Fletcher filius, minister ecclesiæ Riensis.[1]

The Apprehension, Examination, Condemnation, and Burning, of Dirick Carver and John Launder,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

The 22d day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brighthelmstone in the same county. And the next day (being the 23d day of the same month) was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surrey: which two men were (with others), about the end of the month of October, A.D. 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the 8th of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

Carver and Launder appearing before bishop Bonner.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at Paul's, the tenth day of the same month next following; which articles and confession, with the aforementioned letter do here ensue.

(1) "Riensis," that is, of Rye in Sussex.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

A Letter sent from the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, unto Bonner Bishop of London, touching the Examination of the said Prisoners.

After my right hearty commendations to your good lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time;[1] no more I shall master dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it: for my lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your lordship must command the sextons of your church to be in readiness for ringing-in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresy before you: but, as I perceive, ye have not sent me a "significavit,"[2] and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him; and that I shall do, as soon as I am answered of you.

Lord treasurer urgeth Bonner.

There be divers like prisoners that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London; and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow; which I shall do, thanking your lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your lordship again shortly with twice as many.—From my house this 7th of June, 1555.

Your loving friend, Winchester.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner Bishop of London.

Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke,[3] forty years of age (or thereabout), and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallow's day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

The material substance of the sacrament denied to be the body of Christ really.

Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a christian man, except it should be said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a christian man.

The use and sacrifice of the Latin mass denied.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

Auricular confession and absolution rejected.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and saith, that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

The faith of the church of England in Mary's time reproved.

(1) These funerals were for the king's grandmother, the old queen of Spain.

(2) He meaneth Dirick Carver and John Launder.

(3) "In the parish of Lynch, in the hundred of Eastbourne, there was an antient chapel dedicated to St. Luke, and so called in Speed's map of the county. . . . The whole parish may be estimated at 1084 acres. Of these, 700 lie compactly, and are called Lynch-farm, at the base of the great range of down, near the parishes of Didling, Stedham, and Bepton." See Dallaway's West Division of Sussex, vol. i. p. 299. How far "Stockom" might be identified with "Scopham" (the ancient name of Shoreham), must remain uncertain.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

And further, being examined, he saith that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper, hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers.

Imprisonment for hearing the gospel.

And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his house at Brighthelmstone, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallown day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate.

The Confession of John Launder before, Bonner Bishop of London.

John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallowntide last past, this examinate, and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve (being altogether in their prayers, and saying the service in English, set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brightonhamstead in Sussex), were apprehended by one master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other fellows, hath ever since remained in prison.

The cause of the apprehension of John Launder.

And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone was upon certain business there to be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinate did resort to his house and company (whom before that time he did never see or know), and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord: and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England (yea and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner), be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

Two sacraments only.

Ceremonies abhorred.

The real presence of Christ's body under the forms of bread and wine denied.

Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and, so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none other ways as he believeth.

The mass abominable.

And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught, also; as he believeth.

Auricular confession not necessary.

Also he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And also believeth that the right

Mary. A. D. 1555.

and true way (according to the scripture), after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith, etc.

Articles objected by Bonner Bishop of London against Dirick Carver and John Launder.

First, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the said prison of Newgate, and within the said city of London, are of my jurisdiction (being bishop of London), and subject unto the same, offending and trespassing within the said prison and city in matters of religion, and concerning the catholic faith and belief of the church in any wise.

Sacraments of penance and the altar.

2. Item, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, since your first coming and entering into the said prison, and during your abode there, both there and in sundry places within this city and diocese of London, have holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the sacraments of the church, especially against the sacrament of penance, and also against the sacrament of the altar.

Real presence.

3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the sacrament of the altar) holden, maintained, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the sacrament there is only the substance of natural bread and wine, and no other substance.

The Latin mass.

4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said mass is not good nor profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

Ceremonies.

5. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of you, in all or some of the places, have, concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a christian man, but hurtful and evil.

Auricular confession.

6. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have concerning the sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular confession (being a part thereof), albeit it may be made unto a good priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, and doing as is now usually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any man's salvation; and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the priest after the usual manner of the church, nor yet received the said sacrament of the altar since the coronation of the queen's majesty, which is more than the space of one year and a half.

The faith and doctrine of the Church of England.

7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, used, and believed in the church of this realm of England, and the doctrine of the same, have holden, believed, and said, that it is not agreeable to God's word, but clean contrary to the same.

Defending of Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, etc.

8. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all, or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden, maintained, and said, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this realm were burnt for heresy, were good christian men, in speaking and holding against the said sacrament of the altar; and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Christ, shedding their blood for the maintenance of the said doctrine.

English service and the religion used in king Edward's time.

9. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travailed, to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service, and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England.

10. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and steadfastly, and so have and do believe, that the faith, religion,

and doctrine, set forth in the said time of the foresaid king Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Christ, in every part.

11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you (for your misbelief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also you would not come to your several parish churches, and hear your divine service there, as other christian people did and do, but absent yourselves from the same, and have your private service in your houses (especially in the house of Dirick Carver), were sent up unto the king and queen's majesty's privy council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there, by their authority, remained as prisoners during all the time ye have been there. Absence from popish service.

12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the said bishop of London was commanded, by the authority of the said council, to make process against you, and every of you,[1] so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of heresy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the said commandment, enforced me to call and send for you to make answer herein; and hereof to show you the said letters.

Upon Monday, being the said tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon; where the bishop, first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every prisoner), asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would: "for your doctrine," quoth he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words. The words of Carver to Bonner.

The bishop, seeing this constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally: who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life. Carver and Launder sent into the country to be burned.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ (the Lord by his grace so working in him); of the which, there was such havock made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years (and, as it were, past the time of learning), yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could, before his death, read perfectly any printed English: whose diligence and zeal is worthy no The cruel spoil of Carver's goods. Carver learns to read in the prison.

(1) If their putting to death were lawful by God, why do ye excuse it? If it were not lawful, why do ye so at man's commandment?

Mary. A. D. 1555. small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it pass over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Burned at Lewes. Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Carver's book commanded in the queen's name to be thrown again into the fire. Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stript himself (as a joyful member of God), he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded, in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately, that faithful member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

His exhortation to the people. "Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Horrible provoking of God's judgment. Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul."[1] And further the sheriff said unto him, "Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now; or else to strike me down, to the example of this people." But this faithful member said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying,

"Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you, for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed."

And he said further in his prayer as followeth.

Dirick's Prayer at his Death.

"O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou Lord knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

(1) Where find you that in the Creed, to believe on the pope.

Mary.
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Thomas Iveson, or Everson,

APPREHENDED WITH DIRICK AND OTHERS, AND SUFFERED AT CHICHESTER.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation (forasmuch as it was at one time, and in one form with Dirick Carver, and John Launder), I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process beforementioned; saving only this his several confession and private answers made before bishop Bonner at his last examination in the consistory, I thought not to pretermit, who, being examined upon the foresaid articles, answered as followeth.

The Answers of Thomas Iveson, to the Objections of Bishop Bonner of London, in a Chamber at his House, in the month of July.

First, That he believed, that there is but one catholic, universal, and whole church of Christ through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That that faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our church of England, is not agreeing with the truth and faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth, that it is a very idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministered.

5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ; but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the sacrament of the altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor hath he heard mass by the same space.

7. That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins. He meaneth not by the mere virtue of the element.

8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.

9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more; which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable. Two sacraments.

10. Item, He believeth, that all the ceremonies now used in the church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and naught. Against ceremonies.

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and with the same persons was committed to Iveson condemned.

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the secular power (as they term it), and at the place abovementioned was burned; persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

Aleworth dieth in prison.

In the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel: whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of their catholic burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, a Martyr of blessed Memory,

SUFFERING FOR THE TRUE CAUSE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

Among many that travailed in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who, examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions; although his conscience consented not thereto.

Abbes relenteth.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either forty-pence or twenty-pence, whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: in which combat with himself (being piteously vexed), he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money, which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

A notable example of sting of conscience.

Abbes throweth to the bishop his money again.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before, through infirmity, but stood manfully in his master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the 2d day of August, A.D. 1555.

Abbes made strong by his infirmity.

A Discourse of the Apprehension, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham,

MARTYRED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, who, though they were not spiritual men, yet thought to help forward,

for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not: amongst which one was Edmund Tyrrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of God's saints, who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with master John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman (both of Maidstone in Kent), travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended, and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners, these his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrrel's Letter to one of the Queen's Commissioners.[1]

Sir, with most hearty commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a letter from sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of the king and queen's majesty's commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen, called John Failes, for certain business about St. Osith's, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to assist the sheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tuesday last.

Denley and Newman by the way, met and apprehended by Edmund Tyrrel.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them; and I did find about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to me, that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for religion's sake; and, since, they have been in many countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you, and others of the king and queen's commissioners there, might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your letters; but, to-morrow at noon, I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the Holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good, master, to discharge these poor men that bring these prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell.—From Ramsdon Park, the 12th of June, 1555.

By your assured to command, Edmund Tyrrel.

Forsomuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing in paper, found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here ensueth.

Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures, by John Denley, Gentleman, with a Confession of his Faith touching the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, found about him ready written, at his Apprehension.

Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the

(1) Whom I guess to be sir Richard Southwell.

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forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

Figuratively, spiritually, really.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

How bread representeth the body of Christ.

As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament, and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed, for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you."[1] In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

The fruit of Christ's death.

How Christ is received spiritually, in the sacrament.

I do understand, spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there have Christ present: in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

The gross error of the papists in the real being of Christ in the sacrament.

Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these Scriptures following: first, read in Matt. ix., Luke v., Matt. xxiv. and xxvi., Mark xvi., Luke xxiv., John xiii., Luke xxiii., in the end, John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii., Acts i. iii. vii. ix., Rom. viii., Psalm viii., 1 Cor. x. xi.; Exod. xii., Col. i., Ephes. i. iv., Phil. i. ii., 1 Thes. i. iv., Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii., 1 Pet. iii., Psalm xi. xlvii. ciii. x.

Christ's material body is not in all places, as these Scriptures do testify hereafter.

First, read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. xx. xxi. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament; nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Idolatry to the creatures of bread and wine.

Therefore, whosoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these Scriptures hereafter do testify; first in Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxiv., Lev. xix., Deut. iv. vi. xxxii., Psalm lxxx., Isa. xlv., Mal. ii., Matt. iv., Luke iv., Acts xiv., Rev. xiv., Psalm xcviii., 1 Cor. viii., Ephes. iv., 1 Tim. ii., 1 John v., Rev. xix. xxii.

John Denley.

*A[2] Letter sent by the said John Denley unto John Simson and Ardley, with others, imprisoned for the true profession of Christ.

Brethren all, who are in bonds for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I wish you health in Christ, and all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in pureness of

(1) Isaiah lv. Matt. xi. etc. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 1246.—Ed.

mind unfeignedly, increase in grace, that ye may abide steadfast in all good works unto the end. Brethren, I greatly rejoice in your confidence, in steadfast faith that ye have in the blood of Jesus Christ. God is highly to be magnified and praised, I hope, in you, that he hath so wrought his mighty power, that ye are able to give your lives for his truth's sake, and for your brethren, that his great power might be known in you, as it is in them who already (God be praised) have given their lives for his truth; who are now in rest, and clothed with the white garment that St. John speaketh of in the Revelation, and lie under the altar saying: "How long tarriest thou, Lord, holy and true, to judge and to avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" Remember that Christ hath promised, to them that continue to the end, everlasting life. Remember Moses in the Hebrews,[1] who when he was great, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and chose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and esteemed the rebuke of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had a respect unto the reward." Death is a vantage: when it cometh, it bringeth rest, and the battle is ended. "The Lord that hath begun this good work in you, finish it to the end." Friends pray for me, as I hope I pray for you; that God of his goodness may finish the good work that he hath begun in me, that I may take up his cross and follow him to the end. So be it.

By me,

John Denley.*

Denley and his fellow prisoners sent to Bonner.

Now to return to the commissioners again: they, receiving these prisoners afore-mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion: which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare; for the 28th of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions (which Tyrrel had found about them), objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others; and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

Denley, Newman, and Packingham, had in examination before him.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which master Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the 5th of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them.

The words of Denley to bishop Bonner.

The Articles objected by Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, against John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, jointly and severally the 28th of June, 1555.

First, That the said N. now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

2. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth. Slander of untruth.

3. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church. Catholic church.

4. That the said N. hath believed, and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain Mass.

(1) Heb. xi.

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against God's word; and therefore he (the said N.) hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

5. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession, used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Auricular confession.

6. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution, given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

Popish absolution.

7. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and evensong, anointing or anoiling of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

Matins, evensong, anoiling, with other rites of the pope's church.

8. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

Two sacraments.

9. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

10. [1]That thou, Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said twenty-third day of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverendly stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

The Answer of John Denley and the rest, to the Articles objected.

To the 1st article I answer, it is very true.

The true catholic church not denied.

To the 2d article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

A notice of the true church.

Why the church of England is no member of it.

To the 3d article I answer, that I do believe, that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray,[2] and also it appeareth by St. Paul,[3] for he saith, that "he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation." Also he saith, "Even so likewise when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air;"[4] that is as much to say, in vain.

The pope's service in a tongue which edifieth not the people.

Also he saith, "Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue." Also he saith, "Let all things be done to edification." Also it is written in the Psalms, "For God is King of all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding,"[5] etc. So it doth appear, that this church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms: therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

The mass idolatrous.

To this 4th article I answer, and I do believe (as I have aforesaid) that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ, in his holy Supper, insti-

(1) This article was only objected against Patrick Packingham.
(2) Matt. vi. (3) 1 Cor. xiv. (4) 1 Cor. xiv. (5) Psalm xlvi.

tuted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath: thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he saith, "no similitude:" therefore, "thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtesy, with other like superstition? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping. Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith, "But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool."[1]

The mass against God's commandment.

Objection of the papists removed.

Also he saith, "For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us,"[2] etc. Also, "But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ,"[3] etc. "For they themselves show of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye returned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come,"[4] etc. Also, "I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father,"[5] etc. "Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee."[6] And these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, etc.

Scripture proving Christ not to be bodily in the sacrament.

To this 5th article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden: I will ease you,"[7] etc. The riotous son saith, "I will arise and go to my Father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy Son,"[8] etc. "I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin,"[9] etc. "But I will reprove mine own ways in his sight: he shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him."[10] The son of Sirach saith, "Who can be cleansed of the unclean?"[11] And there was but one of the ten lepers that was cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks: he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation; and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly, in the congregation, acknowledge my fault. Then the minister hath power, by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xiii.) and Matthew (chap. xviii.) Other confession I know none.

Against auricular confession.

Remission of sins to be sought only at the hands of Christ.

To this 6th article, I (the said John Denley) have answered in the fifth.

To the 7th article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him,—and others, also, which came to

(1) Heb. x. (2) Heb. ix. (3) Phil. iii. (4) 1 Thess. i.
(5) John xvi. (6) John xvii. (7) Matt. xi. (8) Luke xv.
(9) Psal. xxxi. (10) Job xiii. (11) Chap. xxxiv.

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John to be baptized, as it appeareth in Matt. iii., Mark i., and Luke iii.; and in Acts viii., the chamberlain said, "See here is water: what letteth me to be baptized?" It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said "Here is water." We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, not for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crysom, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water—and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore.[1] Also, "Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized?"[2] etc. "And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway;"[3] where ye see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

The rainbow as good a sacrament as some of the popish sacraments.

To the 8th article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,—except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

To the 9th article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already, for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the 4th article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, etc.

By me, John Denley.

The 1st day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in Paul's church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers; and then, tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatenings, which were always his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for master Denley, Uxbridge; where the 8th day of August, he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Ungentle dealing of Story against Denley.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon, being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. "Truly," quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, "thou hast marred a good old song."

The said John Denley, being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

The martyrdom of Patrick Packingham.

After the martyrdom of master Denley, at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same town of Uxbridge, about the 28th of the said month. This Packingham was charged of Bonner (as ye heard in the 10th article before) for his behaviour showed in the bishop's chapel, who, at the mass time there standing, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also, being much

(1) See Vol. VI. page 381.—Ed. (2) Acts x. (3) Acts xvi.

laboured by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, etc. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Martyrdom of Newman at Saffron Walden.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The Story of John Newman, Martyr.

John Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others, at Tenderden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with master Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But, because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow:

The copy of Newman's words in writing to Thornton.

It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of king Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it: and, if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other; and by their diligent setting-forth of it by the king's commandment, and the whole consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

THE EXAMINATION AND ANSWERS OF JOHN NEWMAN, MARTYR, BEFORE DR. THORNTON, AND OTHERS.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench (either the archdeacon or Faucet, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express), beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor:—"How say you to this: 'This is my body which is given for you?'"
Newman:—"It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant;

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as Christ saith, 'I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone,' etc. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor :—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, 'This is my body which is given for you;' and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

This cup is the New Testament, is a figurative speech.

Newman :—"Christ saith, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood:' If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor :—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, 'Drink a cup of drink,' and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman :—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor :—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, 'Drink a cup of ale or beer;' and therefore it is no figurative speech."

What is a figurative speech.

Newman :—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor :—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman :—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth."

Doctor :—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman :—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins reasoneth with Newman.

Collins :—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Whether Judas received the body of Christ, or no?

Newman :—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins :—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ; but it was to his damnation."

Newman :—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins :—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman :—"Yea, and before too. What do ye think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins :—"Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?"

Newman :—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins :—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman :—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton reasoneth with Newman.

Thornton :—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him."

Newman :—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton :—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman :—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton :—"No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman :—"I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton :—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent,[1] he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

(1) The omnipotency of Christ doth not prove him to be really in the sacrament.

Newman :—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Thornton :—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; speak but of things that God doth."

Newman :—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the [illegible] is?"

Thornton :—"Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman :—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God; for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed." Absurdity in the pope's doctrine.

Thornton :—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman :—"I promise you, that it seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man; and that were against all the Scriptures." The humanity of Christ may not be in all places

Thornton :—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

Newman :—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

Thornton :—"Lo! how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other." [1]

Newman :—"The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton :—"Ah! fool, fool; that was because the woman should see that was risen again from death."

Newman :—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton :—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this: back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman :—"I have answered you already."

Thornton :—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman :—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton :—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman :—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton :—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman :—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion (God I take to witness), but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength.

The Arguments of John Newman.

If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.
The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.
Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament. Argument in the second figure.

(1) Note the gross ignorance of this suffragan.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.
mes- The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.
tres. Ergo, The wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit: that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit."[1]
mes- The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.
tres. Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Argument in the third figure.

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.
ti- Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, "Do this in remembrance of me," etc.
si. Ergo, Christ's body there, is imported to be absent.

Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them.

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The Faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, who was by occupation a Pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life."[2] "The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."[3]

My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible.[4] And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden. He gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and said, "Whensoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death." Yet did man, for all this, disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, hid himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God, seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the serpent's head;[5] whereby is meant, that the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed: so did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time. As St. Paul saith, "They did eat all of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink:" they did drink of that spiritual rock[6] that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of woman, that is, he took flesh of the virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted,[7] which God and man is Christ, the promised woman's seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we, through faith, should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith, to the end of the world.[8] After this, Christ offered up his body on the cross[9] to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thraldom of the devil, in the which we were, through sin original and actual. And with

(1) John xv. (2) Habak. ii. (3) Heb. x. (4) Gen. i. ii. (5) Gen. iii.
(6) 1 Cor. x. (7) Gal. iv. (8) Luke xxii. (9) 1 Cor. xi.

that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified.[1] He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death.[2] Then, in the sight of all his disciples, he ascended into heaven: and as his disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into heaven."[3] St. Peter also saith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, be restored again; which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places[4] whereof Christ warneth us; but, as St. Paul saith, in heaven, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. They set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth;[5] for they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life, shall show himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind. They follow Christ their head; they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which church or congregation hath forgiveness of sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory: for as Christ, being their head, hath entered pure and clean, so they, entering by him, shall be like him in glory.

And I am certain and sure that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead; at whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings. He shall separate the good from the bad; he shall say to them which are his elect, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning;" but to the others that have always resisted his will, he shall say, "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels."

Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all, if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts!

And thus have ye the martyrdom with the confession of the blessed man, and witness of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook, at Chichester.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.

The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of Six Martyrs, in Kent, viz. William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere,

BEFORE THE BISHOP OF DOVER, AND HARPSFIELD ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY.

Mention was made a little before in the story of master Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish-men, who being, the

(1) Heb. x. (2) Acts i. (3) Acts iii. (4) Matt. xxiv. (5) Colos. iii.

Mary. A.D. 1555. same time with them, called forth and examined by Thornton bishop of Dover, Nicholas Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins; yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of them were deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August (coming therefore now to the time of their suffering), we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to master Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

Coker condemned. First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

Hopper condemned. William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the catholic church. After calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

The words of Laurence. Henry Laurence examined the said 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament, "because," saith he, "the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament."[1]

Putting off his cap at the mention of the sacrament. Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, "What!" said he, "ye shall not need to put off your cap; for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto."

Christ gave his body, as he said he was a door. Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, etc.: adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion; and contrary he knoweth not. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of Antichrist, and him ye fol." And here his hand was stayed to write any further: belike he would have written out "follow," etc. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the 2d of August.

The subscription of Laurence.

The words of Colliar. Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the 16th of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine;[2] and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, etc. Upon this the sentence was read against him,

(1) Ex registro. (2) Only in the substance he meaneth.

and he condemned the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm: wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the 16th of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid. Wright ashamed to speak of the sacrament of the altar.

William Stere of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16th day of August, where he, in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dogs, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover[1] had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was. Who then showed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury[2] (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to show his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge that he was a bloody man, etc.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, etc. Sentence against Stere.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and the archdeacon of Canterbury, master Collins and master Faucet, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers; for the papists, in all their condemnations, follow one manner of sentence of course, commonly, against all that be condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

The Persecution of Ten Martyrs together, sent by certain of the Council to Bonner to be examined.

After the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord, not such saints as the pope maketh, or which are mentioned in "Legenda Sanctorum," or in "Vitis Patrum," or in the fabulous book "De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium," etc.; but such as are spoken of in the

(1) "Dick of Dover," so they termed then Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover.
(2) He meaneth Dr. Cranmer imprisoned at Oxford.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

holy Apocalypse, of whom it is written, "These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb,"[1] etc. Thus these saints be not of the pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making; of the pope's making (I say) in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved; by Pharaoh, God's power declared; and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth[2]); for except he had lost it before, Quintus Fabius could not have recovered it: so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these ten martyrs, sent by the commissioners, were, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

Saints of the pope's making.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make ready dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named, to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner bishop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter sent by the Commissioners to Bishop Bonner.

After our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Essex; Thomas Fust, hosier; Robert Smith, painter; Stephen Harwood, brewer; George Tankerfield, cook; Elizabeth Warne, Joan Lashford of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand. And thus most heartily fare your lordship well.—From London this 2d of July.

Your lordship's loving friends, Nich. Hare, Rich. Rede. Will. Roper. Will. Cooke.

The History of Elizabeth Warne, Widow;

BURNT AT STRATFORD BOW.

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten martyrs aforenamed, first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of John Warne upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow-churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter (as is also above specified), where she lay as prisoner until the 11th day of June; at

(1) "Hi sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocunque ierit, quique lavârunt stolas," etc. Rev. xxii.
(2) "Tarentum verò quâ vigilantiâ quo concilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente, Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, Meâ operâ Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti;" etc. M. T. Cicero, Cato Major seu De Senectute ad T. P. Atticum; § 4.—Ed.

which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the 2d day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner bishop of London, who, the 6th day of the same month, caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, etc.) to be brought before him into his palace; and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned. *Mary.* A. D. 1555. Warne brought to examination.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chiefest ground and profitablest foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was, the 12th day of the same month of July, adjudged and condemned as a heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the clergy's appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned. Her words at her examination.

The chief procurer of this her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her (the said Elizabeth), or else to her late husband: who, though he was, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion (himself being as yet not made commissioner), and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story, obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred, nor any other consideration, could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such a hydra, as, thanked be the Lord, now he hath. A story of Dr. Story, written upon the report of Martin's own words. Story persecuteth his kinsfolks.

George Tankerfield, a faithful Martyr and Witness of the Gospel,

CONSTANTLY SUFFERING FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE SAME.

George Tankerfield of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in king Edward's days a very papist, till the time queen Mary came in; and

Mary. A. D. 1555.

then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which, according to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same. And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith, saith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at last he was sent for as followeth.

Tankerfield prayeth to God to know whether the mass be good, or no.

How first called to the knowledge of the gospel.

The order and manner how he was apprehended.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple-fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel (which was very brave), took him to be some honest gentleman, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and, lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." And, when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name; which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword, took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley knight, and by Dr. Martin.

A false Judas-part of Beard.

Beard and Ponder, troublers of God's saints.

Tankerfield, thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the other above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him; the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.

Articles ordinary.

Auricular confession.

To these articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, etc.: First, that he was not confessed to any priest five years past, nor to any other but only to God; and further

denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a council. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

And concerning the sacrament, commonly called, here in England, of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ; because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, etc. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end. The mass abominable. Two sacraments.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion (which they called damnable and heretical), he, notwithstanding, resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form of words, "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can repel them by Scriptures; and I care not for your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, that the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, "Good people beware of him, and such as he is; for these be the people that deceive you," etc. The words of Tankerfield to Bonner. His words at his condemnation; he giveth the people warning of Bonner.

These, with other words more, he spake; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power. Is condemned.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there, with much patience and constancy, ended his life, the 26th day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory. His martyrdom at St. Alban's.

Certain Notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer Martyrdom at St. Alban's.

Inprimis, he was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, master Edward Brocket esquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under sheriff.

Item, their inn was the Cross-keys, where there was great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner: among the which multitude some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

Item, there came unto him a certain schoolmaster, which retained unto sir Thomas Pope knight. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, etc. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again

Mary. A. D. 1555. Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, etc. And so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him. And after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the Evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word," etc. And when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber: he had so, and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, "O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needest not?" The spirit said, "Be not afraid, for this is nothing, in respect of fire eternal." The flesh said, "Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing." The spirit said, "The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends." The flesh said, "Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer." The spirit said, "This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever," etc. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly entreated of his host; and, considering that his time was short, his saying was, that although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to even-song.

Item, about two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

Item, while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the whore of Babylon; I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him." And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ:" this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, "O sir, I thank you; I am so; I thank God." Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so, embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, etc.

After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women who did blas-

phemously say, that the devil was so strong with him and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

The History and Examinations of Robert Smith,

CONSTANTLY MAINTAINING THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD, AND SUFFERING FOR THE SAME IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the 5th of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard, of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

Robert Smith active in the art of painting.

The First Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner, etc.

About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and I, first of all, was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Bonner:—"How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest?"

Smith:—"Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call priests."

Confession not needful.

Bonner:—"Thou showest thyself, even at the first chop, to be a rank heretic, which, being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

Smith:—"Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet, I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

Rejectio criminis ingeniosa et divina.

Bonner:—"How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?"

Thesacrament of the altar.

Smith:—"I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal."

Bonner:—"Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?"

Smith:—"I showed you before, it was none of God's ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be

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the body that ye spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

Then, after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner said there was no remedy but I must be burned.

Bonner's argument.

Smith:—"Ye shall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good; for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

Then, after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination, "Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces." To which I answered, It would be too much to his shame to show it to men of discretion.

Harwood and Smith examined by the bishop.

After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailor, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then, being again brought up before the said bishop, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following.

Bonner:—"What say you to the catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?"

Smith:—"Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the Apostle saith, is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; which church, in all her words and works, maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority; and without, it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

Bonner:—"Ye shall understand, that I am bound, when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation. Now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?"

Smith:—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and privy places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God:[1] and, seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

Bonner:—"Yea, their church was known full well; for St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians,[2] to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife; whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but yours is not known."

Smith:—"Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth and conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season."

Bonner:—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, shall I?"[3]

Smith:—"I do marvel greatly, my lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me; first, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ: secondly, to say, it is not known: thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

"Well friend," quoth one of my lord's chaplains,[4] "you are no innocent, as it appeareth."

Smith:—"By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

(1) Where was the visible church amongst the Protestants? Where was the visible church amongst the apostles?

(2) Here he would not answer me to the church of Jewry, but flieth to the church of the Corinthians.

(3) How Bonner layeth snares to catch the innocent. (4) Harpsfield.

"Well," quoth my lord, laughing; "tell me, how sayest thou of the church?" *Mary.*

Smith:—"I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also *in omnem terram*, as it is written, 'Their sound is gone forth into all lands;' and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit." A.D. 1555. The church of Christ.

Bonner:—"What call ye catholic, and what call you church?"

Smith:—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake all one thing: whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden, where after a while, as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my lord's chaplains,[1] that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were not a prisoner. Talk between Smith and the bishop's chaplain.

Smith:—"I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus."

Doctor:—"I do much desire to talk with you, lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament," with many other sweet words.

To which I answered, "Sub melle latet venenum." And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which the doctor answered, "What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?"[2] Absurdity granted by the catholics.

Smith:—"If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we, being his friends, throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then, by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation."

Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?[3]

Smith:—"Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door: for that mighty God that brought the disciples out of prisons, which yet, when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more than in one place at once." At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my lord's hall, where we were baited of my lord's band, almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their misorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn master Denly and John Newman. Then brought they up my lord mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I, first of all, was called into the chamber, where my lord intended to sup; where my lord mayor, being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I, standing before them as an out-cast. Which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt.[4] But, after my lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not, as was written? Smith brought again before the bishop and the lord mayor.

Smith:—"That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly."

Bonner:—"Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forsomuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me 'Bloody Bonner,' whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have Bonner excuseth himself of bloodiness.

(1) "This was Dr. Dee, a conjuror by report." Edit. 1570.—Ed.

(2) Comparison here between the Jews that spat in Christ's face, and papists which let him fall into the draught.

(3) Note this catholic doctrine, which resembleth the body of Christ, to the incomprehensible soul of man. The question is not what Christ is able to do in the sacrament, but what he doth therein.

(4) Joseph is here a type of our heavenly Joseph. Gen. xliv. 23

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stayed him from the consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly; and yet here, before your lordship, I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience."

Bonner proved to be cruel and bloody.

Smith:—"Why, my lord, do ye put on this fair visor before my lord mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body? And not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints ye have showed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and this audience, that ye show me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if ye mean as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?"

Bonner:—"Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood,[1] and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?"

Smith:—"I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention;" and showed him the Lord's institution.

The papists' dead god, having body without blood.

But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his "hoc est corpus meum," to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, saying, "I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things showed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding."

Even as the bread is the body, so is the cup the blood.

Smith:—"Ye falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the showing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, 'So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.' And St. Paul saith, 'So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come.' And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread."

Smith commanded into limbo.

Then up rose my lord, and went to the table, where my lord mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried. At this I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

Another Examination of Robert Smith before the said Bishop, etc.

Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth:—

Bonner beginneth with an untruth.

Bonner:—"Thou, Robert Smith, etc., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

Smith:—"Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same."

Bonner:—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question: how sayest thou?"

Smith:—"Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same: but there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

The church.

Auricular confession is but a pick-purse matter.

Bonner:—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shriven of the priest?"

Smith:—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered

(1) By this question it may appear whether the bishop sought blood or no.

yesterday: but if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Bonner:—"Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?"

Smith:—"I speak by experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For, first, it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health." Inconveniences of auricular confession.

And, for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how, by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of master Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, "By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water." False practice of a priest under confession.

To which I answered again, saying, "I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and, bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions." Example of terrible cruelty showed upon a poor innocent.

Bonner:—"Ah! ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Smith:—"Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie." Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in master Mordant knight, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, "How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of," etc. Sir John Mordaunt knight.

Smith:—"I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them." Two sacraments.

Bonner:—"Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

Smith:—"First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order." Baptism abused by the catholics.

Bonner:—"By the mass this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak."

Smith:—"Well sworn, my lord; ye keep a good watch."

Bonner:—"Well, master comptroller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

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"By my troth, my lord," quoth master Mordant, "I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian man will deny."

Smith:—"That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants."

Bonner:—"I believe (I tell thee) that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned."

Smith:—"Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?"[1]

Bonner:—"By both."

Smith:—"Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?"

Bonner:—"Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' And again, 'Suffer,' saith our Saviour, 'these children to come unto me:' and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou lettest them to come unto Christ."

The water of baptism a preacher, and not a Saviour.

Smith:—"Whereas ye allege St. John, 'Except a man,' etc., and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, 'Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith?' And there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I let the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, 'Suffer them to come unto me,' and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, 'Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in ensamples out of Scriptures for the same."

Bonner:—"Then thou makest the water of none effect: and then put away water."

The element of water in baptism, bringeth not the Holy Ghost.

Smith—"It is not," saith St. Peter, "the washing-away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God.' And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii. that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and

The Holy Ghost received of some before baptism.

although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and, to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked."

Mordant:—"By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

Bonner:—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good master Mordant."

Smith:—"Well, my lord, such catholic, such salvation."

Bonner:—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

The sacrament of orders.

Smith:—"Ye may call it the sacrament of misorders; for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do."

Bonner shaveth himself in anger of Smith.

Bonner:—"Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself, to anger thee withal:" and so sent for his barber, who immediately came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles.

(1) This was spoken more to confound the opinion of water, than to let children to have water.

Bonner:—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Smith:—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse." Then went away master Mordant, and my lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, 'Where were all you, in the days of king Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?'"

Doctor:—"We were in England."

Smith:—"Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves now as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward should arise, ye would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his angels.'"

Then was I all-to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, "Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow."

Doctor:—"Your articles confess, that you allow not auricular confession."

Smith:—"I allow it not, because the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it."

Doctor:—"Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

Smith:—"No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God."

Doctor:—"Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God; and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

Smith:—"Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them." Against auricular confession.

Doctor:—"What did they that came to John to be baptized?"

Smith:—"They came and confessed their sins unto Almighty God." Confessing unto John in the wilderness was not to him, but before him to God.

Doctor:—"And not unto John?"

Smith:—"If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation."

Doctor:—"Why, John was alone in the wilderness."

Smith:—"Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word; for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, 'Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek,' with such like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word, to help yourself withal." Then they raged, and called me dog, and said, I was damned.

Smith:—"Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, 'I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men;' for here I have been baited these two days, of my lord and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band."

With this came my lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith:—"Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaven."

Bonner:—"How standeth it, master doctors, have ye done any good?"

Doctor:—"No, by my troth, my lord, we can do no good."

Smith:—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, 'How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?'"

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Bonner:—"Nay, naughty fellow; I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

Smith:—"Such gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

Bonner:—"Well, wilt thou neither hear them, nor me?"

Smith:—"Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you."

Bonner:—"Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

Marvellous boldness of Smith given him of God against Christ's enemies.

Smith:—"And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not, with your doctors, come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it; that ye may see how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard."

The last Examination of Robert Smith, with his Condemnation in the Consistory.

The 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth:

Bonner:—"By my faith, my lord mayor, I have showed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, "My lord, it is written, 'Ye must not swear.'"

Bonner:—"Ah, master comptroller, are ye come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is master speaker," pointing to my brother Tankerfield, "and this is master comptroller," pointing to me.

And then, beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, "No." To whom I answered: "My lord mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my lord hath told, is untrue."

Bonner:—"How say you, good master Mordant, spake he not this here, as it is written? were ye not by?"

Mordant:—"Yes my lord; that it is: I heard him say it."[1]

Smith:—"How heard ye me say it, and were not present when I spake it? Should such a man make a lie? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith: 'Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again.'"

And so was brought out my jailer for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither master Mordant, nor the doctors before mentioned, were present when I spake it. At which master Mordant, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read and heard me affirm the same; which was also not true.

Then proceeded my lord, with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, "No:" and turning to my lord mayor, I said, "I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here, before your presence, answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said or will say, be to be proved (as my lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same."

The words of Smith to the lord mayor.

(1) Sir John Mordant came in after this story was told.

Mayor :—"Why Smith, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst." *Mary.*

Smith :—"Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from, the same: but what I have spoken, I will never deny." A. D. 1555.

Mayor :—"Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Smith :—"I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error."

Then spake my brother Tankerfield,[1] and defended the probation of those things, which they called heresy: to the which the bishop answered, "By my troth, master speaker, ye shall preach at a stake."

Smith :—"Well sworn, my lord, ye keep a good watch."

Bonner :—"Well, master comptroller, I am no saint." Bonner no saint.

Smith :—"No, my lord, nor yet good bishop; for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God. And are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?"

Bonner :—"Well, master comptroller, ye are faultless."

Smith :—"My lord mayor,[2] I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many of innocents that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa,[3] which, being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who, being a christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. 'For a city,' saith our Saviour, 'that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid:' if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light; for all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

Then my lord mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried,[4] with the bishop, Away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: and at length my friends, requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence; and then, being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, "My lord, ye fill the people's ears with phantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but, if ye were a true bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God." Justice required in the bishop's consistory, but could not be had.

Bonner :—"Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, master speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?"

Smith :—"My lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon." A lawful request not heard.

Then began the sentence, "In Dei nomine."[5] To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience' sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, "Away with him." Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, "Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?"

(1) Here my brother Tankerfield recited the story of my lord bishop's cook.
(2) This mayor was sir John Lion.
(3) Here my brother Tankerfield pulled out of his bosom a Testament, requiring judgment by the same; but it would not be heard.
(4) This sheriff was master Woodrofe.
(5) The bishop's sentence beginneth with a wrong name. Where find the Catholics in the Scripture to put any to death for their conscience' sake?

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Bonner :—" Well, master comptroller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me 'bloody bishop,' and say, I seek thy blood."

Smith :—" Well, my lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden."

Smith wrongfully condemned by the bishop.

Bonner :—" Away with him! away with him!"

Woodrofe :—" Away with him! take him away!"

Smith :—" Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will."—And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

The words of Smith to the lord Mayor.

Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England! requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness; who hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you. " Da gloriam Deo."

Robert Smith.

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man, a singular example of christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows, who, being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference within themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they, to their great comfort, used in that house together; amongst whom this foresaid Smith was a chief doer: whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose. And first in metre as followeth.

The godly behaviour of Robert Smith and his fellows in prison.

" O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil."

The God that giveth life and light, and leadeth into rest,
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out the poor that are opprest,
And keepeth mercy for the meek, his treasure and his store:
Increase thy life in perfect love, both now and evermore.
That as thou hast begun to ground in faith and fervent love,
Thou may'st be made a mighty mount, that never may remove.
That thine ensample may be showed among all thine increase;
That they may live and learn the like, and pass their time in peace.
Thy salutations that were sent, I heartily retain;
And send thee seventy times as much, to thee and thine again.
And now because I know the gold is fined in the fire,
I send thee here a paper full, that thou dost most desire,
In hope thou wilt accept it well, although it be but small,
Because I have none other good, to make amends withal.

PRISONERS IN BONDS FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH, CONFERRING TOGETHER AMONG THEMSELVES.

For all thy free and friendly facts, which thy good will hath wrought,
I send thee surely, for a shift, the thing that cost me nought.
Abstain from all ungodliness, in dread direct your days,
Possess not sin in any wise, beware of wicked ways.
Hold fast your faith unfeignedly, build as you have begun,
And arm yourself in perfect faith, to do as ye have done,
Lest that the wicked make a mock, that ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock, to build upon the sand.
Beware these filthy Pharisees; their building is in blood:
Eat not with them in any wise; their leaven is not good.
Their salt is all unsavoury; and under good intents
They maintain all their knavery, and murder innocents.
They seek to sit in Christ his seat, and put him out of place;
And make all means that may be made, his doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats, that made the blind to see:
They make a god for mice and rats, and say the same is he.
They show like sheep, and sweat like wolves, their baits be all for blood:
They kill and slay the simple souls, and rob them of their good.
The dark illusions of the devil have dimmed so their eyes.
That they cannot abide the truth, to stir in any wise.
And if ye keep the perfect path (as I have hope you do),
Ye shall be sure to have such shame, as they may put you to.
For all that lead a godly life, shall surely suffer loss;
And eke the world will seek their shame, and make them kiss the cross.
Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ, your sorrows shall not cease:
And yet, in your afflictions, I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye shall have wo, because ye are unknown;
And for because ye hate the world, the world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death, against all their decrees;
And God shall surely fight for thee against thine enemies.
Commit your cause unto the Lord: revenge not any evil,
And thou shalt see the wicked want, when thou shalt have thy will.
For all afflictions that may fall, that they can say or do,
They are not sure of the wealth, we shall attain unto.
For I have seen the sinners spread their branches like a bay,
And yet, ere one could turn his head, were withered clean away.
Beware that money make ye not in riches to arise
Against the goodness of the Lord, among the worldly wise.
For many mischiefs it hath made, that may not be exprest;
And many evils it hath begun, which may not be redrest.
For money maketh many a one, in riches to rebel;
And he that maketh gold a god, he hath a soul to sell.
It maketh kings to kill and slay, and waste their wits in war,
In leaving of the wolf at home, to hunt the fox afar.
And where they should see justice done, and set their realm in rest;
By money they be made a mean to see the poor opprest.
It maketh lords obey the laws, that they do ill and naught;
It maketh bishops suck the blood, that God hath dearly bought;
And where they should be faithful friends, and fathers to their flock,
By money they do turn about, even like a weathercock.
The priest doth make a money mean, to have again his whores,
To put away his wedded wife, and children out of doors.
It holdeth back the husbandman, which may not be forborne,
And will not suffer him to sow, and cast abroad his corn.
In like case it doth let again, when that the seed they sow;
It choketh up the corn again, so that it cannot grow.
The husband he would have a wife, with nobles new and old:
The wife would have the husband hanged, that she might have his gold.
It maketh murderers many a one, and beareth much with blood:
The child would see the parents slain, to seize upon their good.
And though it be a blessed thing, created in the kind,
It is a necessary e'il, annexed to the mind.

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For whoso playeth with the pitch, his fingers are defiled;
And he that maketh gold a god, shall sorely be beguiled.
Be friendly to the fatherless, and all that are oppress:
Assist them always out of hand, and see them set at rest.
In all your doings and your deeds let mercy still remain;
For with the measure that ye mete, shall ye be mette again.
Be always lowly in your life, let love enjoy her own:
The highest trees are seldom sure, and soonest overthrown.
The lions lack and suffer sore, in hunger and in thirst;
And they that do oppress the poor, continue still accurst.
The bee is but a little beast in body or in sight,
And yet she bringeth more increase, than either crow or kite.
Therefore beware in any wise, keep well your watch alway:
Be sure of oil within your lamp, let not your light decay.
For death despiseth them that lack, and hateth them that have,
And treadeth down the rich and poor together in the grave.
Exhort your children to be chaste, rebuke them for their ill,
And let them not at any wise be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low; show them no merry cheer
Lest thou do weep with them also; but bring them up in fear.
And let your light and living shine, that ye be not suspect,
To have the same within yourself, for which they are correct.
Be meek and modest in a mean: let all your deeds be done,
That they which are without the law, may see how right ye run.
Keep well the member in your mouth, your tongue see that ye tame;
For out of little sparks of fire proceedeth out a flame.
And as the poison doth express the natures of the toad,
Even so the tongue doth manifest the heart that feareth God.
For therewith bless we God above, and therewith curse we men;
And thereby murders do arise, through women now and then.
And seeing God hath given a tongue, and put it under power,
The surest way is for to set a hatch before the door.
For God hath set you in a seat, of double low degree:
First unto God, and then to man, a subject for to be.
I write not that I see in you these things to be suspect;
But only set before your face, how sin should be correct.
For flesh and blood I know ye are, as other women be;
And if ye dwell in flesh and blood, there is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly, that to thy teeth is told:
Account the gift of greater price than if he gave thee gold.
A wise man, sayeth Solomon, a warning will embrace:
A fool will sooner (as saith he) be smitten on the face.
And as your members must be dead from all things that are vain,
E'en so by baptism ye are born, to live with Christ again.
Thus farewell, free and faithful friend: the Lord that is above
Increase in thee a perfect faith, and lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love, and pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large abroad among the briers:
E'en so I pray thee to prefer my person and my bands,
Unto the everlasting God that hath me in his hands.
That I may pass out of this pond, wherein I am opprest;
Inclosed in a clod of clay, that here can have no rest.
That as he hath begun in me his mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake my brethren that be gone.
That when the death shall do his worst where he shall point a place,
I may be able like a man to look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak, my body into dust,
Yet sure am I to have a soul, when death hath done his worst.
And though I leave a little dust dissolved out of blood,
I shall receive it safe again, when God shall see it good.
For my redeemer, I am sure, doth live for evermore,
And sitteth high upon the heavens, for whom I hunger sore:

Even as the deer with deadly wounds escaped from the spoil,
Doth haste by all the means he may, to seek unto the soil.
Of whom I hope to have a crown, that always shall remain;
And eke enjoy a perfect peace, for all my woe and pain.
The God that giveth all increase, and seeketh still to save,
Abound in thee that perfect peace, which I do hope to have!
And I beseech the living God to hold thee in his hands;
And wish thee, e'en with all my heart, the blessing of my bands;
Which I esteem of higher price than pearl or precious stone,
And shall endure for evermore, when earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do consume our treasure and our store,
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him that is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends, when all men shall appear,
That hath showed mercy to the meek, and rid them out of pain:
And thus the Lord possess thy spirit, till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompense,
Abide still in obedience.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith unto his Children, commonly set out in the name of Master Rogers.

Give ear my children to my words,[1] whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my law within your heart, and print it in your thought.
For I your father have foreseen, the frail and filthy way,
Which flesh and blood would follow fain, even to their own decay.
For all and every living beast their crib do know full well;[2]
But Adam's heirs, above the rest, are ready to rebel.
And all the creatures on the earth, full well can keep their way,
But man above all other beasts, is apt to go astray,[3]
For earth and ashes is his strength, his glory and his reign,
And unto ashes, at the length, shall he return again.[4]
For flesh doth flourish like a flower, and grow up like a grass,
And is consumed in an hour, as it is brought to pass
In me the image of your years, your treasure and your trust,
Whom ye do see before your face, dissolved into dust.
For, as you see your father's flesh converted into clay,
Even so shall ye, my children dear, consume and wear away;[5]
The sun and moon, and eke the stars, that serve the day and night,
The earth and every earthly thing, shall be consumed quite.[6]
And all the worship that is wrought that have been heard or seen,
Shall clean consume and come to nought, as it had never been.
Therefore, that ye may follow me, your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life, which never shall have end,[7]
I leave you here a little book, for you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face, when I am dead and gone;
Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years, in prison and in pain.[8]
Where I, among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,
But a few days before my death, did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,
That ye may read and understand, and keep it in your mind:
That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear away,
Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay,
In following of your father's foot, in truth and eke in love:
That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above.
And, in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,[9]
I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes in all your whole intents:
Commit not sin in any wise, keep his commandements.[10]

(1) Prov. v. (2) Isa. i. (3) Wisd. ii. (4) Gen. iii. (5) 2 Pet. iii.
(6) Wisd. xiii. (7) John vii. (8) 1 Cor. ii. (9) Tob. ii. (10) John ix.

Mary.
A.D. 1555.

Abhor that arrant whore of Rome, and all her blasphemies;
And drink not of her decretals, nor yet of her decrees.[1]
Give honour to your mother dear, remember well her pain;
And recompense her in her age, in like with love again;[2]
Be always aiding at her hand, and let her not decay:
Remember well your father's fall, that should have been her stay.
Give of your portion to the poor, as riches do arise;[3]
And from the needy naked soul turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not hear the cry of such as are in need,
Shall cry himself, and not be heard when he would hope to speed.[4]
If God have given you great increase, and blessed well your store,
Remember ye are put in trust, to minister the more.[5]
Beware of foul and filthy lust; let whoredom have no place;
Keep clean your vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace.[6]
Ye are the temples of the Lord, for ye are dearly bought,
And they that do defile the same, shall surely come to nought.
Possess not pride in any case, build not your nests too high,
But have always before your face, that ye be born to die.
Defraud not him that hired is, your labours to sustain,
But give him always out of hand, his penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men against you should proceed,
Do ye the same again to them, when they do stand in need.[7]
And part your portion with the poor, in money and in meat,
And feed the fainted feeble soul, with that which ye should eat.[8]
That when your members lacketh meat and clothing to your back,
Ye may the better think on them, that now do live and lack.
Ask counsel also at the wise; give ear unto the end;
Refuse not you the sweet rebuke of him that is your friend.[9]
Be thankful always to the Lord, with prayer and with praise;
Desire you him in all your deeds, for to direct your ways;[10]
And sin not like that swinish sort, whose bellies, being fed,
Consume their years upon the earth from belly unto bed.
Seek first, I say, the living God;[11] set him always before;
And then be sure that he will bless your basket and your store.[12]
And thus if you direct your days according to this book,
Then shall they say, that see your ways, how like me you do look.
And when you have so perfectly,[13] upon your fingers' ends,
Possessed all within your book, then give it to your friends.
And I beseech the living God, replenish you with grace,
That I may have you in the heavens, and see you face to face.
And though the sword have cut me off contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love according to my mind,
Yet do I hope, when that the heavens shall vanish like a scroll,
I shall receive your perfect shape, in body and in soul;[14]
And that I may enjoy your love, and ye enjoy the land,
I do beseech the living God to hold you in his hand.
Farewell my children from the world where ye must yet remain:
The Lord of Hosts be your defence, till we do meet again.
Farewell my love, and loving wife, my children and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all, when all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God, as ye have now begun,
Your course I warrant will be short; ye have not far to run.
God grant you so to end your years as he shall think it best;
That ye may enter into heaven, where I do hope to rest.

Written at the Request of a Lady in her Book.

If you will walk the way that Christ hath you assigned,
Then learn this little verse, which I have left behind.

(1) Rev. xiv. (2) Exod. xxii. Matt. xv. (3) Matt. xxv. (4) 2 Cor. ix.
(5) Luke xii. (6) John ii. 1 Cor. vi. (7) Matt. vii. (8) Heb. xiii. Deut. iii.
(9) Matt. vi. (10) Matt. vi. (11) Prov. iv. (12) Deut. xxviii
(13) Tob. ii. (14) 2 Pet. iii.

Be fervent in the truth, although it bear the blame;
And eke apply your youth, to stick unto the same;
That when the age is come, and death begins to call,
The truth may be your staff to stay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke, and cause you kiss the cross,
Yet is it a reward, to all that suffer loss:
For here we do lay out the things that be but vain,
But we are sure to reap the things that do remain.
For all that ye do lose is but a sinful slime,
And like unto a rose, that tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Christ, and walk the perfect way,
Ye shall possess the gold, that never shall decay;
And all your father's goods shall be your recompense,
If ye confess the word with double diligence,
Not only for to hear his pure and perfect word,
But also to embrace the fire, and eke the sword.
And if ye keep this path, and do not run a-crook,
Then shall ye meet the man that writ this in your book,
In that eternal joy that always shall remain.
Thus farewell faithful friend, till we do meet again.

Legem pone.

Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways, my living to amend,
And I shall keep it all my days, even to my life's end.
Give me a mind to understand, so shall I never start;
But I shall keep all thy precepts, even wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace in that I have begun;
For all my love and my delight, is in thy ways to run.
Incline my heart unto thy ways; set thou thereon my thought;
And let me not consume my days, to covet that is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways, the world for to despise;
And from all fond and foolish toys, turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect word, which is to me so dear;
Lay up thy laws within my heart, to keep me still in fear;
And rid me of that great rebuke which I do fear full sore,
For all thy judgments and thy laws endure for evermore.
Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts, is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways, that I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

As nature doth me bind, because thou art my blood,
According to my kind to give thee of my good,
That thou may'st have in mind how I have run my race,
Although thou bide behind but for a little space.
I give thee here a pearl, the price of all my good,
For which I leave my life, to buy it with my blood;
More worth than all the world, or aught that I can note,
Although it be yclad in such a simple coat.
For when I had obtained this pearl of such a price,
Then was I sure I gained the way for to be wise.
It taught me how to fight, my flesh for to despise,
To stick unto the light, and for to leave the lies:
In sending out my seed with bonds and bitter tears,
That I might reap with joy in everlasting years,
And have, for all my loss, my travail, and my pain,
A thousand times and more of better goods again.
And for because the good that hath been got and gained,
And that the Lord's elect hath evermore obtained,
Is closed in this book which I do give to thee,
Wherein I have my part, as thou thyself may'st see,
In which I hope thou hast a stock also in store,
And wilt not cease to fail till God hath made it more—

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I will thee to beware; be sure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it lose, thy part shall be in hell.
And here I testify before the living God,
That I detest to do the things that are forebode.
And as, in judgment, is my body to be brent,
My heart is surely set therewith to be content.
And sith it is his will to put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill to fight against this whore,
Full well I am content, if he allow it so,
To stand with all my might the whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing mind, the death I will outface:
And as I am assured, the battle do embrace;
That they which hear the truth, how I have past the pike,
May set aside their youth, and learn to do the like.
And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good:
For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,
And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.
And when that thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.
And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain,
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
And to my woful wife, and widow desolate,
Whom I do leave behind, in such a simple state,
And compassed with tears, and mournings many one;
Be thou her staying staff, when I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not express the dolours of my mind,
Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.
But, as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.
I took her from the world, and made her like the cross;
But, if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss:
For where she had before a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,
Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand,
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C:
That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod,
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind a father in my stead.
And thou, my brother dear, and eke my mother's son,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done;
And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,
That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace,
Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:
Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brother's blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his Gospel, and to persevere in his Truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.[1]

Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is

(1) This letter is thought of some to be master Hooper's, partly for that in one copy amongst divers, it is intituled unto him: and also by the phrase and manner of writing, it may be well conjectured so to be. [See Letters of the Martyrs, Lond. 1837, page 418.—Ed.]

broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake; knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are ye, that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life.[1] And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his saints.[2] Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation.[3] Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow.[4] Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmovable rock Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets, whereon every house that is builded, groweth into a holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost.[5] Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his soldiers, whose cognisance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body.[6] It behoveth therefore every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as ye have him for ensample:[7] and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promise in Matt. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality,[8] and ye, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.[9]

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Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you;[10] for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he, then, that shall be able to confound us?[11] nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not, with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the councils of the ungodly to nought.[12] He shall take them in their own net: he shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men.[13] Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God.[14] The just shall see this, and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvellously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet.[15]

(1) Rev. xvii. (2) Psalm cxv. (3) (Matt. vii. (4) Ephes. ii.
(5) 2 Tim. ii. Ephes. vi. (6) Phil. ii. Heb. xii. Colosn. i. (7) 1 Pet. i. (8) Rev. vi.
(9) 1 Cor. i. x. (10) 1 Pet. iii. (11) Luke xiii. Acts ii Psalm lii.
(12) 1 Sam. xvii. Psalm vi. 2 Cor. vi. Heb. viii. Psalm xxxii.
(13) Psalm cxvii. lii. lxv. (14) Gen. xi. (15) Psalm xxxiii.

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Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake: then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door: then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost: then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot: then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage: then shall their painted wisdom be known, for extreme folly: then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey: then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance: then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre, when no man will buy their wares any more: then shall the popish priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants;[1] which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.[2]

Acquit yourselves like men, against the enemies of God, in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting, and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever; who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupieth that blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be closed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour.[3] And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not; so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not; and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.[4]

And what he took of his blessed Mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb.[5] There were they coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baken in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins.[6] Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing; and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.[7]

This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God.[8] What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun? nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God; and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves: and in respect of that

(1) Gen. iv. xxi. xl. Phil. iii. Psalm ii. 1 Cor. iii. Psalm lxxiv. Job v. Rev. xii. xviii. Psalm cxlv. (2) 1 Cor. vi.; viii. Heb. ix.
(3) Acts iii. Heb. i. 1 Peter iii. Ephes. i. ii. (4) Rom. viii. (5) Ephes. ii.
(6) 1 John ii. Coles. i. (7) 1 Cor. ii. Ephes. ii. Habak. ii. Gal. iii. Acts x. (8) Luke ix.

heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life.[1] Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, which of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience.[2]

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not my brethren,[3] mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoice in the Lord,[4] hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him which is your loadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world, to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive, in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?[5]

Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause;[6] and against you be none, but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning.[7] To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men,[8] he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth,[9] filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets[10] and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts; teaching us thereby to understand what their natural inclination is: to deceive, poison, and destroy (as much as in them lieth), the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, which have conspired against him. He hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his Fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb.[11] He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints.[12] In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme; let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace;[13] and by these fruits, shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins.[14] For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon:[15] where, when the people of God were in most extreme thraldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath

(1) John xiv. Psalm xv. Ephes. iv. Colos. v. Matt. x. Mark viii. Phil. iii. Luke viii. xiv.
(2) Phil. iii. Luke viii. xiv. Rom. vii. Ephes. i. Gal. iv. Phil. iii. (3) Heb. vi.
(4) 1 Cor. ii. (5) Heb. xi. (6) Phil. iii. Matt. iii. (7) John. viii.
(8) Psalm xxxiv. Heb. iv. (9) Jude. (10) Psalm lxxvi.
(11) Matt. xx. Luke xxi. Matt. x. (12) 1 Pet. ii. (13) Matt. x. Wisd. iii. (14) Psalm vii.
(15) Exod. viii. Esd. iii. xiii. 2 Macc. vii. James iv. 1 Pet. v. Rev. ix. Heb. xii. James ii.

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worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire: this shall be their final reward. Our duty is, the mean while, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed, to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies:[1] for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him.[2] Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for these Balaamites which now do molest us, commit them to the hands of God; give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate; for he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us: let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us: he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.[3]

Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance.[4] Let us study to be his: then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which, with their pretensed holiness, deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings,[5] open the heart of the queen's highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God,[6] and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's highness and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates, which are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are, both body and soul; whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word:[7] God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as play on both hands, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy.[8]

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse; looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks, therefore, desiring thee, of all loves, to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting life, which shall ever abide when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which

(1) 2 Cor. xii. Esd. iii. vi. Rom. i.
(2) 1 Cor. xi. Luke xv. Eph. iv. Hos. xiii. Rom. xii. Phil. ii. Luke viii. Mark iv.
(3) Psalm viii. iv. Jer. xii. xviii. (4) Matt. xii. (5) Job xii. Prov. xv. xxi.
(6) Psalm xxiv. xxx. (7) Mark i. Matt. x. Rev. v. (8) John xvi.

shall be showed on us; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that as God hath found us and also elected us worthy to suffer with him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in especial to your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise.

Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.

From Newgate, the 15th of April.

By your husband here and in heaven, Robert Smith.

His martyrdom and comfortable death.

This foresaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner there bishop, the 12th day of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of August; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before, to all them that were in prison with him, so now, also, being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body, dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: "and," said he, "I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof." At length, being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

A token of comfort and resurrection given by Smith.

A Sententious Letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his Wife, full of Godly Instruction.

Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

In hearing of good things join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

Love all men, but especially your enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Be good to thy enemy.

Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

A double hedge to the tongue.

Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of that he himself is faulty in, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs for himself.

Cast out the mote in thine own eye first.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare; and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire,

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of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

Covet not to be rich.

Show mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners, visit your own soul: for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

Blessed be the merciful.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forsake not Christ for any pain.

Another Letter sent to his Wife, Anne Smith.

The grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our posterity.

I have received your letter, and, I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same; for well ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God, and, if he had gotten it, the council sure had seen it; but Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane-end, to my sister Tankerfield, and she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God of his mercy: nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny; I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you, of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close: I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer; pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation; I have written all this fortnight for my lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you; I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

Commendation of Peter the keeper.

I have not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so strait a commandment, that no man might come to us, because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

Yours, and ever yours, Robert Smith.

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

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I sent you by master Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my prison-fellows to you, that is, from master Hawkes twelve pence, from master Simson twelve pence, from his wife four pence, from master Wats five new groats, from master Ardeley twelve pence, from master Bradford twelve pence, which men be all gone to death, except master Bradford; he abideth still. There are also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford. There are also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder; and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but like a good matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever. Amen.

Behold here the communion of saints.

My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herault a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a rase of ginger, and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

A Letter sent to a Friend.

The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others, that it is unhurtful to go to all the abominations, which now stand in the idol's temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ: but look that, by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do; for if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his Holy Spirit. Amen.

I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and ensue it. Fear God: love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

Thy friend and all men's in Christ Jesus, Robert Smith.

Scribbled in much haste from Newgate the 12th of May.

Robert Smith to all Faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

Content thyself with patience,
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,
Which can and will thee recompense,
A thousand fold with joys again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail;
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail,
Put from the shore:
And be thou sure thou shalt attain,
Unto the port that shall remain
For evermore.

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The Burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust,

MARTYRED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL.

About this time died also by cruel fire these two martyrs of God; that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware; which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and others of the said company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he, in his last appearing the 12th of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered: "No," said he, "my lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak." This answer of him only I find noted by the registrar; although how slenderly these registrars have dealt in uttering such matters (that is, in omitting those things which were most worthy to be known), by their doings it is easy to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, as heretics to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August and year above said.

Answer of Fust to Bonner.

The martyrdom of Harwood and Fust.

The constant Martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to bishop Bonner by sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest the 12th of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: "Ah, good people," said he, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist;"[1] pointing unto the bishop of London. And so was he delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

Hale's words to the people.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew,

WHO ALL SICKENED IN PRISON, AND WERE BURIED IN THE FIELDS.

Ye heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by master Hare and other commissioners, to be examined of Bonner

(1) Ex Regist.

bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been showed; whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it, "propter metum Judæorum." The last that remained of this foresaid company was Joan Laysh or Layshford,[1] the daughter-in-law to John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

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Three martyrs sickened in prison, and buried in the fields.

The like catholic charity was also showed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, A.D. 1555, by John Motham, constable of Maldon in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the lord Riche, who sent him first to prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be sir Richard Southwell knight, by a letter written by him to Bonner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

The lord Riche, his first sender-up.

A Letter sent to Bonner Bishop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell.

Pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that the lord Riche did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordship, but, by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so, referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good lordship's to command, this 12th of June, 1555. Richard Southwell.

This William Andrew, being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through strait handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life there, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, after the popish manner, he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

Andrew, through strait handling, dies in Newgate, and is buried in the fields.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher,

SUFFERING FOR THE TRUE DEFENCE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also, whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without

Justice Foster persecutor of Christ's people.

(1) The story of Joan Layshford hereafter followeth among the martyrs of the next year.

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clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold in Suffolk,[1] where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

Samuel in king Edward's days a godly preacher.

Removed from the ministry.

At the last, being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice (as many other good pastors were beside), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do; at what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in king Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, foreslacked no time nor diligence, but eftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

Would not consent to the wicked decree of queen Mary to put away his wife.

Samuel apprehended in his house by night.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they, bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried, through the malice of the wicked sort, to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton—whether he, or Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor—full like unmerciful prelates, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation; yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no further. Neither did I ever hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

Put in Ipswich jail.

Removed to Norwich.

Cruelty of Dunnings the bloody chancellor.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the others before,

(1) Perhaps Bargholt in Suffolk, or Barford in Norfolk.—Ed.

kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant-stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? etc.[1]

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Cruel handling of Samuel in prison.

Famished in prison.

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy Scriptures already.

Samuel brought to burning.

Strange visions that happened to him.

Great comforts ministered by the Lord to him in his imprisonment.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same town anon after.

Another memorable vision of Samuel.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck, and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she

(1) "Quoties suam ipse urinam exoptabat bibere! sed exuccum corpus longâ tabe exhaustum, nullum urinæ liquorem reddere quibat." See the Latin Edition, p. 524.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband, Christ.

Two godly women apprehended.

With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer at her hands again: "I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides a sort of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

This godly wife, exhorted to fly, would not.

Anne Potten and Trunchfield's wife.

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into prison together, who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison; and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February 19, as shall be, by the Lord's grace, declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the 31st of August, anno 1555.

The Lord Jesus a ready help in time of weakness.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tried silver, as I am informed by some which were there and did behold the sight.

A Letter or Exhortation of Robert Samuel to the patient Suffering of Afflictions for Christ's cause.

A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare;[1] even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near.[2] Better it were to die (as the preacher saith)[3] than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward.[4] Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, with "seest me?" and "seest me not?" yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish

Complaint against England, and that not undeserved.

(1) Eccl. ix. (2) Ezek. vii. (3) Eccl. iv. (4) Isaiah i.

Gergesites,[1] now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils,[2] seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word,[3] the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Abundance of goods is a thing perilous.

O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension; but, brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ,[4] when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confusion and perpetual perdition!

God hath always a remnant, whom he polisheth with hard adversities.

We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance: yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job[5] curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reserved,[6] I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit.[7]

Two men in one, God abhorreth.

Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but "he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his,"[8] as St. Paul saith. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever.[9]

No true quietness in Satan's service.

The miserable madness of worldly men lamented.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you, both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God, and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls, which would, for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their God and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it.[10]

Transitory pleasures of this life not to be passed upon.

But let us which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: "Yet shall they once," as the kingly prophet saith, "run about the city of God, to and fro howling like dogs,"[11] desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.[12]

Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and be celestial. "We must be here," saith Paul, "*not as inhabiters, and home-dwellers, but as strangers*:"[13] *not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul,* as painful soldiers appointed of our governor to fight against the governor of the

(1) Matt. viii. (2) Mark v. (3) Rom. x. (4) Matt. xix. (5) Job iii.
(6) Isaiah x. 1 Cor. iv. (7) Rev. iii. (8) 1 Cor. vi. (9) 1 Pet. i.
(10) 2 Cor. iv. John xii (11) Psalm lviii. (12) Luke xvi. (13) Col. iii.

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darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things.[1] The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God.[2] Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches?[3] Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith; "In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish:"[4] but as for you (meaning the wicked), shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? For the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Hezekiah, "Play the men, and shrink not. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us." "The Lord is," saith he, "with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you:"[5] and again, "When you forsake him, he will forsake you."

Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad, but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be destroyed?[6] We know assuredly we shall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be: wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abide in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and, after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal,[7] and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with poor Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. "But an unwise man," saith the Psalmist, "comprehendeth them not; neither doth the foolish understand them:"[8] that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, "Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye,"[9] and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as in Mark is said), shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.[10]

Joys laid up in Christ to man's sense inestimable.

Samuel prophesieth of the destruction of the persecutors.

To what end the persecutors do flourish in this world.

Let us therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God, rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity, yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and goodwill, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others more. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, which sit in the chair of perverse pestilent scorners? to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereat they now, being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

The blood of God's martyrs preacheth with more fruit than did their mouths.

"These are the days of vengeance," saith Luke,[11] "that all things written may be fulfilled." And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts; who, so many times and so many ways, have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

God long looketh for repentance, and we wax worse and worse.

Now therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, "I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee."[12] Upon thee, I say, O England! and

(1) Heb. xiii. (2) John vii. (3) Eph. v. 1 Pet. iv. (4) Jer. xxv.
(5) 2 Chron. iii. (6) 2 Cor. v. (7) 1 Kings xxv. (8) Psalm xl.
(9) Job xxi. (10) Mark ix. (11) Luke ii. (12) Isa. iii.

punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and has stirred up the coals: for thou wast once lightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God; yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England! thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst nothing thereafter: "Thou must therefore," saith he, "suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and in the coals that thou hast kindled." "This cometh to thee from my hand," saith the Lord, "namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow;" yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale; the immutable justice of the everliving God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirm the same. "The joy of our heart," saith Jeremy, "is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen."[1] Alas, and weal away, that ever we sinned so sore: woe worth all abominations and wickedness; woe worth cloaked hypocrisy; woe worth our carnal liberty; woe worth our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

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Wickedness of England declared. England worthily rebuked. He bewaileth the state of England.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope at God's accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. "They must," saith St. John, "needs abide and perish with their sins in death, and in eternal damnation." But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye christian afflicted brethren; for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, "My sheep hear my voice; I know them; they hearken unto me, and to no strangers; and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands:"[2] no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it neither harm nor hurt any one of his children without his goodwill. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones,[3] and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Comfort to the afflicted brethren.

Christ himself suffereth in his members afflicted.

Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be sundered from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us. It is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy; and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day.[4] Oh! that happy and merry last day (I mean to the faithful) when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die;[5] then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children, where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. O happy souls! O precious death, and evermore blessed; right dear in the eyes of God: to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as

God's promise is immutable.

O merry last day!

Christ's saints be here in butcher's hands.

(1) Jer. v. (2) Matt. x. John x. (3) Eph. v. (4) 2 Tim. ii. (5) Psalm xvi.

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saith Isaiah, "The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord; and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished." "Yea, I am he," saith the Lord, "that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation." To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

Robert Samuel.

Another Letter written to the Christian Congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the Confession of his Faith.

"The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe."[1]

"Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool; but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation."[2]

Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that when they backbite you as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."[3]

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same, seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

One God. First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or divine essence, and infinite substance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlasting, unbodily, unpartible; unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, as well visible as

Three persons. invisible: and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one godhead or divine being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, coeternal—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, etc. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesu;[4] in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.[5]

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; so that there be in him two natures, a divine nature, and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God,[6] wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

(1) Rom. x. (2) Isa. li. (3) 1 Pet. iii
(4) Eph. i. (5) Acts xvii. Psalm cxlvii. (6) Heb. i.

Born of the Virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion; crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.[1]

No merits but only in Christ.

The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, etc.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin: which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.[2]

The catholic church is the communion of saints.

I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

Remission of sins.

I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our Head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking,[3] etc. "We look," saith St. Paul, "for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied and brought as into a thing of nought, yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour."[4]

Confirmation of our resurrection.

The sting of death plucked out.

Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. "Verily, verily, I say unto you," saith Christ,[5] "he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life." It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swallowed up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever.[6] What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity, and joys eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord: I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

The use of sacraments.

The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirma-

Baptism.

(1) Isa. xlviii. xliii. Gen. i. xx Isa. liii. Acts x. Matt. viii.
(2) John x. viii. Gal. i. 1 Tim. (3) John x. xi. (4) Phil. iv. John xii. 1 Cor. xv.
(5) John v. (6) Rom. x. Hosea. xiii.

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tion of our acception into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God; and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness.[1]

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The other sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maunday of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe,[2] so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and nowhere else as concerning his human body.

God's word to the ear, and to the eye.

Christ's body present in the sacrament to our spiritual eyes.

Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy Supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, "This is my body which is given for you:" when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food,[3] which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth;[4] but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jesu my Lord and Saviour.[5]

How the body of Christ is spiritually to be eaten.

Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed,[6] and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me:[7] yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for, through faith in Christ and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[8] Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.[9]

Robert Samuel.

(1) Rom. vi. (2) Acts i. 3. Rom. x. (3) Rom. viii. Heb. ix. (4) John vi.
(5) Phil. iii. (6) John vi. (7) Ephes. v. Gal. ii. (8) John xvii. (9) Mark viii.

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The Martyrdom of William Allen,

SEPTEMBER 1555.

Next after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant some time to John Houghton of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then, being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the 12th of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his suffering, and there, being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo, of Melford in Suffolk,

SHEARMAN; FIRST EXAMINED BEFORE HOPTON THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, AND BY HIM CONDEMNED, AUGUST 12, ANNO 1555.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo:—"At the justice's commandment."

Bishop:—"There was some cause why."

Coo:—"Here is my accuser; let him declare."

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law. But Coo answered that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was? He answered how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

"No," said his accuser, "nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament."

When Coo heard him say so, he said, "I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself." Roger Coo to his accuser.

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, "Coo, why? will ye not receive?"

Coo answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

Bishop:—"How prove you that?"

Coo:—"Our Saviour said, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;' and the bread and wine doth not so." The sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Bishop:—"Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and say, 'This is my body?'"

"Yes," said Coo, and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop:—"You have said the truth."

Then Coo replied further, and said, "Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said."

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Bishop:—"How prove you that?"

Coo:—"It is written in the second of the Acts."

Then the bishop's chaplain said, it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his belief.

Coo answered, "Yea," and so said part of the creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop:—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"

Coo:—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo:—"Have ye so, my lord? Then if *ye* go to the devil for your sins, where shall *I* become?"

Bishop:—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

Coo:—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, 'there shall come a people with the prince, that shall destroy both city and sanctuary.'[1] I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws.

Coo:—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop:—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

Coo:—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

Then the bishop told him, that these twenty-two years we have been governed with such kings.

Coo:—"My lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?"

Bishop:—"I durst not for fear of death."

And thus they ended. But after this done, it was reported that I railed: wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever! Amen.

Martyrdom of Roger Coo.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A.D. 1555, in the month of September.

Thomas Cob, Butcher, of Haverhill in Suffolk, Martyr.

Over and besides this foresaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokenneyland,[3] Robert Samuel, and others, in the same year, upon the 12th of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid; who, being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Examination of Cob.

The real presence of Christ only in heaven.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no, he answered, that his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, etc. In fine, the said

Martyrdom of Cob.

(1) Dan. ix. (2) Well spoken, and like the pope's clerk.
(3) Nayland, a chapel to the vicarage of Stoke.—Ed.

Thomas Cob, being condemned the same 12th day of August, with the other his fellow-martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, A.D. 1555, in the month of September. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to entreat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel's cause; the names of the which five martyrs were these:—George Catmer of Hythe; Robert Streater of Hythe; Anthony Burward of Calete;[1] George Brodbridge of Bromfield; James Tutty of Brenchley; who, upon the 3d day of August, were brought before Thornton, the foresaid bishop of Dover, and his complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of their altar, auricular confession, and other such like. Examination of these five martyrs.

To the which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise: "Christ," quoth he, "sitteth in heaven, on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar. But he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol. Catmer.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who, being also asked whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; "for you do maintain heresy and idolatry," quoth he, "in that ye teach to worship a false God in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God." Streater.

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Burward, who also said, that their sacrament was made an idol. Burward.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles; who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. "Morever, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do," quoth he, "utterly defy them." Brodbridge.

And last of all, did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers. And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforesaid, about the 6th day of September then next following. Tutty.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there

(1) Calais, or Caley's Grange and Rectory in the isle of Thanet, may perhaps be intended.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555. shed their blood. And first, to begin with the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find these two to be condemned and also burned about the midst of the said month of September at the town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

The Persecution and Trouble of Master Robert Glover, Gentleman, and of John Glover his Brother, in the Diocese of Lichfield.

Unto this present time and month of September, pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of master Robert Glover gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; of whose apprehension and troubles because I cannot well entreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forasmuch as this privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended), I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first, to begin with John the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman born, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Manchester, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues, which grace of God so working in him, he, with his two other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same; much unlike unto our table-gospellers now-a-days, "virtutem qui verba putant ut lucum ligna," as Horace saith.[1]

Three godly brethren, and zealous professors of the gospel.

The inward conflicts and exercise of Glover: a double martyr.

And as touching this foresaid John Glover,[2] it pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that of so long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly, he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea,

A heavy cross of inward torments laid upon him.

(1) Lib. I. Epist. vi. 31.—Ed.

(2) As a more circumstantial history of John Glover is hereafter supplied from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, the following passage, extant in recent editions, is omitted in the text above. The author speaks of John Glover "(who through his manifold afflictions seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of spiritual things, joined with mortification from all worldly cares, more than the other had), although sufficient relation be made before in our first edition to be seen; yet as concerning his spiritual conflicts, and the Lord's gracious working in him, because the consideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it shall not be hurtful to rehearse some part of the same."—Ed.

and almost no kind of senses was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him, who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

The better conscience the sooner disquieted.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in Hebrews vii.: "For it cannot be, that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift,"[1] etc.; upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost: even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

The first occasion of his inward affliction.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation[2] and time of refreshing? who in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, "It cannot be,"[3] etc.

No grief like to the grief of conscience.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity than we can think: which well appeared in this good servant of God (in no man more), who, albeit, as we have said, he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him

Christ a merciful helper in temptations and hard distresses.

Glover, by the grace of Christ, restored again to perfect tranquillity.

(1) Heb. vi. 4. (2) "Refocillation" is synonymous with 'refreshing.'—Ed.
(3) Heb. vi. 4.

Mary. A. D. 1555. out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath-rest. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of king Edward the Sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, eftsoons he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge), should sustain that conflict; and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of master John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch-word to the said John, to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

The mayor of Coventry sendeth a privy watch-word to Glover.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers, going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff; which sheriff notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, nevertheless, being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble, first, concerning the worthy remembrance of master John Glover.

Glover apprehended lying sick in his chamber.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand (that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of master Robert Glover), forasmuch as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, concerning the manner

of his ordering and handling, it shall therefore seem best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to his Wife, containing the whole Discourse and Description of his Troubles sustained in Prison, and of his sundry Conflicts between the Bishop and him about Religion.

To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,

The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice (with tears, I say), for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things; which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by their own pleasure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others'. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and, by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen. *The worldly wantonness commonly of English women noted.*

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting;[1] forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many.[2] And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God; and that, as Christ saith, "The word of God that he hath spoken shall judge in the last day:"[3] let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof. *Ghostly lessons and precepts of christian life.*

And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time:[4] call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you; endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife;[5] that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry (that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth), look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and *Example of Lot's wife.*

(1) 1 Tim. ii. (2) 1 Pet. iv. (3) John xii. (4) 1 Cor. i. (5) Luke xvii.

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example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

First note. They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, the church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Second note. Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, "My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples."[1] Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Third note. Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own inventions, "to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands."[2]

Fourth note. The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

Fifth note. Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, "Search the Scriptures."[3] But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

Sixth note. The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.[4]

The pope's church and christ's. By these, and such like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church, whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

The church of the valiant papists compared to Nimrod, and why.

The pope's church under pain of damnation is to be avoided. Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. "It is a fearful thing," as St. Paul saith, "to fall into the hands of God." Remember the prophet Elias, "Why halt ye on both sides?"[5] Remember what Christ saith, "He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me."[6] And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause.[7] Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. "Be afraid in nothing," saith St. Paul, "of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation."[8] Christ commandeth the same,

He exhorteth to be bold in Christ.

(1) John x. (2) "Et lætari super operibus manuum suarum." Acts. vii.
(3) John v. (4) Eph. v. (5) 1 Chron. xviii. (6) Luke ix.
(7) Rev. ii. (8) Phil. i.

saying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first, to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture saith, "They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ."[1] Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Worldly Christians resembled to Æsop's cock.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment, before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

Worldly allurements by God's grace withstood.

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, "What matter have you master sheriff to charge me withal?" He answered, "You shall know when you come before the masters;" and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being showed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

Experience of the Lord's assistance in confirming his servants

Glover committed to the gaol before any cause was declared

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: "O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake?" And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart: O Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

God's mighty consolation upon Glover in prison.

He weepeth for joy in prison.

Not long after came unto me master W. Brasbridge, master C. Phineas, master N. Hopkins, travailing with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: "Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds."

Glover counselled to put in bonds, refuses.

Secondarily, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

Worldly persuasions not received.

(1) Matt. xiii.

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And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to master Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took as it were a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so, when they had let their suit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Glover reasoning with himself.

Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Glover taketh courage, all fear and danger set aside.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so, the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me), saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!

Glover resolved in himself to abide the uttermost for the gospel's cause.

The papists proceed with Glover against the laws of the realm.

*But[1] now, because mention hath been made of the elder brother, I thought good to speak something of him; as well for that the order of this tragedy so requireth, as because his virtues and qualities were such as I could in no ways commit them to silence. This man's name was John Glover, something elder than Robert; a gentleman born, and heir to his father; a man of fair lands, but not so abounding in worldly goods and possessions, as nourished with heavenly cogitations and virtuous doings; the which, many years, had professed and acknowledged the blissful and gracious knowledge of the gospel, showing no less by his life and example the same: much unlike our gospellers, now-a-days, which suppose the profession of the gospel to consist in words. But this man used another kind of professing of it far different, converting all his care that he might appear a gospeller, as well within as without; not so much that he

(1) These observations of Foxe, respecting John Glover, are reprinted from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, Edit. 1563, page 1277. A few repetitions of the author's remarks upon the same subject, at page 385, will be detected, but these passages could scarcely be omitted without mutilating the whole insertion. It may be added, that the style and phraseology of the above letter of Robert Glover vary considerably from what is given in the First Edition; but the editor has retained the copy here offered to the reader, as it corresponds with that extant in the Harleian MSS., and with later copies, the printing of which Foxe superintended. See the Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 6; also "Letters of the Martyrs," Lond. 1837, p. 405.—Ed.

should so seem before men, as that he might first frame his life correspondent and worthy his profession before God. He saw and perceived, as indeed it was, the sum of Christianity not to consist in stout disputations, contentions, reasonings, loud clamours, strong definitions, and ambitious pertinacity of mind, but rather in ordering and subduing affections in the quiet and silent mind, in good conscience and devout prayer; and laboured ever to this end, not so much to brag and talk of the gospel, as to show the same by example of his life: and therefore he gave not daily diligence to the reading of the gospel only, to collect thereof, as many do, common places, but as well to be instructed, thereby, with good mind and conscience. He was a great student of divinity; the occasion whereof was not the desire of novelties, arguing and talking, or that he might seem the more learned to others, but that he himself might be the better for it; and also not so much to be the more instructed to the conflicts of idle contention, as to be the readier and meeter for the kingdom of Christ. To be short, he read the gospel of Christ, not so much to collect thereof any common places, as to gather necessary matter of edifying, whereof he daily sucked those things which no less made for the confirmation of his faith and godly life, than for the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. And doubtless, by this his assiduous labour he profited marvellously, as by the singular fruits and example of his life sufficiently is declared, whose mind was always upon our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his works; even so much, that he, contemning the world, and being all wholly possessed with the earnest zeal of godliness, was, in every place, as well abroad as at home, a lantern of godly living to all the rest; and also, being as one placed in heaven, and dead in this world, he both meditated and led a life altogether celestial; [it] being a world to see how that he abhorred the profane doings. No, nor yet his talk in any wise differed from his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed among his brethren, and committed the guide of the rest to his servants and officers, that the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath-rest.

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And besides these his great number of virtues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better seen in the literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. But in those things which appertained to heavenliness and good conscience, he was far more exercised: like disposition and mind were in both; having wit and memory most happily grafted in them. And as concerning good zeal and love towards religion, whereunto they seemed by nature indifferently to be born, they were so matched and so like one to another, that a man could not tell who excelled the other; unless because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest and mightier champion against the adversaries of truth: but yet John less feared peril, although this Robert suffered as a martyr; and was as much desirous of martyrdom as he, and more so. And, verily I cannot tell whether, in the case of felicity, John gave place to his brother Robert or no, who also might be counted a martyr, yea, and chronicled for a double martyr; for the said Robert was quickly, and out of hand, dispatched with the sharp and extreme tor-

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ments of the fire. But this, the most blessed martyr of all, what more grievous passions, boiling heats of the fire of hell, so many years both in body and in soul he suffered and sustained, no tongue can express.

Being a young man I myself was once or twice with him; whom, as part by his talk I perceived, and part by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And, doubtless, I have greatly wondered at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him; who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched sheep, so many times in distress, with continual consolation, it could not be possible that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight.

But this we see commonly among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspect and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sins as most grievous, when that (contrary) you may see very many whom the greatest crimes of the world do not once move or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and then falling thence, as we commonly see, to his former trade of life, began to mistrust himself, as one that rashly and suddenly had forsaken his vocation and thereupon was in belief that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost.[1]

But, thanks be to Christ our Lord, his continual keeper, who suffereth not any man to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that only they do not withstand them, but also oftentimes falleth out to a further commodity than is looked for; which thing did appear as much in this John, as ever did in any one, who albeit, as we have said, suffered so many years sharp temptations, yet more happy were they to him than tongue can tell, which heaped so many and great virtues in him, with reconciliation of his tranquillity, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same; insomuch that nothing could be more blessed and pure than his life, nothing more quiet or more fervent to Christ and his ways. Nor truly was it any marvel if this his ardent and vehement zeal toward the gospel of Christ, in this turbulent time of persecution (as indeed it did not), either could, or did, lie hid in him.

What needeth many words? As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John so to be spread out of hand, he wrote to the mayor and officers to apprehend him as soon as might be: but it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, who disposeth all things according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although this John took it more inwardly than any tongue can express, when he, being ever desirous of death, saw, in his stead, his brother to be carried to his death, yet doubtless it

(1) About nine lines are here omitted, as they are but a repetition of page 385, line 20—29. —Ed.

was provided by the singular grace and just providence of God; for he, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years, with so extreme and many torments, broken and dried up, would in no wise heap so many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch, neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been scorched and so consumed with the sharp sorrows of his mind, and had sustained so many darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God of his divine providence thought this too much, whose custom was never so to deal with his servants; and therefore he provided that Robert, either for his learning-sake or soundness of his strength, should stoutly suffer and sustain this conflict; and although there lacked no stomach in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our Lord thought rather to use this man's stomach and knowledge in refuting the adversaries' arguments, and so to be more expedient to the cause of his salvation. But, howsoever the matter stood, Robert was taken in the stead of John, and that not without the singular will and love of God to either of them; for as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters, he sent forthwith a private watchword to John, to convey away himself, who, with his brother William, was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in spite of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment; who when he could in no place be found, one of the officers, going up into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him brought before the sheriff. And although the sheriff, favouring Robert and his cause, would feign have dismissed him, saying that "he was not the man for whom they were sent," yet was he feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him about his staying, till the bishop's coming carried him away against his will, and laid him fast till the bishop came. And this so much concerning John: now will I return to Robert's letters, from whence I have made some digression.*

Robert Glover's Letter continued.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, master Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop.[1] I laid to master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

A lesson for all persecutors.

And so he parted from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience' sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion Epulo[2] did) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

When I came before the bishop in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit

(1) This bishop's name was Dr. Banes [or rather Ralph Bayne; he was elected bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1554, and was deprived in 1559.—Ed.]

(2) Luke xvi. [The rich glutton.—Ed.]

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myself. I said to him, "I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?" He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, "Smally learned." Master chancellor, standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts. Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Glover brought before Banes, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

Bishop:—"Who shall judge the word?"

Glover:—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul: methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

The bishop refuseth to be judged by the primitive church.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him: but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

"If you say black is white, my lord," quoth Glover, "must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?" Master chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

Glover:—"If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed master Latimer, master Ridley, master Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?"

Bishop:—"Because they were heretics."

"And may not you err," quoth I, "as well as they?" I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time?[1]

I desired him to show me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time.

Bishop:—"Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

Glover:—"You be not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time."

My lord making no answer to that, master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would, at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. "Even where it pleaseth you," said I to my lord, "I am content;" and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again, from whence I came.

Glover discouraged at hearing that he should be removed; comforted again with the meditation of the Scripture.

On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure; which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling (which I looked for), have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner: "What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we

(1) "Where was the church before king Edward's time?" The bishop could not show where God's church was in Israel, nor where any prophet was in all Judah, in Elias's time.

have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death; neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself: much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us." With such like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort; so that, hearing one say that they could not provide horses enow for us, I said, "Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content, for my part."

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Glover waxeth cheerful again and bold.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to master mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were these.

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to the Mayor of Coventry and his Brethren.

I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more; so that it is not like that I shall be removed without peril and danger of my life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

Your prisoner in the Lord, always mindful of you in my poor prayer,
Robert Glover.

But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me dispatched privily in prison, than to come openly to my answer. The manner of entreating and using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling of, all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

Glover and his fellow-prisoners removed to Lichfield in the face of the open market.

After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, as he seemed; but, afterwards, whether it was by persuasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal, he revoked his promise; and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy, that showed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand:—

Papists keep no promise.

He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very cold, with small light; and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Persey the bishop's man, which afterwards was

Jephcot and Persey cruel and strait against Glover.

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my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, "This is a great extremity; God send us patience, and no more."

Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

Talk between Glover and the chancellor.

Within two days after, master chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord, and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered master chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church.

Glover:—"The church showeth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to master chancellor, "for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; ergo, John was above Christ. Or else I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king: Am I therefore above the king?"[1]

Master chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the bishop's coming: in the which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever. Amen.

The comforts and sweet feeling of Glover in prison.

Glover assaulted by the enemy in prison concerning unworthiness.

The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, or his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, "similiter obnoxii peccato,"[2] as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest; as Paul saith, "Who gave first unto him?"[3] And also speaking to every man, "What hast thou, that thou receivedst not?"[4] Likewise John, "All have received of his fulness;"[5] they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness.[6] "Est Dominus omnium, dives in omnes et super omnes invocantes eum."[7] He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. "Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum:" God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all (I say), and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise and large manner, than he can well wish or dare

God's election bound to no worthiness or person.

It is no arrogancy to presume upon God's promise.

(1) The church giveth witness which be the true books and writings of the apostles: as also the old synagogue of the Jews doth witness which be the true books of the holy prophets: yet it followeth not thereby, that the Jews have authority over the Scripture.

(2) Acts xxiv. (3) "Quis prior dedit illi." Rom. xi. (4) Rom. iv.

(5) John i. (6) Rom. x. (7) Psalm cxlv.

desire. His word cannot lie: "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; and thou shalt praise me." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, "He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I also will be ashamed before my Father and all his angels." I might also, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments. Glover replieth against the tempter.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a bye-chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance. Glover brought again before the bishop.

My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment: I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church (as he called it), it was not known, he said, but lately in king Edward's time. Reasoning between Glover and the bishop.

I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner stone;[1] and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning (said I) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted; my lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church.

Glover:—"So cried all the clergy against the prophets at Jerusalem, saying,[2] 'The church, the church.'"

And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, "Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace:" calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I willed my lord to burden me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church?

"The sacrament of baptism," said I, "and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper."

"No more?" said he.

Glover:—"To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ—to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins." Power by God's word in the ministry, to remit sin.

Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that

(1) The true church is always builded upon the doctrine of the apostles: which though it appear not always alike in outward sight, the fault is in the time, not in the church. Times do alter, and with the times the outward face of the church may alter, sometimes appearing more, sometimes less, sometimes very little, sometimes nothing at all, according as the persecution is. Nevertheless, the truth of the church abideth always one. Neither doth it go by number of men, but by soundness of truth. Many agreeing in one maketh a unity: but the verity of the word maketh the church, whether it be in few or in many.

(2) "Templum domini, templum domini."

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matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession? I answered, No.

Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, "because," said I, "you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament."

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and entreating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examinations, wheresoever they are become.

Glover destitute for a time of the Lord's comfort.

Only this, which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, master Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom the said Austen, answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him,[1] and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure;[1] and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should show some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

Glover receiveth again comfort of the Lord.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come, he is come," etc., and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as

(1) The Lord for a time may withdraw his comforts, but at length he visiteth his servants.

one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Cornelius Bungey, Fellow Martyr with Master Robert Glover.

In the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Articles objected to Cornelius Bungey.

First, It was articulate against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away; because he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, etc.

Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, etc.

Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, etc.

Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, etc.

His Answers to the Articles.

Unto the which articles he answered again: to the first he granted, and to every part thereof; meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

To the second he granted first, and afterwards revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the christian martyr master Robert Glover at Coventry, about the 20th day of September.

Here followeth the Story how John Glover and William Glover

WERE EXCOMMUNICATE AND CAST OUT AFTER THEIR DEATH, AND BURIED IN THE FIELDS.

Now that we have discoursed the story of master Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover; who, albeit they were not called to finish their

Mary. A. D. 1555. course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire, as the others did, yet, because for their constant profession of God's gospel unto the latter end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, who, in one cause and the same profession, were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning master John Glover the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared; whose rage and malice, although God so restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet, after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the martyrdom of master Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good: he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet, notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, till at length, about the latter end of queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

A new search made for John Glover.

Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in his chamber by himself, the officers, bursting into the house and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door where this John Glover was, who, being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

The providence of God again in saving him; his wife apprehended.

In the mean time another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew), bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who, being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon, not long after, he left his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Thus, by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befel after his death, both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered; who, after that he was dead and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway: the parson again answered that he had been six weeks in

Dr. Dracot would not suffer him to be buried in the churchyard.

the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. "Well," quoth Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed), and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them; and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Findern in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same. *Mary.* A.D. 1555. Glover after his death, judged to be damned.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William the third brother; whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day), to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop named Radulph Banes, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary example of good Tobit, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid Bernard the curate with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow. Manner of handling the body of Glover after his death. Bernard a popish curate of Wem. Thorlyne against the burying of W. Glover.

A Copy of the Bishop's Letter, written to the Parish of Wem.

Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried in Christian-man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wainables of the church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.

At Eccleshall, this 6th of September, Anno 1558.

By your ordinary, Radulph Coventry and Lichfield.

By the virtue of this foresaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that scarcely any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried. The dead corpse of W. Glover dragged into the fields.

Mary. A.D. 1555. The witnesses of the godly end of the said William Glover, dying in the true faith and confession of Christ, were master Nowell dean of Lichfield, George Wilestone and his wife, Thomas Constantine, Roger Wydhouse, John Prynne, George Torpelley, etc.

Burton not suffered to be buried in christian burial, the day when queen Elizabeth was crowned.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one master Edward Burton, esq., who, in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury), so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate, being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, etc. Then the priest: "Judge God," saith he, "or devil; the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Oliver Richardine, martyr.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverfordwest, sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of king Henry the Eighth: whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

After the suffering of master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9th, A.D. 1555; the names of which martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the town of Wells, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely: and so the said Wolsey, being dispatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the jail at the assizes holden at Ely in Lent.

Everard extreme against Wolsey.

Wolsey commanded to the jail.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him,

Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise: "Good master doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 'Wo be unto you scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in.'"

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Fuller, Christopherson, and Young confer with him. He putteth a question to them.

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, master doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be."

"Away, master doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man." "Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read,[1] I promise thee, of a learned man's doing;" that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same): who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

Fuller again resorteth to Wolsey.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, "Oh! this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and speaketh unto him on this manner: "Thou dost much trouble my conscience; wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee; and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

The chancellor giveth him leave to depart.

"Master doctor," quoth Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law; and by a law I will be delivered."

Then, being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved nothing so.

Wolsey laid in the castle of Wisbeach.

Then Robert Pygot the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil-disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them), for not coming to the church.

Pygot presented for not coming to church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before sir Clement Higham being judge, who said unto him; "Ah! are you the holy father the painter?

Sir Clement Higham.

(1) Dr. Watson's Book of Sermons or Homilies.

Mary. A. D. 1555. How chance ye came not to the church?" "Sir," quoth the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge: "this is no church; this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah, sirrah!" said the judge," "you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore I will send you to them that be better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

Pygot brought to the jail.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of bishop Goodrike's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith; but I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to all the hope they had in him; God be praised therefore.

The bishop's chaplain, a Frenchman, confirmeth the prisoners in the truth.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th day of October, before Dr. Fuller then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereupon they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Pygot and Wolsey called to judgment in the consistory.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man."

The words of Shaxton to the martyrs.

"Ah," said Wolsey, "are you become a new man? Wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee."

Wolsey's answer.

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, "This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive), and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil opinion I find in him."

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread

and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the selfsame that was born of the Virgin Mary;" and reading it to the painter he said thus, "Dost thou believe all this according as it written?" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

"No, sir," said the painter, "that is your faith, and not mine."

Christopherson:—"Lo, master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go; he is as much a heretic as the other." And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die: which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter v., of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture. Pygot refuseth to subscribe to it. Peacock appointed to preach at the burning of Wolsey and Pygot.

So, his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one sir Richard Collinson a priest, at that time destitute of any biding-place or stay of benefice, who said unto Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the holy Scripture: wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault."

Wolsey:—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians, to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there-for." With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. "Oh," said Wolsey, "give me one of them;" and Pygot desired another; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying Psalm cvi., desiring all the people to say amen; and so received the fire most thankfully. The witnesses and informers hereof, were, Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best, etc. Wolsey sound in all points of Scripture belonging to his salvation. Books burned with Wolsey and Pygot.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover, from the University of Cambridge, by a credible person and my faithful friend, William Fulke, this relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader, in order and form as followeth.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF WOLSEY AND PYGOT.

There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared divers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. The other (Wolsey) was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having πληροφορίαν of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty Wolsey and Pygot described.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

Wolsey, desirous of martyrdom.

Denton converter of Wolsey.

This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, beer-brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wellney in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him [Wolsey] the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after, as fast as he could.

Wolsey exhorteth him to persist in the truth.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one master Laurence, preacher in Essex (who then resorted often to his house), to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this: "I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn." This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday being the 18th of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two others that were in the same house.

Denton, afraid of burning, is burned in his own house. He would not burn for Christ.

Witnessed by Thomas Hodilo and William Fulke.

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of master West, chaplain to bishop Ridley, who, refusing to die in Christ's cause with his master, said mass against his conscience, and soon after died.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer,

BOTH BISHOPS, PREACHERS, AND MARTYRS OF CHRIST; WITH THEIR DOINGS, CONFERENCES, AND SUFFERINGS DESCRIBED.

The same year, month, and day, which the foresaid two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was A.D. 1555, October 16, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, master Ridley, bishop of London, and master Hugh Latimer, bishop sometime of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly, in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the reader, and maketh to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and travail in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of master Ridley, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who, being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke-hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who, at his return, was made chaplain to king Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in king Edward's days.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Ridley born in Northumberland.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business, to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from all evil desires and concupiscences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

The fruitful diligence of Ridley in preaching God's word.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Ridley of great memory and reading.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in king Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now will I speak something further, particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He

Comely of proportion.

Mary. A.D. 1555. took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him; and they to be his brother and sister, which used honesty, and a godly trade of life.

Tender to his kindred.

A great mortifier of himself.

He, using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there, upon his knees, prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving, to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii., reading also unto his household oftentimes Psalm ci., being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

His order after supper.

His careful diligence of instructing his family.

Behaviour of Ridley to Bonner's mother.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner;" who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, "By

your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, bishop Bonner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also currishly, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

His courtesy and the currishness of Bonner described.

Bonner unkind and churlish to Ridley's sister, and seeketh the death of his brother-in-law.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shipside, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.[1]

Hereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf: who now, by the grace of God being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of king Edward), and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of that stay, and call from us king Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand: so this bishop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, eftsoon, and with the first, was laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after, translated from thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and master Latimer to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being dissevered

Ridley. first converted by Bertram's book.

Ridley one of the first in trouble after the death of king Edward.

Ridley in the Tower; is removed to Bocardo in Oxford.

(1) Teste Georgio Shipsidio.

Mary. A.D. 1555. from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till the year 1555, and 16th day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travails in persuading and instructing the lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in prison both with Dr. Cranmer, and master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

A Conference[1] had betwixt Master Ridley, and Master Latimer in Prison, upon the Objection of Antonian; meaning, by that name, some popish persecutor—as Winchester; alluding thereby to the History of Victor, lib. iii., De persecutionibus Africanis.

Ridley:—"In writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day; for I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach; for surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.—Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes', or Antonius' soldiers."

First objection. *Antonian*:—"All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queen herself."

Answer. *Ridley*:—"Because no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God,[2] and also for the selfsame cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised,[3] which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt. And again, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser.' This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."[4]

Latimer:—"'Except the Lord help me,' ye say. Truth it is: 'for without me,' saith he, 'ye can do nothing;' much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, 'If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.'[5] What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailing thus with me: you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

Second objection. *Antonian*:—"What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? and from whence cometh

(1) "A conference," etc. There were two conferences, which Foxe has united and transposed. They were published by John Olde, and entitled "Certein godly, learned, and comfortable conferences between N. Rydeley bishoppe of London, and Hughe Latymer;" 16mo. 1556. This work of Victor, bishop of Utica, is printed in "Autores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ," p. 616, Basileæ, 1535.—Ed.

(2) Luke ix. (3) Gal. i. (4) Matt. xviii. Mark ix. (5) John xv.

this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?" *Mary.*

Ridley:—"I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago,[1] both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance.[2] But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins: to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same." A. D. 1555. Answer.

Latimer:—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die.'[3] 'Be ye stedfast and unmoveable,' saith St. Paul:[4] and again, 'Persistito,' 'Stand fast:'[5] and how oft is this repeated, 'If ye abide,' 'if ye abide,'[6] etc. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Antonian:—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatian, and of the heretics called Catharists, that they would not communicate with the church." Third objection.

Ridley:—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft-frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but, turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reproved something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."[7] Answer.

Latimer:—"I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary;[8] 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's?' I would you had that little book; there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth strait withal, 'according to Jesus Christ'[9]—no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' quoth I, 'but in verity, not in popery. Better is diversity, than a unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

(1) He meaneth his own confession openly in preaching. Matt. xxvi. (2) 1 Tim. i.
(3) John xix. (4) 1 Cor. xv. (5) 2 Tim. iii. John xv. Col. ii. (6) John xv.
(7) 1 Cor. xi.
(8) Hilarius contra Auxent. [§ 1. cap. 362. col. ii, note. Compare this with a kindred paragraph in the second sermon of Latimer's on the Beatitudes, vol. ii. p. 154. Edit. Lond. 1824. The Interim was a rule of faith, extremely favourable to the church of Rome, drawn up at the command of Charles V., who judged it necessary, for the maintenance of religious peace, during the *interval* between the dissolution of the Council of Trent in 1547, and its expected reassembling and consequent decisions. See Mosheim, cent. 16, book iv. chap. 4, § 3; and Mendham's Memoirs of the Council of Trent, pp. 134, 5.—Ed.]
(9) "Secundum Jesum Christum," Rom. xv.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Antonian:—"But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"[1]

Fourth objection. Answer.

Ridley:—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same), yet, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer:—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief."

Fifth objection.

Antonian:—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, 'He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother.' Moreover, 'Without the church,' saith St. Augustine, 'be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.'"[2]

Answer.

Ridley:—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed; this church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord.[3] But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, 'Peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God.'[4] The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that the church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church.[5] Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostome, 'there were many ways to know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.'[6] And in the end concluded, 'Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church.'[7] To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed;

(1) Cyr. lib. i. ep. 2.; Aug. ep. 152.
(2) Aug. lib. i. de Sim. 10.; In Ep. post. col. contra Donat.
(3) 1 Tim. iii. Rev. xxi. Eph. i. (4) Gal. vi. Phil. ii
(5) Rev. xxi. John iii. Gal. iv. (6) In Op. Imperf., Hom. 49. in Matt. (7) 1 Cor. x.

for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, etc. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Latimer:—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. 'Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord.'[1] It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary[2] mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. 'Separate thyself from them that are such,' saith St. Paul.[3] From whom? The text hath before, 'If any man follow other doctrine, etc., he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing,' etc. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses:

'Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis:'

that is, 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified,[4] etc. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing; for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Antonian:—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, 'Dic ecclesiæ,' i. e. 'Tell it unto the church.' For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is." Sixth objection.

Ridley:—"The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet, in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness: 'Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.'" Answer.

Antonian:—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, etc. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, etc." Seventh objection.

Ridley:—"I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jew, "Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly," etc., neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only of living stones, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But, forasmuch as this church (which is the second taking of the Answer.

(1) 2 Cor. vi. (2) "Clanculary," secret or privy.—Ed. (3) 1 Tim. vi. (4) 1 Cor. ii.

Mary. church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house,
A. D. 1555. and hath with the same, outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church (which St. Augustine[1] calleth the mingled church), which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church: so that the rule of Tichonius[2] concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synechdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him); of Elias, of Jeremy;[3] in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius.[4] It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra[5] writeth upon Matthew; 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God.' Therefore the church consisteth in those persons,[6] in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. 'Evil men' (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees[6]) 'are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine, contra Cresconium Grammaticum,[7] saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it: which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with Paul, Christ and him crucified.[8] The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, etc., make me ever to forget that. Amen, amen."

Latimer:—"I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine,[9] 'I

(1) August. de. Doct. Christianâ, lib. iii. c. 32.—Ed.

(2) Tichonius was a Donatist, "qui libro peculiari septem communes regulas tradiderat, quarum ope existimabat omnia, quæ in sacris literis involuta videntur, explicari posse. Cum has regulas commendaret, tantum eis tribuit, quasi omnia quæ in lege, id est, in divinis libris obscure posita invenerimus, his bene cognitis atque adhibitis intelligere valeamus. His non tantum quidem tribuit Augustinus, vocat tamen *elaboratum opus*, et regulas in illo opere laudat, non quibus singula quæque patefierent, quod præsumserat Tichonius, sed clausa multa." Rivet. Isagoge ad Scripturam Sac. cap. 18. § 11.—Ed.

(3) Exod. xvii. 1 Kings xix. Jerom. vi. (4) Theo. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 15, 61.

(5) Nicolaus de Lyra was a Norman, born at Lyra in the diocese of Evreux. He entered the Franciscan order about the year 1291, and obtained considerable reputation as an opponent of Judaism, and an interpreter of the Scriptures. He wrote what were called "Postillæ breves" upon the whole Bible, the editions of which have been very numerous. They were first published in five folio volumes at Rome in 1471; in six volumes at Basil in 1498, and 1501; and at Douay in 1617. There is a long list of his other writings, both printed and MS., in Fabricii Biblioth. Scriptorum med. et infr. Lat. vol. v. p. 116. edit. 1754.—Ed.

(6) De Pœnit. dist. i. cap. Eccles. lib. ii.

(7) Lib. i. cap. 33. tom. 9. Edit. Benedict.—Ed. (8) 1 Cor. ii.

(9) August. contra Epist. Manichæi, cap. 5, tom. viii. Edit. Bened. "Upon fewer passages of christian antiquity, perhaps, has more ink been expended." See Whitaker, De Sacr. Scriptura, Controv. i. quæst. iii. cap. 8.; and the same writer, against Stapleton, De Auct. Sac. Script. lib. ii. cap. 8.—Ed.

would not believe the gospel,' etc., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon;[1] but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; 'The church is not a judge, but a witness.' There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency; in the which after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first, Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swinge—and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his.' What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: 'The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.' Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? how many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy? how many of the rich men, or merchants? how many of the queen's councillors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded (as they say), when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

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A question. Answer.

Antonian:—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: 'Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, etc. But in general councils, mass hath been approved and used: therefore, etc."

Eighth objection.

Ridley:—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial;[2] so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his (that is, in Spirit and truth), can never agree together. But ye will say, Where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ.[3] I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices), what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, 'Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.'"

Answer.

A proverb.

Latimer:—"As touching general councils,[4] at this present I have no more

(1) Mel. de [auctoritate] Ecclesiæ. [Viteberg. 1639.—Ed.] (2) 2 Cor. vi. (3) John iv.

(4) The Editor takes this opportunity of stating that the documents which appear in vol. v. pp. 163, 255, embodying the objections of the existing sovereign to papal councils, were published in Latin, under the following title, "Henrici Octavi regis Angliæ ad Carolum Cæsarem, cæteros-

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to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterwards the more part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

The inconstancy of the English parliaments and convocations.

Death is the best physician to the faithful.

Antonian:—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices), then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined: but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Ninth objection.

Answer.

Ridley:—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself,[1] did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the Prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the Gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.[2] So that now we have no need to say, 'Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done?'[3] Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life.[4] 'Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living?' saith Isaiah.[5] Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, etc. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, 'Search the Scriptures.'[6] I remember a like thing well spoken of Jerome: 'Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.'[7] And in another place, as I remember in the same author: 'The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. 'Whatsoever things are written,' saith Paul, 'are written for our learning.'[8] And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, etc.[9] But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

Latimer:—"There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the

que orbis Christiani monarchas, populumque Christianum, epistolæ, cur is Vincentiam non sit venturus: additus est et libellus ille, quem sup. anno Rex universique Britanniæ proceres de Mantuanensi concilio ediderunt; Londini, 1538." They were translated into English in the same year. As Foxe states no immediate source from whence he derived his documents, the present reference is given. See Herbert's Typographical Antiq., by Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 303.—Ed.

(1) Eph. v. (2) Luke xiii. Isaiah viii. (3) Rom. x. (4) Luke xi.
(5) Isaiah viii. (6) John v. (7) Hier. Hom. 23, in Matt. (8) Rom. xii.
(9) Eph. iv.

Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood.[1] And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer: neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But, in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And 'it is the property of a wise man,' saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, 'I speak after the manner of men;' 'Ye walk after the manner of men;' 'All men are liars:'[2] and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.' "

Antonian:—"If ye say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church." Tenth objection.

Ridley:—"From 'may be,' to 'be indeed,' is no good argument; but from 'being,' to 'may be,' no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought), 'Homousians.'[3] Were not Athanasius, Chrysostome, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much mislike![4] But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.'[5] Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Bishop's Book,[6] made in the time of king Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But me thinketh I hear another man

Objection.

Answer.

Objection.

Answer.

The bishop's book.

(1) 2 Tim. iii. (2) Gal. v. 1 Cor. iii. Rom. iii. Psalm cxiii.
(3) Soc. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. (4) Soc. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 24, 32. Theo. lib. v. cap. 34.
(5) Lib. ii. de Baptis. cont. Don. cap. 3.
(6) This is probably a different work from what is ordinarily called The Bishop's Book, viz. "The Institution of a Christian man." Foxe has collected testimonies (in vol. v. p. 87) from the book to which Bishop Ridley alludes in this place, "De vera differentia regiæ potestatis et ecclesiasticæ;" and which was so well thought of in king Edward's reign, and esteemed so reasonable, that it was then reprinted, having been translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford, and recommended by him. See Strype's Memorials under Henry VIII. chap. xx. p. 237: see also chap. xxiv. p. 271, Edit. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

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despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, 'These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics.' I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' saith he, 'they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of christian religion.' The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But, if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word,[1] which is according to godliness, forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils, as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

The bishop of of Rome's authority.

"Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, 'without which neither can the councils,' saith he, 'be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion.' But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expulsed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, 'De utraque potestate' (that is, of both the powers) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457,[2] did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevis, in the which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

England abjured the pope's supremacy.

Eleventh objection.

Antonian:—"St. Augustine saith, 'the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good.' Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil."

Answer.

Ridley:—"I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife, shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake: there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places; that is,—if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."[3]

Twelfth objection.

Antonian:—"'It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is contrary!' But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is clean contrary: therefore, etc. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it.[4] Yea further, no man can show, that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law."

Answer.

Ridley:—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved: for ye ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of

(1) 1 Tim. vi.

(2) Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 22. [The sixth council at Carthage, anno 419, would suit Ridley's argument better, and seems to be the one intended: see Labbé, tom. ii. col. 1589; and for the council at Milevis, see the same volume, col. 1542.—Ed.]

(3) Aug. lib. iii. cont. literas Parm. cap. 23. (4) Luke xxi. Heb. i. Acts xiii.

God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be showed. *Mary.*
And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, A. D.
and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things 1555.
whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the epistle ad Januarium) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal.[1] But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit.[2] Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy?[3] which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars?[4] For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? for what was so much as that was, wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God? Therefore they beat them, they banished them, etc.[5] How else, I pray you, can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them (saith the Lord), and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'[6] Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked.[7] All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. 'If we do praise,' saith St. Augustine, 'the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' etc.[8] But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer:—"Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God.[9] I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be a helper unto me in time of need."

Antonian:—"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes (I cannot tell what), therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism, also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me, how were Thirteenth objection.

(1) Eph. i. 19. (2) Tob. i. (3) 1 Chron. xiii. (4) 2 Chron. xiii.
(5) Jerem. xx. Heb. xi. (6) 2 Cor. vi. Lev. xxvi. Isa. lii. (7) Judith xii.
(8) Cont. Epist. Gaudentii, cap. 22. (9) Psalm ix.

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you baptized; or whether will ye (as the Anabaptists do), that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

Answer.

Ridley:—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Latimer:—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

Fourteenth objection.

Antonian:—Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which, in like cases, was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Answer.

Ridley:—"O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, 'He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law.' But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God.

"To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Other-

wise, whosoever love their country in truth (that is to say, in God), they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man.[1] And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, etc.

"'But this is the readiest way,' ye say 'to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws.' Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher Powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, 'Art thou he that troubleth Israel?' The false prophets, also, complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? did they not, at the last, cry, 'If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar's friend?' The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? 'We have found this man,' saith he, 'a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world,' etc.[2] But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reproved before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation do well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince; but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and a helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: 'Set him,' saith he, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, etc., he answered with a mild spirit, 'We are taught,' saith he, 'to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion.'[3]

Satan and his ministers do always charge the godly with sedition.

"Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit.[4] I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tynedale where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hand (you call them northern-gads), especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died,

(1) Acts iv. (2) 1 Kings xviii. Jer. xxvi. Luke xxiii. John xviii. Acts xiv.
(3) Theod. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 4. Niceph. lib. iii. c. 35.
(4) Eph. vi.

Mary. A.D. 1555. I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith, and christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our adversary, which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour,[1] shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. 'Let us awake therefore: for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up.'[2] Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. 'Resist the devil,' saith St. James,[3] 'and he will fly from you.' Let us therefore resist him manfully; and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys.[4] Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever; Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, me thinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: 'Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured, and beloved of you): trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power.[5] And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.'[6] I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils.[7] For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, 'I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, etc.: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.'[8] I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, through his gracious aid, being not overcome, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.[9]

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave."

Latimer:—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, etc. Many things make confusion in memory; and if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when

(1) 1 Pet. v. (2) Matt. xxiv. (3) James iv. (4) 1 Tim. vi. (5) 1 Cor. iv.
(6) Matt. x. Mark xi. (7) Eph. vi. (8) Ps. xlvi.; cxlvii. (9) Rev. ii.

and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy (namely now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roost), but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, etc.[1] Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal: neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them; when the hour appointed is come.[2] To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, 'Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech.'[3] Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries.[4] Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton (as many men thought), after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled:[5] if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians,[6] to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, etc. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, 'Peace, all things are safe,' when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss.[7] But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. 'Comfort yourselves one another with these words.'[8]

"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law: but I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and unmovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, 'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;'[9] and again, 'Harden thyself to suffer afflictions.'[10] 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life,' saith the Lord."[11]

(1) 1 Cor. x. (2) 1 Pet. iii. Luke xxiii. (3) Colos. ii. (4) 2 Tim. ii.
(5) Rev. vi. (6) Phil i. (7) 1 Thess. v. (8) 1 Thess. iv.
(9) 1 Cor. xiii. (10) 2 Tim. i. (11) Rev. ii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

THE LETTERS OF THE REVEREND BISHOP AND MARTYR, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

A Letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his Prison-fellows, unto Master Bradford and his Prison-fellows, in the King's Bench in Southwark, Anno 1554.

Well-beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all, with one heart, wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly-beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us all to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, etc., I assure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

False reports spread by the policy of the papists.

As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, with God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, etc. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners, hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ.

It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of master Hooper's matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of father Crome, Dr. Sands, master Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers,[1] etc. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as master bailiffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that, if master bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made a scape.[2] We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

Ridley and his fellow-prisoner in Bocardo, restrained of their liberty.

My lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore, they might, that would see us upon the wall; but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, etc. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God; all our cure and care is and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of "Quondams."[3] For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, by God's

The ingratitude of the scholars in not visiting the bishops in Bocardo.

(1) This letter seemeth to be written a little before, about the time of the burning of master Rogers.

(2) Whatsoever fault is done, the cause is laid upon the poor Christians.

(3) Bocardo, a college of Quondams!

grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come; for, before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that love truly the truth. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, but, ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us); but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal. The goodness of mistress Wilkinson and Anne Warcup.

Yours in Christ, Nich. Ridley.

A Letter of Ridley, sent to a Cousin of his.

God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever; Amen.—When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful (without speedy repentance), that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts; Amen. Commend me, etc. Ridley lamenteth the state of them who, for fear of trouble, do wind with the world, and go contrary to their conscience.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

A worthy Letter of Ridley to Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methinketh I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven.[1] These two poisonful rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John saith, not without great cause, 'If any know not Satan's subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal.'[2] Two main pillars holding up the synagogue of Satan. Satan's poison painted over with false pretences of religion.

Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake Ridley's purpose.

(1) Rev. viii. (2) Rev. ii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford! let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.—From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ, Nich. Ridley.

Another Letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his Prison-fellows, Anno 1555.

Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

According to your mind, I have run over all your papers,[1] and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves, and I ween somewhere I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father, and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom I heard say, he did so stoutly in time of peril confess, and yet also for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come; Amen.

Commendation of Dr. Taylor.

As yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our master Christ, to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair of your heads.

My brother Punt (the bearer hereof, and master Hooper's letters) would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind;[2] that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are, as ye know, separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us: and yet, as we hear, the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other. But, if ye answer afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or

(1) This was a treatise of the Lord's Supper with other things which master Bradford sent to him to peruse, and to judge thereof.

(2) This matter was concerning the deliberation of the prisoners in London; what to do, if they were called to open disputation.

Paul. And yet further I think, that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our master Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although, I said, the bailiffs and our hostess straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all: Amen, Amen.

Communion of saints in Ridley, Hooper, Taylor, and others.

God's provision for his saints.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

The christian charity of certain persons.

And yet I pray you do so much as to show them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do; for I know they be of master Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford.[1]

O dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling: "Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord."[2]

O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives. Oh! what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine. If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and which shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

(1) This letter of bishop Ridley was written to master Bradford soon after his condemnation, when it was thought that he should be had to Lancashire.

(2) "Euge serve bone, et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituet, et intrabis in gaudium Domini." Matt. xxv.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Roger's departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time, (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother! blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

The rejoicing of Ridley at the constancy of Rogers.

Your brother in Christ, Nicholas Ridley.—Brother, farewell.

To the Brethren remaining in Captivity of the Flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry Prisons; but knit together, in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.[1]

Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and showeth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world, namely riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil,[2] that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication;[3] yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements, of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of Antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

He exhorteth the brethren to stand fast.

In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more.[4] For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived:[5] such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that, for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened.[6] In the mean season abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: "Endure," I say, "and reserve yourselves unto better times," as one of the heathen poets said;[7] cease not to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing faith of the gospel.[8]

Patience necessary for all Christians.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises, "for yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come,

(1) This letter of Ridley to the persecuted flock of Christ was written in Latin, and translated into English. [This translation is the same as is contained in Coverdale's "Letters of the Martyrs;" where it is also given in Latin. See also the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, page 1381; and in the Appendix to this volume.—Ed.]

(2) Rev. xii. (3) Rev. xvii. (4) Gal. v. (5) Matt. xxiv.
(6) 1 John iv. (7) Virg. Æneid. i. (8) Phil. i.

and will not tarry:" and "the just shall live by faith; but if any withdraw himself my soul shall have no pleasure in him," saith the Lord. "But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul."[1] Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. "Fear not them which kill the body;"[2] the rest ye know: for I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to contemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth.[3] For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life?[4] Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal," saith St. John, "that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ."[5] If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

The quarrel of the martyrs is just and true.

Martyrs put to death, because they will acknowledge no more Christs but one.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord.[6] And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your captain Christ; trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out.[7] For we have (high praise be given to God there-for) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

The profundities of Satan.

The martyrs have all the prophets, apostles, and ancient writers on their side.

Let us be hearty, and of good courage there-for, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God:[8] for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed there-for: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.[9]

On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: for what can they else do unto you, by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while, for Christ's cause, they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing.[10] Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us, confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him

He exhorteth us not to wish evil to our persecutors.

(1) Heb. x. (2) John x. (3) Heb. i. Coloss. i. (4) 1 Cor. viii. (5) John xii.
(6) Rev. ii. (7) 1 Pet. v. (8) Phil. i. (9) 1 Pet. iv. (10) 1 Pet. iii.

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in Spirit and verity: Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ: Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the Brethren in Captivity; translated out of the Latin.

To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you: Amen.

Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to stablish and confirm that thing, which, when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation,[1] and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

Communion and unity of saints.

Reasons proving the religion in queen Mary's time not to be of God.

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the godly and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

Scriptures in king Edward's time known; in queen Mary's, unknown.

Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also, being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies: those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people, redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

In king Edward's time the people knew what they prayed. In queen Mary's, they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange

(1) Phil. ii.

tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast? *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: "Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them; you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in."[1] The catechism set forth in king Edward's time for children, in queen Mary's time forbidden. The Catholic Pharisees.

And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.[2] The pit of locusts opened.

Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world, and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.[3] Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son; but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how "shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?, shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"[4] The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore: Amen. Exhortation to stand constant in Christ and his truth.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain Letter of one Master West, sometime his Chaplain.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded, that this world is but transitory, and, as St. John saith, "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof."[5] I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven:"[6] and I believe that no earthly creature shall be

(1) Matt. xiii. (2) Rev. ix. (3) Rev. vii. 1 John v. (4) Rom. viii. (5) 1 John ii. (6) Matt. x.

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saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear?[1] With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

No creature can be saved, whom Christ denieth before his Father.

What it is for a man well to remember himself.

Fear God.

You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margin you write "warily," and in this world "wisely;" and yet me thought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

Confession to the minister in the way of asking counsel, not misliked.

Ridley ever a reverend handler of the sacrament.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me: for this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my shoot-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but alas, now, when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away): this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

The part of a true bishop, only to seek the glory of Christ his Master.

Ridley repenteth that he was not more earnest in stablishing the consciences of his family and cure.

This conscience doth move me also now to require both you, and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure

Dr. Harvey charged.

(1) Luke xii.

setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name, "Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him."[1] And the saying of St. John is true, "All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever."[2] If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore.[3] For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore:[4] and of Christ it is truly said, "Christ yesterday and to-day; the same is also for ever."[5]

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Good motions of Ridley to his old chaplains.

What is truth.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you I never found man (so far as I do remember) neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? for what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse: for he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

Common prayer in the common tongue.

What it is to confess Christ.

He that denieth an open truth against God's word for worldly danger, will be as ready to deny God himself.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God), that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either, for fear or gain of the word, shrink and play the apostata,[6] indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

Death common to good and bad. Damnable agreement.

From Bocardo in Oxford the 8th day of April, 1555.

Master Grindal, now archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle,[7] wherein first, he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant: secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular

The sum of Grindal's letter to Ridley.

(1) Psalm ii. (2) 1 John ii. (3) John xvii. (4) Eccles. xxvii. (5) Heb. xv.
(6) Apostata was he who fled from his captain to the enemy. He was also so called, that departed from the Christians to the Jews or Gentiles.
(7) "A certain Epistle;" see "Letters of the Martyrs." London. 1837. page 34,—Ed.

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providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them: thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations; whereunto bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth:

An Answer of Bishop Ridley to Master Grindal's Letter sent from Frankfort.

Blessed be God our heavenly Father which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly-beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*), lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth cease to multiply his mercies, to strengthen us; and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Zurich, Frankfort, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I assure you, it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory, and Cox, etc. Oh! that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but, I trust in God, they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us: for whensoever God shall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come), you, blessed be God! are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies, ye say, ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

Experience of God's strength towards his saints in their imprisonment.

As for the treatise in English, "Contra Transubstantiationem," vix possum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quidquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constiterit; and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose you know a good part of our state here (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, etc.), you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and, after that, had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in prison again.

Ridley, prisoner in the Tower half a year and more.

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, master Latimer, master Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, master Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following, were our disputations at Oxford, after the which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, etc. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, prisoners together in the Tower; afterwards sent to Oxford.

Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched (for

we were all three on one day within a day or two of our disputations) of Dr. Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as, I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again.

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Weston condemner of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

Writs for burning of Bradford called in again.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Ferrar the bishop of St. David's, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers (*tuus olim comprebendarius*), Dr. Taylor of Hadley, master Saunders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now, this last day, master Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

Names of martyrs.

West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas, hath relented, as I have heard; but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone.[1] Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing, alas, of his knee unto Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.[2]

Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licèt modo sit præfectus civitatis)—mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima, quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quòd me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori verò plusquam obsequens. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hâc quotidianâ consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum malâ muliere in conjugio collocari. Rectè ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret; ipsis mandatum: idque illi, si quando de meâ nimiâ servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge (as I hear say) omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt; et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few words, papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

All the statutes of reformation in Cambridge broken.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, alas we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much, alas, with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort

How God's wrath was provoked.

(1) This West, when he had relented and said mass against his conscience, shortly pined away and died for sorrow.

(2) Note how Bonner here requited the kindness of Ridley showed to his mother. (page 408.)

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we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The prayer of Ridley for the churches abroad, which openly profess the gospel of Jesus Christ.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know), and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting-forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same; that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake; and so, both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Ridley prayeth for queen Mary.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, cancellarius Winton, comes Arundellus, et dominus Pachetus, jam legatione funguntur, unà cum cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, et Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, et jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloriâ dignetur bene illi fortunare; nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrûm precibus me humillimè ex toto corde commendo; in primis, tuis, O charissime in Christo frater et dilectissime Grindalle, et charissimorum fratrum et unice mihi in Domino dilectorum Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi, et omnium fratrum nostrorum et conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissimos patres et concaptivos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum jam veri magni pastoris et Archipræsulis nomine dignissimum et veteranum illum Christi et nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii. N. R.

To Augustine Bernher.

A letter of Ridley to one Augustine Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey; that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, "et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium." The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and

Commemoration of saints.

of this time, protomartyr[1] Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London. And now, because Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him), I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Besides these letters of bishop Ridley, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely, among certain others, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable sermons of Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, etc.

Here beginneth the Life, Acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Christ and his Gospel.

Now consequently after the life of bishop Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter Appendix, follow likewise the life and doings of the worthy champion and old practised soldier of Christ, master Hugh Latimer;[2] of whose acts and long travails even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to entreat, first, he was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaster, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout; at which time his parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters), seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years, he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer. Latimer first sent to school. Sent to Cambridge.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, did plainly declare. But especially his popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him. A long time was a zealous and superstitious papist. Declaimed in Cambridge against Melancthon.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professor of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was at length himself, by a member Converted by Bilney.

(1) Proto-martyr is the first martyr, whom he so called, because he was the first that suffered here in those bloody days.

(2) He was born about A.D. 1480.—Ed.

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of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's word. For master Thomas Bilney (whose story is before described), being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of Antichrist's kingdom, seeing master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways (although without knowledge), was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an carnest student of true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with master Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster, doth confess.[1] So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with master Bilney and others, and came also to master Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

Latimer a papist, turned to a zealous Christian.

He becometh a preacher in Cambridge.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructer, to the rest of his brethren within the University, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Enemies stirred in Cambridge against Latimer.

Latimer's preaching of the cards in Cambridge.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that master Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the University of Cambridge, to envy against him, for that master Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief trump in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day; on which day

(1) Read Latimer's own confession in his first sermon upon the Paternoster.

coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day; "Tu quis es?" etc. In delivering the which cards (as is above said) he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, etc.: meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, etc.; so that all these either were needless, where the other is present, or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

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The difference between true and false.

The Tenor and Effect of certain Sermons made by Hugh Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.

"Tu quis es?" which words are as much to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not; wherefore they said unto him, "Who art thou?" Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, "He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo." By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, "Who art thou?" shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, "Who art thou?" This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, "What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?" Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise; I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell,

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a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell; except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and, for because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alonely by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So, likewise, it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for, likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais, could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be

excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! for he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, "Who art thou?" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, "Who art thou?" than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, "Who art thou?"

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned; which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be christian men, christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas; I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the trump, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that

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there is no man that is willing to play at this trump with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the trump; you must mark also that the trump must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, "Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law," saith Christ, "that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Raca,' that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Fool,' shall be in danger of hell-fire." This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, "Thou shalt not kill." Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do show unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we, in like manner, may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin first, with the first part of this card, and then, after, with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour "brainless," or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour "fool." Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother, ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour "brainless," or some other like word of displeasure—as a man might say in a fury, "I shall handle thee well enough," which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor showed any countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in

moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of council. *Mary.*

Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour "fool," doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that called his neighbour "but brainless," or any such words moving ire: for to call a man "fool," that word representeth more envy in a man, than "brainless" doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other. A. D. 1555.

Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man "brainless," and to call his neighbour "fool;" truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire: these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences: judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance: council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "brainless," or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell, than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "fool," by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees; for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms, of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them: these terms were natural and well-known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees. Wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of enquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution-day. Sessions of enquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of enquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance, is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire, for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named "hell-fire;" and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, "Who art thou?" The answer is, "I am a christian man." Then further we must say to ourselves, "What requireth Christ of a christian man?" Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a christian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks,[1] the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

Hearts trump.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example as thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants and apprentices, do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

Two manner of killings.

The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of christian men slain; which is on this fashion: Although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well-disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other, of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

Wherefore I exhort all true christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness: if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many a one that breaketh this card, "Thou shalt not kill," and playeth therewith oftentime, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those, now-a-days, that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two

(1) See Foxe's Turkish History, in the Acts and Monuments, vol. iv. p. 53.—Ed.

ways slain their own children unto their damnation; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for. *Mary.*

Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following: A.D. 1555.

Christ when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, "If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him." Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, "Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee." "Say what you please," quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, "I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?" The Pharisee said, "That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him." "Likewise," said Christ, "it is by this woman: she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven." So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance. And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, "Who art thou?" to the which we might answer, that we be true christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou shalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory: Amen.

Another Sermon[1] of Hugh Latimer.

How to play with certain cards.

Now you have heard what is meant by this first card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpose again to deal unto you another card, almost of the same suit; for they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the

(1) This sermon on the same subject is thus placed in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1304. In more recent Editions it is usually inserted in Foxe's Appendix, but the Editor has, in this instance, adopted the original arrangement.—Ed.

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other. The first card declared, that you should not kill, which might be done divers ways, as being angry with your neighbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared also, how you should subdue the passions of ire, and so clear evermore yourselves from them: and whereas this first card doth kill in you these stubborn Turks of ire; this second card will not only they should be mortified in you, but that you yourselves shall cause them to be likewise mortified in your neighbour, if that your said neighbour hath been, through your occasion, moved unto ire, either in countenance, word, or deed. Now let us hear therefore the tener of this card.

"When thou makest thine oblation at mine altar, and there dost remember that thy neighbour hath any thing against thee, lay down there thy oblation, and go first and reconcile thy neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This card was spoken by Christ, as testifieth St. Mark in his fifth chapter, against all such as do presume to come unto the church to make oblation unto God either by prayer, or any other deed of charity, not having their neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say, as to restore thy neighbour unto charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved against thee: then, if so be it that thou hast spoken to or by thy neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou must lay down thy oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of charity: these be all called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation; begin to do none of these foresaid works before thou goest unto thy neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him, declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as far forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst. Thou art sorry in thy mind, that thou shouldest be occasion of his offending.

"What manner of card is this?" will some say, "Why, what have I to do with my neighbour's or brother's malice?" As Cain said, "Have I the keeping of my brother, or shall I answer for him and for his faults?" This were no reason—"As for myself, I thank God I owe no man malice nor displeasure: if others owe me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself!" Nay sir, not so, as you may understand by this card; for it saith, "If thy neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay even down (saith Christ) thine oblation: pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go first unto thy neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, scorns, or disdainous countenance, and so forth; and then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy devotion, then do thy alms-deeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee."

"O good Lord, this is a hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is a hundred miles from me, beyond the seas, or else I cannot tell where: if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him." This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, that thou wouldest in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkest in thy heart, whensoever thou shalt meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and so never intend to come from him, until the time that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Yet, peradventure, there be some in the world that be so devilish and so hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto charity. For all that, do what lieth in thee, by all charitable means to bring him to unity. If he will in no wise apply thereunto, thou mayest be sorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state. This notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some docter's mind, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless St. Augustine doubteth in this case, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds, shall avail thee before God, or no, until thy neighbour come again to good state, whom thou hast brought out of the way. Doth this noble doctor doubt therein? what aileth us to be so bold, and count it but a small fault, or none, to bring our neighbour out of patience for every trifle that standeth not with our mind? You may see what a grievous thing this is, to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for surely, after the opinion of great wise men, friendship

once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ saith unto such persons. Saith Christ, "I came down into this world, and so took on me bitter passion for man's sake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man brother unto me, and so to expel the dominion of Satan the devil, which worketh nothing else but dissension: and yet now there be a great number of you, that have professed my name, and say, you be christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make my fold: you go about to break the same, and kill my flock." "How darest thou," saith Christ, "presume to come unto my altar, unto my church, or into my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest oh thee to spoil my lambs? I go about like a good shepherd to gather them together: and thou dost the contrary, evermore ready to divide and lose them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts, which I bought so dearly with my precious blood? I warn thee out of my sight, come not in my presence: I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my lambs which thou hast lost. Wherefore, if thou thyself intend to be one of mine, lay even down by-and-by thine oblation, and come no further toward mine altar, but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

A true and faithful servant, whensoever his master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stops nor questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he, continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops whatsoever betide him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his master's will and pleasure. On the contrary, a slothful servant, when his master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, where, when, which way, and so forth; and so he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and slothful behaviour, his master's commandment is either undone quite, or else so done that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts. Be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is afore said) whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit, and cease not till you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Do not, like the slothful servant, thy Master's message with cautels and doubts; come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will show thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years old, in thy neighbour's bosom. When he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But now, I tell thee, it is worse than it was, for by such cloaked charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein: for now, thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee. Thou thinkest to blind thy master Christ's commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be; and so, as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. "What?" some will say, "I am sure he loveth me well enough: he speaketh fair to my face." Yet for all that, thou mayest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man, to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his body; for all these parts of a man's body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes, that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in danger to do good for thee, or to

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deliver thee from adversity; and so forth, with the other members of his body. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest think that he loveth thee well, and thou, in like wise, oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be engendered amongst you.

It may fortune thou wilt say, "I am content to do the best for my neighbour that I can, saving myself harmless." I promise thee Christ will not hear this excuse; for he himself suffered harm for our sakes, and for our salvation was put to extreme death. I wis, if it had pleased him, he might have saved us and never felt pain; but in suffering pains and death, he did give us example, and teach us how we should do one for another, as he did for us all; for, as he saith himself, "he that will be mine, let him deny himself, and follow me, in bearing my cross and suffering my pains." Wherefore we must needs suffer pain with Christ to do our neighbour good, as well with the body and all his members, as with heart and mind.

Now I trust you wot what your card meaneth, let us see how that we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen you to go and make your oblation unto God, ask of yourselves this question, "Who art thou?" the answer as you know is, "I am a christian man." Then you must again ask unto yourself, What Christ requireth of a christian man? By and by cast down your trump, your heart, and look first of one card, then of another. The first card telleth thee thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any more cards to take up, and, if thou look well, thou shalt see another card of the same suit, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to reconcile thy neighbour. Then cast thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the virtue of thy cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turks, and discomfort and thrust them down. Thou shalt again fetch home Christ's sheep that thou hast lost, whereby thou mayest go both patiently and with a quiet mind, unto the church, and make thy oblation unto God; and then, without doubt, he will hear thee.

But yet Christ will not accept our oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our neighbour), if that our oblation be made of another man's substance, but it must be our own. See therefore that thou hast gotten thy goods according to the laws of God and of thy prince. For if thou gettest thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then, if thou offer a thousand pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend, for when they be made rich by other men's goods, then they will take upon them to build churches, to give ornaments to God and his altar, to gild saints, and to do many good works therewith: but it shall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore, saith Christ, they have in this world their reward, and so their oblations be not their own, nor be they acceptable before God.

Another way God will refuse thy voluntary oblation, as thus: If so be it, that thou hast gotten never so truly thy goods, according both to the laws of God and man, and hast with the same goods not relieved thy poor neighbour, when thou hast seen him hungry, thirsty, and naked, he will not take thy oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say unto thee, "When I was hungry, thou gavest me no meat; when I was thirsty, thou gavest me no drink; and when I was naked thou didst not clothe me. Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy poor neighbours, and thou hast not therein done according unto this my commandment;[1] I had rather have mercy done, than sacrifice or oblation. Wherefore until thou dost the one more than the other, I will not accept thine oblation."

Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the church, except your four offering days, and your tithes: setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of highways, and such other, be called voluntary works;

(1) "Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium."

which works be of themselves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy, are called the commandments, the four offering days, your tithes, and such other that belong to the commandments; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy poor neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the necessary works undone, which they are bound to do, they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of saints, and honouring of the church, and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks; if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good and ought to be done; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten. If you will build a glorious church unto God, see first yourselves to be in charity with your neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then, when ye come into your parish church, you bring with you the holy temple of God; as St. Paul saith, you yourselves be the very holy temples of God: and Christ saith by his prophet; In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding-place. Again, if you list to gild and paint Christ in your churches, and honour him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true temple of God, and honour him in rich vestures that will never be worn, and so forth use yourselves according unto the commandments: and then finally set up your candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts; for it is not fitting to see a dead man light candles. Then, I say, go your pilgrimages, build your material churches, do all your voluntary works, and they will then represent you unto God, and testify with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware, I say again, that you do not run so far in your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you must have ever a good respect unto the best and worthiest works toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily. Thus if you do with the others that I have spoken of before, ye may come according to the tenor of your cards, and offer your oblations and prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ, who will both hear and accept them to your everlasting joy and glory: to the which he bring us, and all those whom he suffered death for; Amen.

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It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men at arms.

First came out the prior of the Black Friars, called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed "Domine labia," who thinking to make a great hand against master Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when master Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quatre;* meaning by the *cinque*, five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the *quatre;* by which his *cinque quatre*, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a

Dr. Dewface playeth at dice with Latimer.

Note these reasons of the catholics why the Scriptures should not come in English.

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whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with others more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckenham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, the foresaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Answer of Latimer to Dr. Buckenham's sermon.

Then master Latimer, first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases, he said, were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonly used and known: "and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech," saith he, "hath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls, and in houses."

As for example (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him), when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against master Latimer.

Another barking friar against Latimer.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a Grey Friar and a doctor, an outlandishman called Dr. Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, etc. To whom master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, "Thou shalt not kill,"[1] etc. "But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca (or any other like words of rebuking, as '*brainless*'), shall be

(1) Matt. v.

in danger of council: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: with heart, when we be angry with him: with word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious and unseemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite, or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell fire, etc. Answer of Latimer to another railing friar.

Thus master Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words and the explaining of the same he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom; out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's word, which count them here as madmen, fools, brainless, and drunken: "so did they," said he, "in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's word. But," said he, "what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? 'We mad men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves,'[1] etc. And that will be their end, except they repent." And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries,[2] when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching likewise and barking against him? amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been afore; Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael's-house; Dr. Metecalfe, master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe of Clement's hostel, Dr. Donnes of Jesus College, Dr. Palms, master of St. Nicholas's hostel; and Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelor of divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugners did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West,[3] bishop of Ely, who preaching against master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that university, to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord Latimer forbidden to preach.

(1) "Nos insensati, nos insensati," etc.

(2) The vice-chancellor at the time, Dr. Buckmaster, endeavoured to restrain these contentions, who, summoning Latimer, and others mentioned in this paragraph, before him, gave them some excellent advice: see his account given to the Senate in Dr. Lamb's "Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents, from the MSS. *of Corp.* Christ. Coll. Camb.;" (Lond. 1838.) p. 15.—Ed.

(3) There are some very characteristic particulars about this Discourse, and Latimer's subsequent examination, quoted by Dr. Watkins, in the Life of Latimer, prefixed to his Sermons; (Lond. 1824; pp. 10—12), from Strype's Memorials under Mary, chap. xxviii.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas Even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by master Tyrell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This master Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration o his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same. So master Latimer, with master Bilney, after this, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of master Bilney.

Bilney and Latimer joined companions.

In a place of his sermons,[1] master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this: it so chanced, that after master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus: a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial: but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and master Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before king Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king's majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the king,

The story of a certain woman condemned, who was saved by Latimer.

Latimer obtaineth pardon of the king for a woman wrongfully condemned.

(1) See his first Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, 4to. page 125. Ed. 1607.—Ed.

and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was master Latimer, mistress Cheke godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification. *Mary.* A.D. 1555. Purification of women.

Then master Bilney, being with master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, etc. So thus they travailed with this woman, till they brought her to a good trade; and then at length showed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many others at this time happened in Cambridge by master Latimer and master Bilney. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed. But, as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with master Latimer; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign of king Edward; a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor scholars were in that university, which fared not better by his purse. This Dr. Redman being of no little authority in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom master Latimer maketh answer again in few words. The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latin, here followeth to be seen: Dr. Redman against Latimer.

The Sum of the Epistle written by Dr. Redman to Master Latimer.

Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus.—I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charity's sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men; and that more is, before the whole catholic church, especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical writer. Nay, nay; I beseech you rather consider

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that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometimes transform itself into an angel of light.

Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay down your stomach, I pray you, and humble your spirit, and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's coat-without-seam (as much as lieth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wise man is, and be obedient thereunto: trust not your own wisdom.—The Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

The Sum of Master Latimer's Answer to Dr. Redman.

Reverend master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

Latimer called up to the cardinal.

After master Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university, where he was content to subscribe, and grant to such articles as then they propounded unto him, etc.

Dr. Buts, a worthy favourer of God's word.

After that he returned to the university again, where, shortly after by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr. Buts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree; and so, having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the mind of Dr. Buts, he would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

Latimer beneficed in Wiltshire.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West-Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, "Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution." It so chanced, that whereas he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother (whom we call our Lady), had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

Troubled for preaching.

Christ only to be our Saviour, and not our Lady.

Matter devised against Latimer by popish priests.

First, That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, which so held together upon that blessed virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, That "Ave Maria" was a salutation only, and no prayer. *Mary.*
Item, That there was no material fire in hell.
Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower. A. D. 1555.

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lord's assistance), when we come to his letters.

The chief impugners and molesters of him,[1] besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson sometime of Cambridge, master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood; of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him, insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley bishop of London, Jan. 29, A.D. 1531, the copy of which citation here followeth: Troublers of Latimer.

The Copy of a Citation sent to Master Latimer by the Chancellor of Sarum, at the intercession of the Bishop of London.

Richardus Hilley decretorum doctor, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Laurentii Dei gratiâ Sarum episcopi, in remotis extra regnum Angliæ agentis, vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, universis et singulis rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis, clerisque et literatis per dioces. Sarum ubilibet constitutis, salutem in Authore salutis. Vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis, peremptorie magistrum Hugonem Latimerum, vicarium de West-Kington in archidiaconatu Wiltes. Sarum dioces. quòd compareat coram reverendo in Christo patre et domino, domino Johanne, Dei gratiâ London episcopo, aut ejus vicario in spiritualibus generali sive commissario, in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, in loco consistorali ibidem, die lunæ, videlicet 29 die mensis Januarii jam instantis, inter horam 9 et 11 ante meridiem ejusdem diei, certis articulis sive interrogatoriis, crimina seu excessus graves infra jurisdictionem London per ipsum commissos concernentibus, personaliter responsurus, ulteriusque facturus et recepturus quod justitia in ea parte suadebit: et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra 22 diem ejusdem mensis Januarii, vel in eo, apud Sarum debite certificari curetis, ut nos certificatorium hujusmodi supradicto reverendo patri, domino London. episcopo, erga dictum 22 diem transmittere valeamus, prout idem reverendus pater nos in juris subsidium ac mutuæ vicissitudinis obtentu rogavit, et etiam requisivit. Datum Sarum, sub sigillo antedicti reverendissimi patris ad causas, 10 die mensis Januarii, anno 1531.

Against this citation although master Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he, not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the foresaid archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty-doing, and Latimer appealeth to his own ordinary.

(1) The complaints of one of these, Richard Brown, against a sermon of Latimer's preached at Bristol, are recorded by Strype, Memorials under Henry VIII. ch. 22, p. 255.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. that from no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against; which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed; the copy of which epistle in Latin is this:

The Copy of the Epistle written by Master Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Non licet, reverendissime præsul, per supervenientem ægrotationem ad tuum palatium venire, non novam quidem illam, sed inveteratam, etsi novis occasionibus nuper exasperatam. Certe quantum videre videor, et quantum conjecturis ducor, hodie non licebit, citra meum (inquam) magnum malum non licebit. Et ne meum expectaret adventum diutius tua dominatio frustra, en hanc qualemcunque schedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitto, velut excusationis nostræ certissimum judicem. In qua utinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gravedinem, justam aliquam expostulationem liceret tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habentem, ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines invitum, et hac quidem tempestate detines, qua pastores cum gregibus adesse oportet vel maxime. Quidni enim expostulem, si modo tam vili mancipio cum tanto patre expostulare sit licitum? Nam si Petrus arbitrabatur justum esse ratione officii sui, quamdiu in hoc foret tabernaculo, ut populum admonere et docere neutiquam cessaret, et quo propius morti hoc instantius: ergo non potest non videri injustum, si qui hodie neque docent ipsi (ut jam nihil mirer si non ante docuerunt) neque cupientes docere permittunt, nisi quos habuerunt votis per omnia et in omnibus obsecundantes. Primum liberum erat meipsum amplitudini vestræ præsentare et offerre; sed inde meipsum eripere et extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum esse. Et dum aliud in principio prætenditur, aliud in progressu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, nostri negotii quis aut qualis sit futurus exitus non immeritò dubitatur; sed veritas tandem liberabit uti spero. Dominus qui custodit veritatem in seculum liberabit, super quo quid scribit Hieronymus utinam nunquam è memoria excideret; 'Non poterat me molestare quicquid essem pro veritate passurus; sed vivit Deus, et ipsi cura est de nobis.' Tum modo ad Lond. missus sum, cæterum coram Cant. interdum multis formidandis patribus stipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quosdam et limites habet, ab eo qui me misit præstitutos; verum sic tractatur causa et ambagibus ducitur, quasi in infinitum abitura, nullo tandem claudenda termino, dum sine modo et fine alia post alia, ad me sive pertinentia sive impertinentia, nunc ab hoc nunc ab illo interrogantur, si non egomet modo, etsi fortè inciviliter, at non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor), modum imponerem, veritus ne inter multa, dum multis respondet unus, unum aliquod (*ut fit*) ex inconsulto erumperet, quod causam læderet (alioqui justissimam) et me malum ostendat oportet, nemini volentem male moliri, si quid in conscientia est erroris: et meminisse omnino illud oportet, nempe 'ad gehennam ædificare, contra conscientiam facere.' His sat fuerit sua profiteri, sua asserere, sua defensare: mihi vero assertiones alienæ obtruduntur, nescio quo jure asserendæ. Sine exemplo, opinor, hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intractabilis fere videor, dum nihil aliud quàm iniquis efflagitationibus (quod ego judico) acquiescere detrecto. Adversus prædicationes meas si quis quid intentare conabitur, tanquam vel obscuriores, vel parum caute pronunciatas, paratus sum prædicationes prædicationibus illustrare, qui nihil adversus veritatem, nihil adversus decreta patrum, nil non catholice (quod sciam) prædicavi unquam. Id quod per adversariorum et obloquentium testimonia commonstrare poteram esse verum. Optavi et opto judicium vulgi reparari. Optavi et opto discrimen rerum deprehendi, et sua dignitate, suo loco, et tempore, suo gradu et ordine, unamquamque rem pollere, gaudere; ut ingenue sciant omnes, permultum interesse inter ea quæ præparavit Deus, ut in eis ambularemus, quisque vocationis opera sedulo facturi, postquam quæ omnibus sunt communia pari sedulitate sunt facta, et inter ea quæ spontanea sunt, ut in quibus non nisi nostropte marte obambulamus. Imaginibus uti licet, peregrinari licet, sanctos invocare licet, animarum in purgatorio residentium memores esse licet: sed sic temperanda sunt quæ voluntaria sunt, ut præcepta Dei factu necessaria (quæ

Indigna episcoporum actio contra Latimerum.

Quid in religione corrigendum.

Discrimen inter mandata Dei et præcepta hominum.

facientibus vitam æternam, non facientibus æternam mortem, afferunt) justa æstimatione non priventur, ne, præpostere diligentes Deum, stulte devoti, Deum contra experiamur non redamantem nos, sed odio potius prosequentem; cum hoc est Deum vere diligere, nimirum præcepta Dei diligenter servare, juxta illud Christi; 'qui habet præcepta mea et facit ea, hic est qui diligit me.' Ne quis tam vilia reputet præcepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in suis potius adinventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Christi secundum illa, non secundum has, omnes ad unum judicabimur, juxta illud Christi, 'sermo quem locutus sum, ipse judicabit in novissimo die.' Et quis potest unum præceptum Dei ullis additiiis inventis, quamlibet aut multis aut speciosis, compensare? O si essemus ad ea quæ Deo sunt peragenda tam propensi, quam sumus ad nostra excogitamenta exercenda seduli et devoti! Multa sunt quæ simplici fide facta non improbat Deus, sed probat utcunque saltem quorundam infirmitati indulgens, quæ tamen, antequam fierent interrogatus, nec præciperet nec consuleret fieri, utpote quæ justius toleranda sunt, dum sic fiant, quàm prædicanda ut fiant; ne occasione prædicationis (ut fit) omittantur, quæ periculo damnationis fieri debeant. Et quid magis indecorum, quàm ad id prædicationem convertere, quod Deus ipse nec præciperet nec consuleret fieri, saltem quàmdiu negligenter fiunt quæ præcipiuntur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorum Dei sto hactenus immobilis (sic non meum sed Christi lucrum, non meam sed Dei gloriam quæritans); et, donec respirare licebit, stare non desinam; sic Germanos verbi præcones, quotquot hactenus fuere, imitaturus.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Multa tolerat Deus, quæ tamen non erat præcepturus ut fierent.

Intolerabiles sane sunt, et diu fuere, quarundam rerum abusus; ut nemo Christianæ gloriæ studiosus potest, nisi abusibus rerum multo etiam magis improbatis, res ipsas e suggestu probare: quæ si rarius fierent (ne dicam nunquam), modo hac occasione, quæ mandantur a Deo fieri, fierent officiosius, quid quæso pateretur jacturæ religio christiana? nisi forte sic cæcutimus miseri, ut illa turpi quæstu nostro, non cultu Dei vero, putetur consistere. Jam non potest (opinor) fieri, ut damnabilis ejusmodi rerum abusus juste reprobetur, nisi protinus infrequentior earundem usus sequatur. Quanquam præstiterit quædam nunquam fieri, quàm tam fiducialiter fieri, ut minus curentur quæ oportuit fieri; cum alia oportet facere, alia oportet non omittere, alia nec oportet facere, et omittere licet. Et quis manifestum multarum rerum abusum non videt? quis videt, et non vehementer dolet? quis dolet denique, et non laborat amovere? et quando amovebitur, si usus prædicatione celebrabitur, tacebitur abusus? Imo non potest non regnare et dominari abusus. Aliud est, res quæ possunt in loco fieri tolerare, aliud easdem pro rebus quæ debent fieri aut passim prædicare, aut legibus prædicandas constituere. 'Euntes docete (inquit) omnia.' Quænam omnia? 'omnia quæ ego præcepi vobis' (inquit), non dicit omnia quæ vobis ipsis videntur prædicanda. Agite igitur per immortalem Deum. Sic nervos intendamus nostros, ut quæ Dei sunt prædicemus ad unum omnes, ne adulterarii et caupones prædicationis verius, quàm vere prædicatores evadamus; maxime, dum homines ad divina sunt pigerrimi, ad sua velocissimi, ut nihil sit opus calcaribus; injusta rerum æstimatione et innata superstitione (certe ab ineunte ætate a majoribus contracta) miserabiliter decepti: quibus rebus medere vix ullis prædicationibus, quamlibet frequentibus, quamlibet sinceris et puris, quimus. Quare prohibeat Deus: sed in hac dierum malitia qui debent ipsi potius prædicare (præcepit enim nobis, inquit Petrus, prædicare) vel volentes et potentes prædicare præpediunt, contra illud, 'noli prohibere eum benefacere qui potest,' vel cauponantes prædicare compellunt; sic miseram plebeculam in superstitione et fallaci fiducia damnabiliter detinentes. Quin Deus potius misereatur nostrî, ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, ne videamur in quos illud quadret digne, 'non cogitationes meæ, cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ, viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus.' His ego nudis sententiis subscribere non audeo, domine cum primis observande, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo, ne mei ipsius damnationis simul sim author. Quòd si dignus essem qui tibi consilium darem, colendissime pater,—sed cohibeo me; quàm sit parvum et intolerabile hominis cor detur vel conjectare. Neque sane quisquam novit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo. Non superbia detinet ulla ab illâ subscriptione, toties a tuâ dominatione cum maximâ mei animi molestiâ rogatâ. Non potest non esse impium patribus et proceribus ecclesiæ non obtemperare; sed videndum interim illis, et quid et quibus imperent; cum, in loco, Deo quàm hominibus obedire

Abusus in rebus religionis amovendi.

Multa tolerari possunt quum fiunt, quæ tamen ut fierent, necessitatem nullam habent.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

oportet magis. Sic dolet mihi caput, et reliquum corpus languet, ut nec venire, nec hæc rescribere licet, et emendare. Sed tua dominatio, si non judicium meum, certe studium (spero) probabit. Valeat dominatio tua.

In this foresaid epistle, as ye hear, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles, or nude propositions (as he calleth them), be these:—

Articles devised by the Bishops, for Master Latimer to subscribe unto.

I believe that there is a purgatory, to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lived wickedly; and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians (except necessity otherwise require), are to be observed and kept.

That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints.

Whether Latimer subscribed or not is uncertain.

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this epistle above written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them; where he writeth in these words, "His ego nudis sententiis subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo," etc. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words, and the title in Tonstal's Register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the Register be these:—

"Hugo Latimerus, in sacra Theologia Bacchalaurius in Universitate Cantabrigiæ, coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaque concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendo ut sequitur in his artic. 21 die Martii, anno 1531."

If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of

the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this, by the way, is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time, to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he showeth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, Oct. 9, A. D. 1550, his words be these:[1]— *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

The crafty handling of the bishops in examining Latimer.

"I was once," saith he, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

"There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, 'I pray you, master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it."

A subtle and captious question put to Latimer by the bishops.

The question to him there and then objected was this: "Whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresy." This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the University, but especially at his benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

*An Inhibition[2] made to Master William Latimer, that he should not preach within the Diocese of London.

John, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men whatso-

(1) Ex verbis Latimeri. [In his sermons, vol. i. p. 270. Lond. 1824.—Ed.]
(2) This inhibition and the observations following, are extracted from the Edition of 1563, p. 507.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

ever they be, throughout our city and diocese of London, health, grace, and benediction, etc. Whereas we, by authority granted us by the law and provincial constitutions in this behalf, of late did inhibit and forbid one Hugh Latimer, a priest, for certain just and lawful causes specially moving us in this behalf, and specially for the pernicious errors already determined by the church in the decrees, and decretals, and provincial constitutions, by the which, through his crafty flattering, and, as it is said, fraudulent and pestiferous kind of preaching, he goeth about to corrupt and infect the people, and to seduce them from the approved and received doctrine of the church, that he should not preach within our city and diocese of London, in places exempt or not exempt, except he were licensed thereunto by special license, under pain of the law. Nevertheless, as we have heard reported, the said Hugh Latimer, despising and contemning our inhibition, hath rashly presumed to preach the third day of this present month of October, without any license, within our diocese of London; that is to say, within the precincts of the friars Augustines, to the violating and contempt of the law and our inhibition. Therefore we command you jointly and severally, firmly enjoining and charging you that for the causes before said, again the second time by our authority, you do inhibit and forbid, or cause the said Hugh Latimer peremptorily to be inhibited and forbidden; unto whom, also, by the tenor of these presents we do inhibit and forbid, that he do not presume to take upon him the office of preaching, and to preach within our city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, in places exempt or not exempt, until such time as, according to our just judgment, he have purged himself of his default, and be lawfully restored unto the office of preaching, and have obtained his letters testimonial according to the tenor and form of the canonical sanctions or provincial constitutions, in this behalf lawfully ordained; and that he really exhibit and show the same in what place soever he will hereafter preach, under the pain expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions. Also we command you and every of you, jointly and severally, that you do intimate and signify this inhibition aforesaid to be made and executed by our authority aforesaid, unto all and singular abbots and priors of religious houses, as well exempt as not exempt, to their presidents or vicegerents, whatsoever they be; and also to all and singular parsons, vicars, priests, the clergy and people wheresoever they be within our diocese, albeit in places exempt: and specially to the famous man friar George Brown, professor of divinity, and prior of the house or convent of the friars Augustines of the city and diocese of London. For the same causes and by the said authority inhibiting all the aforesaid, that they, nor any of them, do not admit the said Hugh Latimer to preach within any of their churches, or within the precinct of any of their houses, or with any of them, under the pain and penalty expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions, until such time as he have purged himself as is before said; and that he do really exhibit unto them his sufficient letters testimonial upon his restitution, as is aforesaid.

Given under our seal the 2d day of October, A. D. 1533, and in the third year of our consecration.

This inhibition was executed against the said William Latimer upon a Sunday, the 5th day of October, in the year aforesaid, within the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the city of London, by Robert Hains, a learned man, etc. The which inhibition notwithstanding, the said William Latimer preached the 3d day of October at afternoon, within the precinct of the friars Augustines of the city of London.

Thus have we discoursed, and run over hitherto, the laborious travails, the painful adventures and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake:* in which so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard had it been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he

stirred him up, so have preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell (whose story ye heard before) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Latimer rescued by the king.

Advanced to the bishopric of Worcester.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others, it did appear, that when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following.

The time unable for bishop Latimer to work in.

Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Remember your promise in baptizing;
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding:
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

What to say in giving Holy Bread.

Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for our sins was broken.
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was, in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble:

The troubles of Latimer in his bishopric.

Mary. A.D. 1555. as, among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself showeth in a sermon of his, before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these :[1]

Latimer accused to king Henry for his preaching.

In the king's days that dead is, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me, and said, "What say you to that sir?"

Latimer answereth his accuser.

Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him: "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

The words of Latimer to the king.

Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue, to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace."

The king's heart relenteth toward him.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy), that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, "The Lord directeth the king's heart."[2] Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night.

Latimer taketh the poor man's part against his oppressor.

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcester, a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to master Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering, his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault), sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatening words, etc. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain gentleman; the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to story out all the doings, travails, and writings of this christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a

(1) Ex verbis Latimeri, pro concione.

(2) "Cor regis in manu Domini."

bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain, but sore bruised, with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed king Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print), as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Latimer at the coming in of the Six Articles, resigneth his bishopric.

The whole life of Latimer full of tribulation.

Almost slain by the fall of a tree.

Cast into the Tower.

Restored by king Edward to liberty of preaching.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all king Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. A.D. 1547.

The diligent travailing of Latimer in king Edward's time.

Now to speak here of his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

The early waking of Latimer to his book.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpassed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued; that, if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be

Latimer prophesieth what plagues are to come in queen Mary's time.

Mary. A. D. 1555. one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed king Edward, not long after queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down (by the means no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless (whose story hereafter followeth), yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him,—

Latimer called up to London by Winchester.

Being premonished he yet refuseth to escape.

Latimer's words to the queen's pursuivant.

"My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally," etc.

At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Latimer cometh up to London not compelled.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, through Smithfield (where merrily he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him), was brought before the council, where he, patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall; yet he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him. Yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies; as it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the lieutenant, being then in the Tower: for when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

Cheerful in imprisonment.

Merry message to the lieutenant.

The lieutenant, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, etc. "Yea, master lieutenant, so I said," quoth he, "for you look, I think, that I should

The answer of Latimer to the lieutenant.

burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Latimer with Cranmer and Ridley, removed from the Tower to Oxford.

Thus master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, and master Ridley bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner bishop of Winchester, as is before touched, the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners, was condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April above mentioned, to this present month of October;[1] where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

His three requests.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

"Once again, once again."

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

His prayer for queen Elizabeth.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accustomably to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof following after did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

All three requests of Latimer granted of the Lord.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly bishop master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength."[2] And so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most

(1) October 16. (2) "Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus."

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graciously granted his request, which was, that he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us; Amen.

The unthankfulness of England.

God's gracious help in time of need upon the realm of England.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things;[1] at the change whereof queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, master Latimer.

Queen Elizabeth granted of God to England.

God for Christ's sake to grant.

The same God, which, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travails of master Latimer.

Articles[2] untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, Hugh Latimer, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.

First, that "our Lady was a sinner."[3]—Occasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed-men, which gave so much to our Lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or

(1) Acts ii. (2) See Edition 1563, page 1309.—Ed.

(3) The extravagancies which have been propounded upon the subject of the Virgin, would be surprising, if we did not recollect the narrow limits within which the tolerated expression of Romish opinion is confined. Upon the subject of the Virgin Mary, however, and for her presumed honour, it has been permitted Romish laymen and theologians to do battle most freely; kings have mingled in the fray, and a folio volume, by Luke Wadding, is preserved in the British Museum, "De legatione Philippi iii. et Phil. iv. ad Paulum v., De definienda controv. de conceptione Virginis;" Louvanii 1624:—a question which, in Spain, it was feared, might have brought on a civil war: so much interest were the combatants permitted to exhibit upon the occasion! See Protestant Guardian, Lond. 1828, vol. i. p. 334; and Rivet's Apologia pro Virgine Mariâ. Lug. Bat. 1639: cap. 5—8, where the contents of Wadding's volume are given in an abridged form.—Ed.

no sinner: there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors (said I) as Chrysostome, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain Scriptures stand something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken (as in Rom. iii. 10, 19): "All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God." And after in the same chapter, "All have sinned, and need the glory of God." And in the fifth, "And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned." But to these scriptures I said it might be answered that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or minish the verity of a universal exposition in Scriptures.

And as to the doctors, I said, that others more say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, "and so will I," quoth I, "nor any man that wise is, will the contrary. But to *my* purpose, it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was," etc.

And to that, "What need you to speak of this?" I answered, "great need: when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in her degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved." Good authors have written that she was not a sinner; but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned: it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: and I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong), rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon earth; she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so religiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment, to our Lady's displeasure.

Our Lady not displeased to have God honoured.

No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which, through the help of God, she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty; so giving us ensample to do likewise: so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God the author of all goodness; the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteously, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It should not availed her to salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father. By him she was his mother: by him she did the will of his Father: she the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the handmaiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, Amen, etc.

To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our Lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin; he was then subject to Joseph, his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

To say that Peter and Paul, David and Mary Magdalen, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved. For remembrance of all that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both are of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven, as that; and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

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It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner; but it was never said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that which no man denieth: such provers, and so cold probations saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our Lady, as though there was no other honouring of our Lady: but do sin in having our Lady no sinner. I would be as loth to dishonour our Lady as they: I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured. To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady. They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to leave their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lie, to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

The "Ave Maria" a greeting and not a prayer.

And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in holy Scripture of St. Luke: but yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her: and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer; and is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria, so that we may salute our Lady with Ave Maria, as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the angel had: so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be; forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we. But as I deny not but as we may say the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria together (that to God, this to our Lady), so we may say them sunderly, the Pater noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at its heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater noster to God, he taught them not to say neither Pater noster, neither Ave Maria to our Lady, nor yet Pater noster to St. Peter, as master Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, is not to speak "the word of God as the word of God."[1] And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense, and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our Lady said many times the Pater noster, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said. Whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, I will leave that to great clerks, as Hubberdin and Powell, to discuss and determine. She was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of him, that sent the angel to salute her with Ave Maria. Wherefore, if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the Pater noster, I doubt not but the salutation of the same be unpleasant to our Lady in her sight; for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her: for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our Lady. And so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God: for, having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure. For we fantasy as though the very work and labour of flummering the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be

On the superstitious numbering of "Ave Marias."

(1) "Sermones Dei, ut sermones Dei."

said, if the Pater noster which Christ both made, and bade us say it, may be said to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our Lady bade to be said, may be said to our Lady's displeasure, and better never once said, than often so said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying, and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say. And whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powell? And if it be said alway there without a Pater noster, why may not Pater noster be said here without Ave Maria? and whether doth our Lady say it in heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it; so that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength. It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

Greeting the holy cross.

We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, "All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:" and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady, "Be not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great, and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother," etc.[1]

What if a man should say these words every day, betwixt the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, which I think is a saint in heaven, and was, ere ever our Lady came there, and therefore to be honoured: I think he might please and honour St. Zachary as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an angel, and written in holy Scripture of the evangelist Luke.

And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should sow never so much superstition by process of time unto it.

Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, "So, or after such manner, shall ye pray, Pater noster,"[2] etc. God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, This shall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, "Teach us to pray;"[3] Christ said, "When you pray, say Pater noster:"[4] he said not, When you pray, say Ave Maria. I ween Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powell and master Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster: Dr. Powell saith, it shall endure after the Pater noster. I can prove my saying by Scripture; so cannot he his. Yet as it is no good argument, the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer: so it is no good argument, the Ave Maria shall last after the Pater noster; ergo, it is properly a prayer, without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

Who was ever so mad as to think that words of holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of holy Scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and idolatry. God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance, with all humility!

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that that the angel said, without dishonouring him. It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the angel did. It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had rather pre-

(1) "Ne timeas Zacharia," etc.
(2) "Vos autem sic orabitis."
(3) "Doce nos orare."
(4) "Cum oratis, dicite, Pater noster."

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sume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding. It is a godly presumption to presume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Maria.

"*Saints are not to be honoured.*"—I said this word "saints" is diversely taken of the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabiters of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints—so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, etc.

They can neither help me nor mine ox; neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I showed the good use of them to be laymen's books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, etc.

And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessaries, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time, a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now I say, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said, that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

On pilgrimages and hope in images.

As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done, household looked upon, poor christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or ever they can be well done: and when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done. They shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done: wives must counsel with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x., where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry; and expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act: which is plain against master Hubberdin, and the parson of Christ's Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

Efficacy of the blood of Christ.

As touching the saints in heaven, I said, they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both. So that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, etc.

But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them. Scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, etc.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer; and to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leave it undone, to do that that he biddeth us not do, etc. We must have saints in reverent memory; and learn at God's goodness towards them to trust in God; and mark well their faith toward God

and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adversity; and pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings; they be well honoured when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him that made them saints; and as they were saints, so may we be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints: and yet I deny not but we may pray to saints, but rather to Him, which can make us saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise. When we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own most wise ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured. etc.

"*There is no fire in hell.*"—I never knew man that ever said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at leastway a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire: some have thought diversely, before the resurrection without body, and after with body: some that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire: some both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality; so that Athanasius, a Greek author, calleth their pain "tristitiam," a heaviness or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there: but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them: for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell; but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of God's privy council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostome saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell; there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

"*There is no purgatory after this life.*"—Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say what I said not. I showed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory. Then I denied it not, that they have charity in such sure tie that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God; cannot dishonour God; can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God; cannot be dissevered from God; cannot die, nor be in peril of death; cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation. They be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be. They love us charitably. Charity is not idle: if it be, it worketh and showeth itself: and therefore I say, they wish us well, and pray for us. They need not cry loud to God: they be in Christ, and Christ in them: they be with Christ, and Christ with them. They joy in their Lord Christ alway, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them; ever giving thanks to their Lord God; ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth; discontent with nothing that he doth, etc. Purgatory.

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christ, even in God's favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son: and we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers, than we

Mary. A.D. 1555. in this state. And they do us alway good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

I had rather be in purgatory, than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not: in this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity be periculum pereundi, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth: if we be not bounden, per præceptum, to help but them that be in extreme necessity, we see not who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, "If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee?" Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme necessity, both in body and soul: in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, foredote[1] ourselves; which inconveniencies shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, etc.

Therefore howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, mine one devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may, by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make any foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again; must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid; creditors satisfied and content; God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged; all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings, nor their sayings, shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings.

He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unlustiness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

"*In purgatory there is no pain:*"—that can break their charity; that can break their patience; that can dissever them from Christ; that can dissever Christ from them.

That can cause them to dishonour God; that can cause them to displease God; that can cause them to be displeased with God; that can bring them to peril of death.

That can bring them to peril of damnation; that can bring them to extreme necessity; that can cause them to be discontent with God; that can bring them from surety of salvation;—and yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part; if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or scala cœli of a groat, can dispatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for. I have not leisure to write at large; and I wrote before such things, which in this haste come now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us—if they could get as much money for the prayer that the souls in purgatory say

(1) "Foredote;" rather "foredo," i. e. to be the occasion of one's own death.—Ed.

for us, as they have done for that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim. You know the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them so swell. They that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this: Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of martyrs. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Nor at this: Magdalen did not know Christ to be God, before his resurrection.
Nor at this: There can be no idolatry.
Nor at this: Rome cannot be destroyed.
Nor at this: The pope is lord of all the world.
Nor at this: Whatsoever he doth is well done.
Nor at this: Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.
Nor at this: Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.
Nor at this: Ave Maria is infinitely better.
Nor at this: Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster.
Nor at this: It was not necessary Scripture to be written.
Nor at this: He that leaveth father and mother, maketh for our pilgrimage.
With many more.

Now, after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West-Kington; which he writeth thereof to master Morice, the copies whereof follow.

LETTERS OF MASTER LATIMER.

A Letter of Master Latimer to Master Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.

Right worshipful and mine own good master Morice, salutem in Christo Jesu. —And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore showed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine unability, etc. Master Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been entreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them. When I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's license, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated master mayor's appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it; procuring also certain preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing. So that they had place and time to belie me shamefully; but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and suage their malice that they have against the truth and me, etc.

Note the dissembling inconstancy of popish priests.

Inhibition procured against Latimer not to preach.

Hubberdin and Powell preach against Latimer.

"*Our Lady was a sinner.*"—So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed-men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner. If a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering

What the papists do give to our Lady.

Our Lady not without sin.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

or preserving her from sin; so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And, to avoid all offence, I showed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which make all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostome and Theophylact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

Papists deprave when they cannot disprove.

Difference betwixt images and saints.

"*Saints are not to be worshipped.*"—So they lied when I had showed divers significations of this word "saints" among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them—for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, etc.

Take saints for inhabiters of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them—I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us), yet by the way of intercession.[1]

"*Pilgrimage.*"—And I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away,[2] ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man, to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, etc.

"*Ave Maria.*"—As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and show unto her the good-will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bade us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria. So that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

Ave Maria, no prayer.

Whether the fire in hell be a material fire, or spiritual. The worm of conscience is so called by a metaphorical speech.

"*No Fire in Hell.*"—Whoever could say or think so? Howbeit good authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. For as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is a living beast, but it is a metaphor; but that is neither to nor fro: for a fire it is; a worm it is; pain it is; a torment it is; an anguish it is; a grief, a misery, a sorrow; a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God's privy council, saith St. Augustine? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreme pain—rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

"*No Purgatory.*"—He that showeth the state and condition of it, doth not

(1) See Master Latimer's error in those days.
(2) "Pare away the scurf," and clean take away all popery.

deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in Lollards' Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers skills and causes. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel: there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity: in that I could not if it be peril of perishing. Why it is better to be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower.

Item, In this I might lack charity: there I could not.

Item, In this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might displease God: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be displeased with God: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled, in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a member of the devil: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain: in that I could not.

Item In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself:[1] in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

Ergo, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and "scala cœli" altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chantry for that purpose.

For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation; that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me; I care the less for it. John Chrysostome saith, that the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pain, he saith, is greater than many hells; which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have. What is the greatest pain to damned souls.

Consider, master Morice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; christian people (whose necessities we see; to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himself; to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourself) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance set aside; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordinance of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? so that they may pill with pilgrimage and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers. Provision for purgatory bringeth many to hell. What the wasp is that stingeth the papists, and maketh them to swell.

(1) As they did with Hun. [See vol. iv. p. 188.—Ed.]

Mary. A.D. 1555.

I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy; I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles.[1] And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have: for as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth requite them for the time.

The pope's pardoning out of purgatory, a vain invention.

Authority of keys.

Pilgrimage.

I read in Scripture of two certifications; one to the Romans, "We being justified by faith, have peace with God."[2] If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith that his blood was shed for me, etc.

Two certifications.

Another in the Epistle of John: "We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren."[3] But I read not that I have peace with God, nor that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body, when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the selfsame blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

The bodily seeing of Christ's blood profiteth little.

Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and probation. It were little thankworthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by bade beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slily. But we be secure and uncareful, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bug, etc.

Warning against false prophets.

Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, etc.

As for Dr. Wilson, I wot not what I should say; but I pray God indue him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his countrymen, did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the bile that may not be touched, etc.

Dr. Wilson against master Latimer, and why.

A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he will go a progress through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intended by this progress, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristol, I shall hear tell, etc.

As for Hubberdin, no doubt he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of

(1) This blood of Hayles was proved before the king, and openly showed at Paul's Cross by the bishop of Rochester that then was, to be but the blood of a duck. [See vol. v. p. 400.—Ed.]

(2) "Justificati ex fide, pacem habemus."

(3) "Nos scimus quòd translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres."

stable wit. He is here "servus hominum;" for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily, in my mind, they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, etc. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

As touching Dr. Powell, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit master mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him; for, to occasion the people to them, he alleged this text: "Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife," [1] etc. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, etc. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's grace to command me to preach before his highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, etc. I pray you pardon me; I cannot make an end. Dr. Powell a stout preacher of popery. Scripture applied of the papists.

A BRIEF DIGRESSION TOUCHING THE RAILING OF HUBBERDIN, AGAINST MASTER LATIMER.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm to deface and impeach the springing of God's holy gospel, something would be added more, touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold; who, in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to describe him), seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead (although he little deserved to be spared, which never spared to work what villany he could against the true servants of the Lord), this shall be enough for example's sake, for all christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his hypocritical open alms, given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, pretensed devotions, devout fastings, his woolward-going, and other his prodigious demeanour,—riding in his long gown down to the horse-heels like a pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse-belly,—after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics: at last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly this Silenus, lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so Hubberdin a right image of hypocrisy. Hubberdin, a great railer against the servants of Christ. A dancing sermon of Hubberdin.

(1) "Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, uxorem."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostome and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them); at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together—as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe—first he calleth out Christ and his apostles; then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together, with "pipe up Hubberdin." Now dance Christ; now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome.

Hubberdin dancing in the pulpit, fell with the pulpit, and brake his leg.

And thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stampt and took on I cannot tell, but "crash," quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the church-wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, etc. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other impugners and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infest this good man in sermons; some also there were, which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who, upon the same occasion of preaching of the Virgin Mary (or as they thought, against the Virgin), did invade him with his pen, writing against him in Latin; whose long epistle, with master Latimer's answer also in Latin to the same, hereunder followeth.

Epistola Gulielmi Sherwodi adversus Dominum Latimerum expostulatoria.

Gulielmus Sherwodus Presbyter, D. Latimero Kingtoniæ Rectori, gratiam et pacem à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo.—Nihil molestè feres sat scio, vir egregie, ab homine christiano christianè admoneri, quæ res una (est Deus testis) nos hoc tempore animavit liberius tecum per literas (quando coram fandi copia negatur) confabulari super nonnullis, quæ parum christianè in concione illâ tuâ (si modo concio et non verius multo sâtyra quædam insana dicenda) Magnesfeldiæ effudisse mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem proverbio illo de fure et pastore (quanquam proverbii vocem parabolæ vice mihi usurpasse videtur evangelista) carpsit, ut rectè et verè aiebas, Christus Scribarum et Pharisæorum (ut pote Deus, eoque καρδιογνώστης,) vesaniam obduratamque incredulitatem, sed clam, sed tectè, sed in genere. Non aiebat, 'Scribæ et Pharisæi ad unum fures sunt et latrones.' Sed quid? 'Amen dico vobis, qui non intrat per ostium in stabulum ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro.' Tu contra homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator, 'Episcopi omnes, papæ omnes, rectores ecclesiarum omnes (te uno paucisque aliis, quos nescio, tuæ farinæ hominibus, id enim sensisse videris, exceptis), vicarii omnes, fures sunt et latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus suffocandis ne Angliæ totius quidem canabum sufficere prædicabas (aut verius dementabas), hyperbole forsan, ut semper, usus, sed temerariâ, sed audaci supra modum, sed truci, sed impiâ. Non est, mi frater, non est sic temere, si divo credimus Paulo, ante tempus judicandum, quòd veniet Dominus qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit consilia cordium: Christus quoque ipse, Judex vivorum et mortuorum à Deo

patre constitutus, temerariam ejusmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matthæum christiano homini mihi sustulisse videtur, quum inquit; 'Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini,' nec tanti flagitii subticens pœnam; 'Quo enim (inquit) judicio judicatis, eo judicabitur de vobis, et qua mensura metimini, ea metientur vobis et alii.' Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo sua scelera populo prædicari, annunciari, revelari, et (si fieri possit) ob oculos poni, non debacchari in homines eosque absentes, non poni lucem tenebras, et tenebras lucem, non dici bonum malum, et malum bonum, dulce amarum, et amarum dulce. Quod si fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus et devoramus, vicissim alius ab alio consumetur. An ista parcius, imo modestius viris objicienda, ipse videto. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Novimus et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,
Et quo (sed faciles Nymphæ risere) sacello.

Heu, heu, Latimere, quæ te dementia cepit, ut mentireris (dixissem prædicares), plures longe in Christi ecclesia fures esse, quàm pastores, plures hœdos quam oves? Non sic Cyprianus ille, non sic. Sed quid? 'Est,' inquit, 'Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax. Stat confessorum, hoc est (ut ipse intelligit pie) Christianorum, pars major et melior in fidei suæ robore, et in legis ac disciplinæ dominicæ veritate, nec ab ecclesiæ pace discedunt, qui se in ecclesiâ gratiam consecutos de Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipsi ampliorem consequuntur fidei suæ laudem, quòd ab eorum perfidiâ segregati, qui juncti confessionis consortio fuerint, à contagionis crimine recesserunt. Vero illuminati evangelii lumine, purâ et candidâ Domini luce radiati, tam sunt in conservandâ Christi pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in diaboli congressione victores.' Quæ sanctissimi hominis sanctissima verba ausim, te etiam reclamante, de eâ ipsâ, quæ nunc, ecclesiâ prædicare, verèque affirmare; quam ubi ex confessoribus Christi filii Dei vivi depinxisses, statim ubi esset gentium te nescire prædicabas. Dicebas enim, Quisquis cum Petro Christum Dei viventis filium fatetur, Petrus est, et de ecclesiâ, seu, uti ipse interpretabaris, congregatione (subdolâ nimirum usus arte, ac cæco potius præstigio), ac si hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Christi in terris summum Vicarium, attineret, quàm ex Christianis alium quemlibet. Esto; simus nos (ut Origenis utar verbis) aliquo modo Petrus, si dixerimus quod dixit Petrus, 'Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi,' non carne et sanguine nobis revelante, sed Patre qui est in cœlis mentem nostram illuminante: non alio dicendi genere dicemus hæc nobis Petri competere verba, quàm ipsi Petro? Absit procul, absit! Nam secundum Christi nomen omnes qui sunt illius 'Christi' dicuntur, dicente prophetâ; 'Ut salvos faciat Christos suos.' Item, 'Nolite tangere Christos meos.' At tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi unctionis vocabulo insigniuntur. Sanus certè Roterodamus, cujus imitatorem et sequacem strenuum te in nonnullis video. Is 'tu es Petrus' et mox quæ sequuntur imprimis in Romanum pontificem, ut in Christianæ fidei principem, competere ait, omnium semoto dubio, annotatione in 16 Matthæi caput; quanquam plus æquo Origeneæ sententiæ inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quòd si dixerimus, te authore, æqualiter et indiscriminatim hæc de Petro et omnibus Christianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam sententiam; omnes Christianos esse sacerdotes, et ordinatam nullam potestatem accipere, quam antea non habebant, sed deputari tantum ad licite utendum potestate prius habitâ; quæ sententia jam olim est ab ecclesiâ damnata.

Ad hæc aiebas Christum, quum minima vocaret præcepta, Scribarum et Pharisæorum allusisse impietati, qui, ut sua eveherent et amplificarent, minima dicebant divina. Multum hìc discors es ab Origene, Scripturarum interprete, saneque vigilantissimo, qui homiliâ in Matthæum quintâ adeo non negat reverà quædam Dei præcepta dici et esse minima, ut ex solutione et observatione eorum minimum et magnum dici in regno cœlorum nihil obscure prædicet. Simul pugnat quòd tum Christus ipse seorsum à plebe et populo cum pauculis discipulis, suæ cœlestis tum solis doctrinæ capacibus, in monte versabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Pharisæis tractans, ut divinâ illâ concione suâ prorsus indignis.

Subjunxisti christianè parum, ut mihi videbatur, hominem christianum carnis acquiescentem desideriis non magis christianum esse, quàm sit Judæus, quàm sit Turcus. Hoc mihi non christianum, sed Œcolampadianum[1] . . . . . sit opus, quam ad beneficam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam. Quid tu hìc tibi velis nescio. Si est aliquis Petri primatus, is certè Catholico

(1) Desunt nonnulla, quæ conjecturis forsan utcunque suppleri possunt ex sequenti Latimeri responsione. [See infra, p. 482.—Ed.]

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cuilibet pro viribus defendendus est. Est aliquis Petri primatus; alioqui Christi verbum inefficax est (tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, etc.) Si nihil est opus ut defensetur Petri primatus, nihil est opus ut defensetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem usque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quenquam germanis fructibus referre posse beneficam Petri confessionem, negando Petri primatum: benefica Petri confessio, an non est Jesum esse Christum filium Dei viventis? Dei filius est veritas. At non Christus, si nullus est Petri primatus. Hic fœde lapsus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum esse puto à beneficâ Christi confessione, si quis pro virili sedem tueatur et defenset apostolicam.

Apertissimum mendacium esse clamitas, Christum cum pauculis discipulis in monte seorsum à turbâ versatum fuisse. Apertissime tum mecum mentis est Origenes, Scripturarum interpres vigilantissimus, qui homiliâ in Matthæum v. inquit, Descendente Jesu de monte, secutæ sunt eum turbæ multæ: docente verò Domino in monte, discipuli erant cum ipso, quibus datum erat cœlestis doctrinæ novisse secreta, per quæ salutis scientiâ brutorum corda salirent, cæcorumque oculis per mundanæ delectationis tenebras caligantibus lucem patefacerent veritatis, unde et Dominus ad eos: 'Vos estis (inquit) sal terræ, vos estis et lumina mundi.' Nunc verò descendente eo de monte, turbæ secutæ sunt eum. In montem scilicet ascendere nequaquam poterant, quia quos delictorum sarcinæ deprimunt, ad mysteriorum sublimia, nisi abjecto onere, scandere minime valent. Audis nostram, non tuam, ab Origene probari sententiam.

Notas præterea, quos nescio, tibi tum notissimos, alios nonnullos pseudo-prædicatores, qui populo suadent christiano sat esse, si credit quemadmodum credit ecclesia, et nescire interim quid aut quomodo credat; ita miserum vulgus ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærendâ dehortando. Iniqua et præceps satis censura in verbi Dei ministros. Tales siqui sunt, debemus Lutheranæ et Hæreticorum ecclesiæ: in nostrâ esse nequeunt, quum pollicitus sit Sponsus ad consummationem usque seculi se non deserturum sponsam suam ecclesiam. Quæ dicis reliqua, quum sint mera convitia, transeo.

Quod satis declarat, quod postremo pene dicis, argute philosophatum me de justificatione fidei, interim mea nihil convellens. An hoc est argute philosophari de justificatione fidei, dicere fidem justificare sed non solam, imo et opera suam habere justitiam, sed in fide, sed in charitate? Hoc ego arguebam, quòd opera diceres non justificare. Si hoc est philosophari, ego sum philosophatus, et non ego tantum, sed et Jacobus apostolus. Fides est, fateor, ut recte dixit Augustinus, fundamentum et radix justæ vitæ, quâ consequimur bonorum operum voluntatem, ac ita justitiam. Tantum ne putet quis justitiam solâ animi existimatione finiri, omni bono et pio excluso opere. Cætera, quum non agnoscis, ego sepelio; unum id adjiciens, si bene feceris, bene recipies; sin autem male, ecce in foribus aderit peccatum tuum. Alias nacto otio abundantius. * Interim vale.—Derhamia.

Salutem Plurimam.[1]

Non equidem sum ego vel adeo ferox (quod sciam), vir item eximie, ut ab homine christiano christianè admoneri moleste feram, vel adeo insensatus et à communi sensu alienus (ni fallor), ut me prius suggillatum fuisse abs te et inter pocula, neque semel suggillatum, quàm admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem sed acerrime potius redargutum, sed convitiis et mendaciis male habitum potius, sed calumniis inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius, constanter probem. Quòd si tuis hisce literis pro illarum jure et mei animi ductu ego jam responderem,—Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moveam, homini vel citra stimulum (ut præ se ferunt literæ) plus quam oportet bilioso. Imo det utrique Deus, quod ipse utrique norit commodo fore, et mihi videlicet vel in mediis calumniis patientiam christiano homine dignam, et tibi judicium aliquando tam rectum, quàm nunc habes zelum tuopte marte bene fervidum. Conducibilius, opinor, fuerit sic orare, quàm ejusmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quum et ego jam negotiosior sum pro concione mihi perendie dicendâ, quàm ut commode possim respondere; et mendaciora sint tua omnia, quàm ut jure debeam ea confutare. Sed ut paucis tamen multis, si fieri possit, satisfaciam, primum operæ pretium fuerit in medium statuere, et quid ego dixi, et quid tu ex dictis collegisti. Collegisti quidem multa veluti sanguinem è silice collidendo excussurus. Sed sic est affectus, uti video, erga me tuus, quem ob

(1) This letter is an answer of master Latimer's unto that which goeth before.

rabiem ejusdem ægre nosti dissimulare. Esto, dixerim ego omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios, rectoresque omnes, per ostium non intrantes, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures et latrones esse. Dum sic dixi, ex introitu et ascensu, non ex personis et titulis, cum Christo sum rem metitus. Hinc tu tuâ Minervâ colligis, omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios rectoresque omnes, simpliciter fures esse, saltem sic me dixisse. Num justa hæc (mi frater) collectio? An non juste in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? Sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis, sed quorum damnatio justa est (inquit): et tamen justius videri possunt ex Paulo collegisse adversarii, quàm tu ex me. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Jam si idem Dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus Deo gratum acceptumque, quisquis interim minister verbi fuerit, nonne et eadem damnatio calumniatores ministri nunc manet quæ olim? Longe interest, dicas, omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse, et omnes simpliciter fures esse. Sed unde (quæso), dum ego dico omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse, videor tibi dicere omnes simpliciter fures esse? nisi forte plerique omnes videntur tibi aliunde ascendere, et non per ostium intrare? Quod si senseris, at nolito dicere si sapis (sapis autem plurimum) quod sentis. Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo ipse videris. Et nisi id senseris, cur, per Deum immortalem, ego non possum dicere omnes esse fures, qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendescant, nisi videar tibi dicere statim omnes ad unum fures esse? et tum quæ te potius cepit dementia, dum sic colligis, ut plures fures quàm pastores colligendo esse feceris? Nam, velis nolis, verum est quod ego dixi, nempe quotquot per ostium non intrant, sed aliunde ascendunt, fures et latrones esse, seu papæ seu episcopi fuerint. Quare dum sic in ipso exorbitas limine, quorsum attinet reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi arridet plurimum, quòd Pharisæi sunt tam tecte à Christo reprehensi, et non palam: quomodo tum non displicebit è regione tibi acerbissima illa simul et apertissima criminatio, in os et coram turbâ illis objecta, 'Væ vobis Scribæ et Pharisæi hypocritæ,' ubi nominati taxantur? Sed Christus, inquis, Deus erat pervicaciam cordis conspicatus: tu vero homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator. Sum sane homo (uti dicis), id quod citra tuam operam jam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) sum, non labem in alieno corde delitescentem, sed vitam omnibus patentem et expositam intuitus, adeoque ex fructibus cognoscens, quos Christus admonuit ex fructibus cognoscendos, ipsum quorundam vivendi genus libenter damnans: denique, quod in sacris literis sacrisque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio, nihil id quidem moratus, quæcunque ipsum amplectuntur personæ: quod dum ego facio neque cordium latebras ulterius penetro, nonne immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum, sed plusquam homo es, dum mei animi emphasim melius nosti per arrogantiam, quàm egomet novi; utpote qui non sat habes quæ dico novisse, sed quæ sentio nondum dicta noveris, abditissima cordis mei penitissime rimatus, ne non scire in te ipsum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es; nimirum 'noli ante tempus judicare, noli condemnare:' ut discas quàm oportet mendacem non esse immemorem, ne proprio forsan gladio juguletur, et in foveam incidat ipse, quam struxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuntio fures esse, quotquot per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde; tibi—non verba solum audienti sed et corculum meum contemplanti—omnes ad unum fures esse pronuntio, excepto meipso videlicet et aliis meæ farinæ hominibus, nescio (inquis) quos.

Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem nisi tu, qui, cognoscens occulta cordium, sic, inquis, sensisse videris? Sed tibi sic sensisse videor, cui et dixisse videor, quod (ut liquidissime constat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare est alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, ut ipse intuearis solus quicquid est in corde, acie videlicet tam perspicaci, ut videas in corde, quod in corde nondum est natum: id quod ibi facis quoque, dum quod ego de ecclesiâ recte dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris inique, quasi ego, quod ad usum clavium attinet, æquassem omnes cum Petro; cum ne unum quidem verbum de clavium potestate sic dictum, imo ne cogitatum quidem, neque Petri primatui derogatum, ut cujus nulla sit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore sic colligis, dum ego nil aliud quàm admonui auditores ecclesiam Christi supra petram non super arenam fundatam, ne mortuâ fide plus satis hæreant, tum perituri et portis inferorum fœdissime cessuri, sed fidem operibus ostendant, tum demum vitam æternam habituri. Quid ego minus quàm omnes Christianos, ut ego sum, sacerdotes dixerim esse? Sed oculatissimi sunt invidi ad colligendum quod venantur. Nonne hic optimo jure

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cogor nonnihil christianæ charitatis in tuo pectore desiderare? qui dum nescis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod possis confutare. Tu vero optime nôsti quid sentit Lutherus de ecclesiâ. Et ego non gravabor subscribere, quid sentit post multos alios Lyranus super xvi. Matthæi, ex quo pater inquit, quòd 'ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ se secularis, quia multi principes et summi pontifices,' inquit, 'inventi sunt apostatasse à fide: propter quod ecclesia consistit,' inquit, 'in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei et veritatis.' Hic consensit et cum Hieronymo Chrysostomus; sic enim dicunt (nescio an applaudatur tibi quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te prodis esse, qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum, etiam cum nihil[1] sit opus, quàm ad beatificam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam). Sed tu mittis me ad Augustinum, bene liberalis consultor.

Ego optem te eundem legere si libeat in Epist. Johannis tractatu tertio. Videris enim in Augustinianis operibus non adeo exercitatus, cum de fidei justificatione tam argute philosopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bedæ exercitatiorem fore, cum tua ipsius collectanea Augustinum non spirent, ut jam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum authorum, locis quærendis te gravem. Sed illud non omittam tamen, etsi aliò etiam me evocent negotia, 'non allusisse videlicet Christum Pharisæorum impietati, cum præcepta vocaret minima.' Sic enim tu audes dicere, quia aliam in Origene interpretationem legisti; pulchre admodum objectum, quasi unus et idem Scripturæ locus non sit ab aliis aliter fere expositus: Origenes de allusione non meminit, igitur nemo: qualis consecutio! Sed nihil, inquis, ibi Christo cum Pharisæis: et id quoque non minus pulchre abs te dictum, quasi non statim post subderet Christus de Scribis et Pharisæis mentionem, populum ab illorum justitiâ humanis, i. e. suis ipsorum, traditionibus stabilitâ revocans; 'Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra,' inquiens, 'plus quàm Scribarum, etc.' At versabatur tum, inquis, Christus cum pauculis discipulis seorsum à turbâ: imo hoc apertissimum mendacium est, id quod verba Matthæi caput septimum claudentia luce clarius commonstrant; ut tolerabiliora sint mihi de me mendacia tua, qui audes de ipso Christo et ejus sermone mentiri. 'Et factum est,' inquit, 'ut cum finisset Jesus sermones hos, obstupuerunt turba super doctrinâ ejus.' Ecce autem, si Christus seorsum à turba sit locutus, quomodo obstupuerunt super doctrinâ, quam (per te) non audiverant? Sed Lucas Evangelista, sive de eodem sive de consimili Christi sermone locutus, testatur turbam audiisse, capite septimo; 'Cum consummasset Jesus sermones hos' (inquit) 'audienti populo.' En quò prolabitur præceps judicium tuum invidiâ male deformatum! Scilicet tu ipse hìc non toto erras cœlo? digniùs videlicet, quia aliorum errores expisceris et notes, et ad palinodiam revoces: tu tuo sensui hic non fidis? Medice, cura teipsum, et disce quid sit illud; 'Hypocrita, cur vides festucam, etc.' Disce ex tuis trabibus alienis festucis parcere. Ego nihil dixi (testor Deum, non mentior), quod vel Œcolampadio, vel Luthero, vel Melanchthoni acceptum referre debeam; et tamen tu, quæ est tua charitas, non vereris id meo assuere capiti. Ego si feci istud, decidam meritò ab inimicis meis inanis. Sed nescis tu quidem, opinor, cujus spiritûs sis, dum mavis ministrum verbi impudentissimis mendaciis lacessere, quàm testimonium veritati perhibere; quod quantum sit piaculum in conspectu Dei, tu absque doctore non ignoras, in cumulum damnationis tuæ, nisi resipiscas.

Jam verò num ego vitupero, ut quis credat quemadmodum ecclesia credit? Non sanè vitupero, nisi quòd malevolentia erga me tua tam surdas reddidit aures tuas, ut ne audiens quidem audias quæ dicuntur. Sed hoc vitupero, ut quis cui christianorum suadeat (quemadmodum suadere solent pseudoprædicatores non pauci), sat per omnia esse credere quemadmodum ecclesia credit, et nescire interim quid aut quomodo credit ecclesia, et sic miserum populum ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærendâ dehortetur. Quod postremò mihi obtrudis, mendacium est, et illud plus quàm dici possit inhumanum, neque eo mea verba sensu accipis, quo sint à me dicta, ideoque (Hieronymo super xxvi. Matthæi teste) falsus testis coram Deo futurus. Lege locum, et relinque falsum testimonium. Ego dico Christianum, id est, baptismo in Christianorum numerum receptum, si professioni non respondeat sed carnis desideriis sese dedat, non magis Christianum esse, quod ad consecutionem æternæ vitæ spectat quæ promittitur Christianis, quàm Judæum aut Turcam: imo illius quàm hujus conditionem in

(1) See supra, p. 479.—Ed.

illo die deteriorem fore, si verum tibi dixit Petrus; 'Melius esse viam veritatis non agnoscere, quàm post agnitam, etc.' Et quibus dicit Christus, 'Nunquam novi vos?' Nonne his qui per nomen ejus prophetantes, virtutes non præstiterint? Nonne negabit Christus nos, illum prænegantes coram hominibus? Non statuemur inter oves Christi à dextris, si non vitam Christo dignam retulerimus professi Christum, sed professionem malâ vitâ contaminantes. Sunt veriùs pseudo-Christiani quàm Christiani habendi: et ab Augustino et Christo vocantur Antichristi. Non nego quin obligatio manet, sed in majorem damnationem manet, si non satisfacit obligationi. Officium concionatoris est hortari auditores ut sic sint Christiani, ut, compatientes hìc cum Christo, cum Christo conregnent in cœlo, ut aliter Christianum esse non fit illis Christianum esse. Sic Scripturæ, sic interpretes Scripturæ loquuntur, ut verbis hæretica tibi videatur locutio: sed avarus, fornicator, homicida, inquis, catholicus est et Christi servus. Tamen sic (animi gratiâ) tecum ludam. Fornicator, per te, est Christi servus, sed idem est peccati et diaboli servus; ergo idem potest duobus dominis servire, quod Christum latuit. Et si fides mortua efficit catholicum, et dæmones pertinent ad ecclesiam catholicam, utpote qui juxta Jacobum credent et contremiscunt. Fornicator (inquis) fidit Christo; spes non pudefacit, qui fidit Christo non peribit, sed habebit vitam æternam. Neque me latet ad Galatas scripsisse Paulum fide aberrantes, ecclesiam tamen vocasse; sic idem ad Corinthios scribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei templum, Corinthios nimirum intelligens, sed alios atque alios. Neque enim templum Dei erant qui carnales erant; quanquam nec me latet ecclesiam, i.e. multitudinem profitentium Christum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis conflatam esse, nempe rete evangelicum ex omni genere congregari. Quid hoc adversum ea quæ ego dixi, qui conabar omnes bonos non malos efficere, et ideo laborabam ut auditores mei non putarent magnum esse si in malis ecclesiastici invenirentur: sed non visum est tibi piam prædicationem piè interpretari, dum existimas ad pietatem pertinere, si piè dicta impiè revocarentur. Si colloquia tua non sunt quàm scripta clementiora, neutra ego optem mihi contingere, sed omnis amarulentia, tumor, ira, vociferatio, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitiâ; et tamen neque colloquiis, neque scriptis me gravabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te præstiteris. Sed Deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quàm longissimè ableget. Vale.

Mary.

A. D. 1555.

Spiritum Veritatis.

Flammis fumoque quam lectione aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tua ipsius scelera in nos torquere subdolè et astutè admodum moliris. Et quo firmiùs ista tua statuas, veterem inter pocula me tui suggillatorem facis. Quod quàm vere (ut omnia) dicas, jam vide. Narravit nobis presentibus jam olim Marchfieldiæ unus et idem alter, qui tuæ interfuerant concioni, te palam summâque (ut præ te ferebas) cum authoritate dixisse, indignos esse miseros homunculos, qui angelicâ salutatione salutent deiparam Virginem, ni velint ipsam rursum ut pariat Christum. Ego hæc dixi parum Christianè et religiosè abs te dicta, cavendumque diligenter piis quibusque Christianis, ne hujusmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc est te suggillare, an magis et tibi et illis piè et religiosè consulere? Nihil ego tibi (at tu mihi, necdum viso) bilis impingo, sed summâ rarâque te esse modestiâ et tolerantiâ hominem (ut videri vis) gaudeo, sed et gaudebo, nec retorqueo in te convitia et probra, quibus tuæ scatent literæ. At istud non video quomodo dicas, 'Imo nec admonitum tandem, sed acerrime potius redargutum, sed convitiis et mendaciis male habitum potius, sed calumniis inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius.' Redargui (fateor), at ea redargutio quàm admonitio, aliud nihil. Convitium nullum, mendacium nullum, calumnia nulla, quod sciam, in meis conspicitur literis, nisi mentitus est Paulus, nisi calumniatus est Paulus, nisi convitiatus est Paulus, quum diceret quosdam sic dixisse, facienda mala ut venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo spiritu, tua tibi retulimus verba, id quod norunt probe omnes, qui te illic unà audiere; utinam tu nil tale effudisses, ego tum certe nihil tibi tale adscripsissem. Absit à me ut ego (quod dicere videris) ullo te animi odio, ullo te impio mentis affectu persequar. Didici ex Christo diligere etiam inimicos: tantum abest ut hominem fratrem, ejusdemque Domini conservum, odio habeam. Sed plus quàm hostilia, plus quàm cruenta, tua verba nequicquam me movent. Tantum quàm possum paucissimis tuis respondebo, posthac te tuo relicturus judici.

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Primum quod dicis, 'Esto, dixerim ego omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios, rectoresque omnes per ostium non intrantes, sed ascendentes aliunde, fures esse et latrones: dum sic dixi, ex ascensu non ex personis et titulis cum Christo sum rem metitus.' Si id dixisses, nihil nobis tecum eâ de re negotii fuisset. Sed (quod tu meâ Minervâ me collegisse dicis) dicebas, quòd papæ videlicet omnes, episcopi omnes, vicarii omnes, rectores omnes fures sint, et latrones, nullâ, quam audivi, neque ascensûs neque descensûs, neque per ostium neque per fenestram, mentione factâ. Nec ego adeo surdis eram auribus, ut si quid tale suo loco dixisses, continuò non excepissem. Eum quem nunc adfers sensum catholicum veneror, et exosculor; priorem rejicio et detestor. Sacræ Scripturæ authoritas (principi populi tui non maledices) non sinit me ut sentiam, ut tu mihi ascribere videris, plerosque omnes aliunde ascendere. Quis sum ego ut iudicem alienum servum? (unusquisque enim propriam sarcinam bajulabit.) Non ego, sed nec alius quisquam vetuit unquam quo minus diceres, omnes esse fures qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendescant: sed 'qui per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde,' jam primum audio, quod si prius (ut jam dixi) adjecisses, verbum nullum. Quod dicis, 'quæ me dementia cœperit, sic collegisse, ut plures fures quàm pastores, plures hædos quàm oves esse in ecclesiâ dixerim,' hoc quàm dixeris (ut prius dixi) vere, ipse videto. Jam prioribus literis saniorem fuisse divi Cypriani Martyris de Ecclesiâ censuram docuimus. Frustra dicis apertam illam et in os objectam criminationem, 'Væ vobis, Scribæ et Pharisæi, hypocritæ,' mihi è regione displicituram, quum adeo, ut dicis, arrideat tecta et parabolica illa, 'Qui non intrat per ostium in stabulum ovium, etc.' Non potest profectò mihi unquam displicere aliquod sacrum Christi factum. Præsentes reprehendebat ipse impios Scribas et Pharisæos, juxta id, 'annuncia populo meo scelera sua,' non aliena; absentes tu papas et episcopos; qui talia fecerant, væ futurum prædixit; tu vocabula, quo nescio afflatu, tantum respiciebas. Nullius ego hominis animum judico unquam, sed neque judicabo, tantum abest ut animi tui emphasin mihi arrogaverim unquam. Desine mihi objicere talia. Quod audivimus loquimur, quod vidimus testamur. Si sanè, et rectè ad quemlibet christianum interpretatus es id Matthæi, 'Tu es Petrus,' æqualitèr (ut dicis) de ecclesiâ, nihil omnino de vi clavium locutus, gaudeo. Mihi certè non arridet. Nec dixi te dixisse omnes christianos, ut tu es, sacerdotes esse, sed ejusmodi nudam et confusam interpretationem non parum fovere et nutrire hujusmodi assertionem Lutheranam; id quod, credo, ipse vides. Me illorum adjicies numero, qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum etiam, ut ais, quum nihil * * * * sed hæreticum dictum videtur. Christianus enim conditionem significat non actionem sine actu. Signe latet quippiam, etc.

Besides these Latin letters above expressed, other letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, which letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert, which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading; yet the fruit thereof, I trust, shall recompense the length of them.

A Letter sent by Master Latimer, Parson of West-Kington, in the County of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight.

Salutem in Christo.—Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto your mastership with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful, remembrance of me so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by master Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in case I must needs come up: which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompense, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your mastership, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed master chancellor did show me that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I

needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth, now this deep winter, being so weak and so feeble (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and the stone), to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure would needs command me to go, I would *obey his* commandment, yea though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying, he would certify my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Master chancellor also said, that my lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with me, for that I did contemn his authority, at my last being in London. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Forsooth I preached in Abb-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his authority: and this I did not of mine own seeing, or by mine own procuration, but at the request of honest merchantmen (as they seemed to me), whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to hear godly preaching, should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and, to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain; but they showed not only themselves, but also many others to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to show for me, but only a license of the university; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and, when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is), I marvel greatly how my lord of London can allege any contempt of him in me.

First, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would so little have regarded my lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else (and rather), that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my lord himself, or some others pertaining to him, were appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fair and friendly, and also the rather to go. For I preach nothing, but (if it might be so) I would my lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainsaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate; yet hear I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

I marvel not a little, how my lord bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a diocese committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, opportunè, importunè, tempestivè, intempestivè, privatum, publicè, to his own flock, instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina: have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure; so intermixing and intermeddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my lord doth, gather up my joyce, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet otherwhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

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In very deed I did monish judges and ordinaries to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely, of such accusers which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to say amiss; and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses be false before God, as St. Jerome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses; much less those which procure such witnesses against any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may behove and become preachers, to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle which I declared (Rom. vi.), wherein is this sentence; "Non estis sub lege, sed sub gratia," "Ye christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law."

What a saying is this (quoth I), if it be not rightly understood; that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion christian men to break law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul of the same to my lord of London? If my said lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles have been put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed utcunque allegata et probata, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross, my lord of London being his judge. Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my lord of London (bishop of the same), sitting under the cross. Nay verily, I dare say, my lord should sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that christian men might break law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did mean, that christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would; because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do withal, though his adversaries would not so take it?

But my lord would say peradventure, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. Bona verba; as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he saith, "Quod injustitia nostra Dei justitiam commendat," that is to say, "Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God;" which soundeth to many as though they should be evil, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing so; but showed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my lord will not think, I dare say, that St. Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed and attendance to Paul's speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been so long nurseled in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of man's traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightness of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think that my lord will require more circumspection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying.

But what followeth? "Sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis:" "So they report us to say," saith St. Paul; "so they speak evil of us:" "sed quorum damnatio justa est," "but such, whose damnation is just," saith he.

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And I think the damnation of all such that evil report preachers now-a-days, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Christ himself was mis-reported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, "destruite," that is to say, "destroy you;" they made it "possum destruere," that is to say, "I can destroy:" he said "templum hoc," "this temple;" they added "manu factum," that is to say "made with hand," to bring it to a contrary sense.[1] So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence: for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wrested it to Solomon's temple.

Defamation.

Now I report me, whether it be a just fame raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: first, adversaries, enemies: secondly, ignorant and without judgment: thirdly, "susurrones," that is to say, whisperers and blowers in men's ears, which will spew out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same is, many times, no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one of another!

Me seemeth it were more comely for my lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West-Kington,[2] whether I were present or absent myself, I would thank his lordship heartily, and think myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

As for my lord, he may do as it pleaseth his lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure St. Paul, the true minister of God, and faithful dispenser of God's mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, saith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: "Notwithstanding," saith he, "by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth (as ye would say, for truth's sake), so that Christ be preached and showed, I joy and will joy:" so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity; considering right well (as he said), that what authority soever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction.

Now I think it were no reproach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*—yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite, and contempt of his lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt)—than when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the preacher austerely, as the Pharisees did of Christ, "qua authoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam authoritatem?" As my authority is good enough, and as good as my lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship to be so good a lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the king's highness (God save his grace!) did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realm as long as they preached well, without distraint of any man, my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to contemn my lord of London's authority, were

Latimer admitted by the University of Cambridge to preach.

(1) Evil will never saith "well." (2) Nay, my lord will none of that.

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"Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus."

But now I hear say that my lord of London is informed, and upon the said information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaries and his judges, which I assure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than ever did my lord of London: for I have been his ghostly father many a time. And to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe, noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable; so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea far from Christ's doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it, as much as any man that ever I knew: as for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously and virtuously, and killing his old Adam (that is to say, mortifying his evil affections and blind motions of his heart so diligently), should die an evil death, there is no more, but "Let him that standeth, beware that he fall not:" for if such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am?

Bilney commended.

But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, "Omnes vident quæ foris sunt," or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, "Deus autem intuetur cor." If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London: for I have preached and teached but according to holy Scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done.

As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reproved the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do: which thing, if my lord of London

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will do himself (as I would to God he would do), he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loth, or else my Lord God, which I would be more loth: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a christian man ought to believe. But peradventure my lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, "Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum," so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: and in the mean season (Acts viii.), as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ but baptismum Johannis, teach and preach mine even christened, that and no further than I know to be true.

There be three Creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the Creed: and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe. Yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever to learn, and ever to be learned; to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, hath been Lord of all the world as Christ is; so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordship of Bromeham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I have heard, "Ecce vobiscum sum," and "Qui vos audit me audit," bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily entreated to think otherwise, etc.

No man so old but he may learn.

I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might persuade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, etc. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, etc. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as much as another; and it pitieth mine heart, that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, etc. Yea, men think that my lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now doth dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness[1] might have chanced, in pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissible toward men which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance, than between God's law, and not God's law; nor is it so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but, because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so,

(1) Stokesley was so zealous in promoting the divorce of Henry and Catherine, that the king actually selected him to argue the case with sir Thomas More, who was of opinion that the marriage could not legally be set aside. See Dr. Watkin's Life of Latimer, p. 30; also Burnet, vol. i. —Ed.

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or not so, though all the world hath thought otherwise these thousand years, etc.

And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath emboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken, by the working of him, fruit thereby. And even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean-sea, I think, should have divided my lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls; Amen.

I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is so out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and, if I be not prevented shortly, I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter, as a buck in summer.

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, answering to the Letter of Master Latimer, sent to him before.

Master Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swerve from the truth), or at the least in your manner and behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name.[1] And, forasmuch as your said letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God s word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust ye yourself will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the Scripture of God; even so whatsoever ye will do therein (as I think ye will not otherwise than ye should do), I, being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence show myself, in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

The papists will not have unity disturbed. Papists coloured with authority of holy fathers. Master Baynton will follow the most number.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is "per speculum in ænigmate."[2] And there have been "qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam." Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me, unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwise, not having "sensus exercitatos," as St. Paul saith, "ad discernendum bonum et malum:" and it is showed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, "Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne," etc. "ex Deo est." And like as the word of God hath always caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name,

Error and false doctrine would fain lie still in peace and not to be stirred.

(1) These friends of Baynton seem to be some popish priests, and enemies to the gospel, as Powell, Wilson, Sherwood, Hubberdin, etc.

(2) Note the proceeding of the pope's church, which would not have the people certain of God's truth and religion.

"in uno Domino, uno baptismate, et unâ fide," they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into a unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls.

The chain of christian charity.

The Answer of Master Latimer to the Letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.

Right worshipful Sir, and my singular good master, salutem in Christo Jesu, with due commendation, and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, etc. And whereas you have communicated my last letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, etc., what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters, well taken, as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower: as in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to some offence, to some foolishness; to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

The bee. The spinner. Every thing as it is taken.

But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this pass, I will not contend: "had I wist" cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation: but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wretched a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never so christian a breast.

"Had I wist."

Wherefore do as you will; for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be noisome unto you: but yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for none other cause, at least-way inasmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head. And as touching the points which in my foresaid letters mislike your friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little cure (I know not what other men have in their great cures), seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholar to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal: all which things others have at hand abundantly. But something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth; saying in reproof of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed alonely God knoweth all certain truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith St. Paul, "Deus enim illis patefecit;" and Christ himself, "Erunt omnes docti à Deo." And your friends deny not but that certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity. Now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, etc.

Example of a true diligent pastor. Latimer unfurnished with outward help.

Latimer blamed for saying he was sure of the truth which he preached

But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray

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you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour? And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe. Or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do ye doubt, cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est? But contrary say you, alonely God knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but "per speculum in ænigmate;" and there have been "qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam." And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having "sensus exercitatos," as Paul saith, "ad discernendum bonum et malum;" as ye reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, "omni vento doctrinæ," etc. Our knowledge here, you say, is but "per speculum in ænigmate:" What then? ergo, it is not certain and sure.

It is no presumption in a preacher, being certain of that which he preacheth, to show it to the people.

I deny your argument, by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, "because the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty,"[1] as Duns and other school doctors say, that there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and clear knowledge; for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been, say they, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge.[2] True it is, there have been such, and yet be too many, to the great hinderance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter.[3] I mean not among Turks and Saracens, that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before;[4] because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same; but rather with their mother-wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, ut justificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur; threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God's wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much; for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God's Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones.[5] And if to call this or that, truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have so deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for

The doubting doctrine of the catholics.

Certain knowledge. Clear knowledge. Latimer not ignorant of the school subtleties.

(1) "Quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo."
(2) "Qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam."
(3) Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei, qui, veritatem Dei in injustitiâ detinentes, plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quàm faciunt.
(4) Scientiam Dei, id est, spiritualem divini verbi sensum, quem prius habuerunt.
(5) Ei vero, qui non habet, etiam quod habet, id est, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo; cum abuti habito, vel non bene uti, sit non habere, necnon sit verum illud quoque, non habitaturam videlicet sapientiam in corpore peccatis subdito; qui adhuc etsi carnaliter sapiat plus satis, at stat sententia, nempe carnalem et philosophicam scripturarum intelligentiam non esse sapientiam Dei, quæ à sapientibus absconditur, parvulis revelatur. Matt. xiii.

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the truth. And as for myself, I trust in God, I have "sensus exercitatos ad discernendum bonum et malum," i. e. my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not; yea there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern "bonum et malum," I mean "verum et falsum;" not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise. But in such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over, or else return back again; having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own, nor yet their capacity.[1]

There be many truths whereof a good man may well be ignorant.

And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil contra pusillanimes, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, "ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitatissimos." As whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have stockfish out of Iceland: how many larks for a penny if every star in the elements were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to slake the sin withal; and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatory.

Against preachers which take upon them to define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit.

Such argumentation, I say, might appear to make well against such preachers; not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, "which he hath prepared for us to walk in;"[2] every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having "sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum vel mediocriter exercitatos." For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always, an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity:[3] in reproof of which it was said, "Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo." For St. Paul saith not, "estote humiles, ut non capiatis:" for though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves, "ut simus sobrii ac modesti," yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, "as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith."[4] For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them whether they may "cum sobrietate et modestiâ," be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may "cum sobrietate et modestiâ," follow St. Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all, "Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be infants."[5] God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low; but so that we may restore unto him, "qui peregre profectus est," his gifts again "cum usurâ," that is to say, with good use of the same, so that "ædificemus invicem" with the same, "ad gloriam Dei." Amen.

A mean between too high and too low.

For my life, I trust in God that I neither have, neither (by God's grace) shall I, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be showed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, "Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God."[6] First, not every thing whereupon followeth dissension, causeth dissension,[7] as I would that they that showed you that, would also show you, whether this opinion, that a man may not

(1) There be many things in Scripture in the profundities whereof a man may wade too far.
(2) "Quæ præparavit Deus ut in eis ambularemus."
(3) Infantulus in Christo et infirmitate.
(4) "Ut cuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei."
(5) "Nolite fieri pueri sensibus, sed malitiâ infantes estote."
(6) "Omnis qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est."
(7) "Not every thing whereupon dissension cometh is the cause of dissension." He meaneth the pope and his papists, which could not abide the dissolving of the marriage between king Henry and his brother's wife.

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marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then, as Gamaliel said, "dissolvetur;" if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, "who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God?"[1] And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to hear said unto them, "Vos ex patre diabolo estis." So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a christian congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saving that non omnes omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

Occasion may be taken where none is given.

The church of the Galatians.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the sour bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to St. Paul that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the epistle, some would "opinari," as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters, the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristianed, but christianed, and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not alonely in cloisters (men more than christened men), of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spital, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

Jerome noted of some to be a falsifier and a corrupter of the Scripture.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissension in a christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: "Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum à me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo."[2] I pray you what were they, that called St. Jerome "falsarium," and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? Unchristian or christian? What had the unchristian to do with christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs than right judgment, of a greater authority than good charity: but St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil-speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same; and if this dissension were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? de malo in pejus scilicet.

Worshipful fathers of greater authority than of good charity.

It is not enough to be christianed, but to keep our promise then made.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a christian congregation? All those, trow ye, that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation than many unchristianed. For it is not enough to a christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: which thing if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a christian congregation,[3] in one baptism.

To pretend unity under the title of one Lord, is not enough.

And whereas they add, "in one Lord,"[4] I read in Matt. xvii., "Not every one that saith Lord, Lord,"[5] etc. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, "Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you?"[6] Even as though it were enough to a christian man, or to a christian congregation to say every day, "Domine, dominus noster," and to salute Christ with a double "domine." But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chrysostome, super Matthæum,[7] hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a christian congregation, if it will please

(1) "Quis potest dissolvere, nisi qui videbitur Deo repugnare?"
(2) Hieron. in Prologo super Canon. Epist. (3) In uno baptismo.
(4) In uno Domino. (5) "Non omnis qui dicit Domine, Domine," etc.
(6) "Cur dicitis, Domine, Domine, et non facitis quæ dico?"
(7) "Chrysostome super Matthæum," Hom. 49. cap. 24. vol. vi. p. 946. Edit. Paris. 1836. Although this commentary is no doubt incorrectly attributed to the pen of Chrysostome, it con-

them to learn at him. And whereas they add, "in one faith."[1] St. James saith boldly, "Show me thy faith by thy works."[2] And St. Jerome, "If we believe, we show the truth in working."[3] And the Scripture saith, "He that believeth God, attendeth to his commandments:"[4] and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

How true preachers should order themselves, when wicked priests be against them.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their christendom. For St. Jerome showeth how true preachers should order themselves, when evil priests and false preachers, and the people by them deceived,[5] should be angry with them for preaching the truth,[6] exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil priests and false preachers, and the people deceived of them; which evil priests and false preachers with the people deceived, be christened as well as others. And I fear me that St. Jerome might appear to some christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, "*in uno baptismate, uno Domino, una fide*," saying, "The people which before were brought asleep by their masters, must go up to the mountains: not such mountains which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when they are occupied with reading in these mountains, if they find no instructors (for the harvest is great, and the workmen be few), yet shall the diligent study of the people be approved in fleeing to the mountains, and the slothfulness of the masters shall be rebuked."[7]

I do marvel why our christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read Scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain; at the leastway to the pain of them that have wakened them with the word of God. And it is properly said of St. Jerome to call them masters and not servants: meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which masterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true master saith, "Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem." "Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ; dicit Dominus:" and there have been, "which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish."[8] I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our masters so to sleep, ut non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our christian congregation doth gainsay St. Jerome, and speaketh after another fashion?

God amend that is amiss;
For we be something wide I wis.

But now your friends have learned of St. John, that "Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God:"[9] and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, "which

tains, nevertheless, much valuable and anti-papal matter. Bellarmine, Sixtus Senensis, Joseph Acosta, and other members of the church of Rome, have spoken of it in high terms; and the derogatory opinion of it held by others in the same church may be supposed to arise from its testimony against Romish peculiarities, quite as much, perhaps, as from an *objection to the infusion of Arian* sentiment, with which *it is occasionally* (and, we may add, inconsistently), corrupted. Under the pretext of removing *this* objectionable matter, a Franciscan monk of Oudenard, published an edition of the "Opus Imperfectum," at Antwerp, in 1545 (or 1537, according to Montfaucon), in which he omitted *also* the passages, which bear hard upon the doctrine of the Latin church. Consult And. Riveti. Critic. Sac. lib. iv. cap. I, where the opinions of the Romish authors above mentioned, are given at length; and Montfaucon's "Diatribe ad Opus Imperfectum," pp. 731—735.—Ed.

(1) "In una fide." (2) "Ostende mihi fidem ex operibus."
(3) "Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus."
(4) "Qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis." (5) Populus ab his deceptus.
(6) Hieron. tom. v. cap. 26.
(7) "Populus qui ante sub magistris consopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant, sed montes veteris et novi Testamenti, prophetas, apostolos, et evangelistas, et cum ejusmodi montium lectione versatus, si non invenerit doctores (messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci) tunc et populi studium comprobabitur, quo fugerit ad montes, et magistrorum desidia coarguetur." Naum. tom. vi. cap. 30.
(8) "Qui cogitaverunt consilia, quæ non potuerunt stabilire."
(9) "Omnis qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est."

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confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts;"[1] so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saving that I will not affirm any thing as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you "utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem:" for your friends know well enough by the same St. John, "qui ex Deo est, non peccat:" and there both have been and be now too many, "which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh;"[2] but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith, "Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis." And many shall hear, "I never knew you,"[3] which shall not alonely be christened, but also shall "prophetare," and do puissant things "in nomine Christi:" and St. Paul said there should come "ravening wolves which will not spare the flock;"[4] meaning it of them that should "confiteri Christum in carne," in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth "false prophets,"[5] and biddeth us beware of them, saying, "They shall come in sheep's clothing;"[6] and yet they may wear both satin, silk, and velvet, called afterwards, "naughty servants," not feeding but smiting their fellow-servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites.[7] They are called "servi," servants, I trow, quòd ore confitentur Christum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem: because they confess Christ in the flesh: and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristianed, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same epistle of John, calleth such confessors of Christ, qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, "antichristos;" a strange name for a christian congregation. And though St. Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appear not to be of God, to some men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christ's charity, so to cause men to hate Antichrists,[8] according to the doctrine of St. Paul, "Hate that is evil;"[9] and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and Antichristians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the Antichristians from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your friends to read over St. Augustine upon the epistle of St. John; and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it. As I remember, it is in his Tractate iii.[10] But I am not sure nor certain of that, because I have not seen it since I was at Cambridge; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it: but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Christians from the Antichristians, which both be christened, and both confess "Jesum esse Christum," if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. But let us not stand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and manner of life, to know whether we strive to perform the duties of our calling or not: yea, rather, we perhaps persuade ourselves that it is not necessary for us to perform them, referring them all to primitive usage; but that it is enough for us to bear rule and authority, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world."[11] And yet we desire to appear, "vel soli ex Deo esse; sed longe aliter Christum confitentur, qui confitendo ex Deo esse comprobantur."

Both Christians and Antichristians confess the name of Christ.

And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origen saith,

(1) "Qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant."
(2) "Qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne."
(3) "Nunquam novi vos." (4) "Lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi."
(5) "Pseudo-prohetas." (6) "Investimentis ovium."
(7) "Servi nequam, non pascentes, sed percutientes conservos, edentes et bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis."
(8) "Antichristianismum." (9) "Sitis odio persequentes quod malum est."
(10) Aug. in Joan. Tract. 3
(11) "Non linguam, sed facta attendamus, et vivendi genus, num studeamus officia vocationis præstare annon studeamus: immo persuasi forte sumus non necesse esse ut præstemus, sed omnia in primitivam ecclesiam et tempora præterita referimus, quasi nobis sat sit dominari, et secularibus negotiis nos totos volvere, ac voluptatibus et pompæ inhiare."

and Chrysostome, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, St. Jerome saith: "But there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the same, and their own, lest peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion." For as it is commonly said, "the blind eat many a fly," as they did which were persuaded "of the high priests, to ask Barabbas, and to crucify Jesus;"[1] and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the same. "And well you know," saith St. Augustine, "how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity and negligence? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they be blamed."

Intolerable secularity and negligence in churchmen.

Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilness with the truth? And, to say truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation[2] and adulteration of the word, (as Nicolas de Lyra saith in his time few did: what they do now a-days, I report me to them that can judge) than to have such a uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstition, and idolatry; and esteem things as they do all, preposterously; doing that that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done; and so show their love to God, not as God biddeth, which saith, "If ye love me, keep my commandments;"[3] and again, "He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he it is loveth me;"[4] but as they bid, "which seek their own things, not Christ's:" as though to tithe mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.[5]

Better is in the church a deform disagreement, so that Christ be truly preached, than uniform ignorance agreeing in idolatry.

And what is to love in state of curates, but what he taught, who said, "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed;"[6] which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else, but to wear rings, mitres, and rochets, etc. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and be all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed, I trow, "nisi per manum Dei validam." And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that "lex" is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, "Non estis sub lege," though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busy with "væ vobis," he shall shortly after come "coram nobis."

State of curates.

The true honour of Christ turned to piping, playing, and singing.

And whereas your friends think that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought, better than I; juxta illud, nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, etc.; as though better men than I have not thought so, as Boniface[7] (as I remember) Octavus, and the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower,[8] presbyter cardinalis, in his book, where he proveth the pope to be above the council general, and specially where he saith that the pope is "king

(1) "A principus sacerdotum ut peterent Barabbam, Jesum autem crucifigerent."

(2) "Without cauponation." This expression alludes probably to the "καπηλεύοντες" of the second Epistle to the Cor. ii. 17. In the same strain Theodoret writes; (Lib. Epist. i. 4.) οἱ τὴν ἐκείνου χριστεμπορείαν θεωροῦντες.—Ed.

(3) "Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate."

(4) "Qui habet præcepta mea et facit ea, hic est qui disigit me."

(5) "Qui quærunt, quæ sua sunt, non quæ Iesu Christi."

(6) "Petre amas me? Pasce, pasce, pasce."

(7) This may well be believed of one of whom Platina (p. 253, Lugduni, 1512,) thus speaks: "Bonifacius ille qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur."—Ed.

(8) Johannes de Turrecremata was so called in Latin from his birth-place Torquemado, in the diocese of Palenza. After having been employed in various embassies, he was nominated in 1450 to a bishopric in Gallicia, and ultimately, in 1464, became cardinal-bishop of St. Sabina. His "Summa de Ecclesia, et ejus Auctoritate," was printed at Lyons in 1496, and at Venice in 1561. See Dupin, Eccles. Hist. art. xv. chap. iv. p. 89; Possevin. Appar. Sacer, tom. i. p. 951. Col. Agrip. 1608.—Ed.

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of kings, and lord of lords;"[1] and that he is "the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not so;"[2] and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that (as St. John saith Christ did), "He came unto his own, and his own received him not:"[3] and yet I hear not that any of our christian congregations have reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harm; and though they can do you no more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

The pope great Master Lord and King over all the world.

The pope's dominion.

And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Marulphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight, and true martyr.

Purgatory. Worshipping of saints.

As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I showed to you my mind before my ordinary; and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evil, your doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary, nor you, disallowed the thing that I said. And I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belied my preaching, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false reports of the malignant church.[4]

A pretty nip to such as have many cures, and are resident on none.

Sir, I have had more business in my little cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which have great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a christian congregation, and divide a sweet and a restful union, or "tot quot," with "hæc requies mea in seculum seculi." Sir, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my lord of Farley, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great costs, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple sermon! But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, "I must needs suffer, and so enter:" so perilous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ,[5] yea in a christian congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen![6]

(1) "Rex regum, et dominus dominantium."
(2) "Verus dominus totius orbis, jure, licet non facto."
(3) "In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt."
(4) Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinendas calumnias malignantis ecclesiæ.
(5) "Oportet pati, et sic intrare:" tam periculosum est in Christo pie vivere velle.
(6) In the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments here ensues "A Public and Authentic Instrument of the Bishops, for the abolishing, and inhibiting of the Scripture and divers other Books to be read in English, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, 1531." The reader will find this in vol. v. p. 569, of this edition. Wilkins, in his "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 727, has placed this document under the year 1530. It is taken from archbishop Warham's Register; and Berthelet printed in 1530 "A Proclamation made and devysed, etc., for dampning of erronious Bokes and Heresies, and prohibityng the having of Holy Scripture translated into the vulgar tongues of Englyshe, etc." See Dibdin's Typog. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 275. In this "Public and Authentic Instrument of the Bishops," certain "Heresies and Errors out of the Book of the Wicked Mammon" are inserted. They will be found in vol. v. page 576, of this edition, with the exception of the following passages:—

"We be so in captive of the devil, and he holdeth our will in his power, that we cannot consent to God's law, and his will is impossible for us."

"Every man is lord of another man's good," fol. 46. "I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart," fol. 49.

The above observations apply to extracts from "the Book, called The Obedience of the Christian Man," with these exceptions:—

"Qui intendit satisfacere Deo, infidelis est, et non tenemur satisfacere Deo, sed proximo," fol. 76, p. 2, in fine.

"He saith that saints which be dead be but our hirelings, and that their prayer doth not profit us," fol. 119, p. 1.

"He denieth purgatory," fol. 142.

The variations also in "Errors, Blasphemies, and Heresies," noted in "the Book of the Revelation of Antichrist," are as follow, as compared to those before quoted, vol. v. p. 582.

"To feign the constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augus-

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Out of "The Book of Beggars."[1]

"There be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the church, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be in the objection of all the world, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no purgatory, but it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the

tine, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, and such others; that is to leave the faith, and to follow such examples of fathers in some things, 'Hoc est, in istis rebus,' erring;" fol. 19, pp. 1 and 2.

"Whosoever ordained universities, be it at Alexandria, at Halle, St. Thomas,[2] or at any other, he was a star that fell from heaven to earth, there are brought in moral virtues for faith, and opinions for truth," fol. 32, p. 2.

"The universities are the very confused cloud and opened gate of hell, and this cloak of all others is most noisome, and doth most hurt and damage," fol. 31, p. 1.

"In the whole new law is no urgent precept nor grievous, but only exhortations to observe things necessary for soul's health," fol. 63, p. 1.

"Faith only justifieth," fol. 63, p. 2.

"Christ offered up our iniquities, as a sacrifice to his Father," fol. 4, p. 1.

"They are ignorant and evil that do apply Antichrist to one person, for he calleth Antichrist the whole body and multitude of wicked men," fol. 13, p. 2.

"If our most holy father had these laws, matins, prayers, and others free, and according to the gospel (God left us all equal), we should have had none of these innumerable sins; for where is no law, there is no transgression," fol. 28, p. 2.

"The first woe that the church hath received of the pope, with help of St. Thomas, is universities, defence of free will, moral virtues, and natural philosophy, called 'the headed Cerberus,'" fol. 35, p. 2.

"Christ ordained that there should be no sin, but unbelief, infidelity, no justice but faith," fol. 69, p. 1.

"The New Testament of Christ will not suffer any law of compulsion, but only of counsel and exhortation," fol. 74, p. 2.

"The most spiritual man of all, if he confess his sins to a priest, sinneth: for he should confess against his will. For this sentence standeth firm and stable: He that doth a thing against his will, doth it not; and compelled service pleaseth not God," fol. 75, p. 1.

The variations in, and additions to, the Errors and Heresies gathered out of "the Sum of the Scripture," are the following:—

"Men should not seek their health in good works, but all only in faith and grace," p. 2.

"The water of baptism is nothing but a sign that we must be under the standard of the cross," fol. 12, p. 2.

"We be all equally bound to know the gospel and epistles of Paul," fol. 15, p. 1.

"We have as much right and as great to heaven, as Christ," fol. 19, p. 1.

"A lively and steadfast faith and trust in God may bring us to heaven," fol. 22, p. 1.

"All they err that think they shall be saved when they have done many good works," fol. 25, p. 2.

"All Christly glory is ours," fol. 27, p. 1.

"By faith men are sure to be saved, but if God had said, Whosoever do such or such works shall be saved, we should ever have been uncertain," fol. 35, p. 2, fol. 36, p. 1.

"We must love death, and more desire to die than to fear death," fol. 36, p. 1.

"All theologians are abused, that say that hope proceedeth out of good works," fol. 40, p. 2.

"Every christian man must keep God's commandments by love; and not by hope to get for service everlasting life," fol. 42, p. 1.

"The Jews kept the commandments, and the law of God, yet they could not come to heaven," fol. 43, p. 2.

"If works might have saved Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David had been saved before the nativity of Christ," fol. 44, p. 1.

"A man must do his diligence to keep his heritage of God, and labour to entertain it," fol. 44, p. 2.

"A christian man, perceiving his own sins, should think and say to God, 'I am certain that thou wilt not damn me, and yet thou mayest do it righteously,'" fol. 46, p. 1.

"Men, trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the church daily, keep holy-days and fasting days, and hear masses; and these people be soonest damned. And this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that his good works shall help to his salvation," fol. 47.

"All the danger in our sins, is the evil example that we give to our neighbour," fol. 48, p. 2.

"Our Lord demandeth nothing but the heart," fol. 49.

"When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we fast, pray, hear mass, or whether we wear blue habit or grey," ibid.

"All outward things are indifferent before God," fol. 49.

"When our hearts be ruled in God, according to the gospel, all is one, what thing soever we do," ibid.

"God commandeth us to exercise works of mercy: all other works in the church be founded by avarice, not commanded by God," etc. fol. 52, p. 2.

"No man is righteous, but that fulfilleth the commandments with joyful hearts," fol. 57, p. 1.

"The salvation of a christian man lieth not in this life, but rather endeth: for we cannot be saved but by death, and in this life is no profit," fol. 60, p. 1.

"It is but folly and infidelity to weep for death of our friends," fol. 61, p. 2.

"It is a great sin before God to ordain where thou wilt be buried, or what stone thou wilt have on thy tomb, all is one before God, to be buried in the church, or in any other place," fol. 61, p. 2.

"In times past, all that lived after the gospel were monks, and gave them to that life," fol. 62, p. 2.

"The first monks were Elias and Eliseus, the sons of Jonadab," fol. 63, p. 1.

"The monks after our Saviour's ascension unto St. Benedict and Gregory's days, made no vows,

(1) For the documents from hence to page 506, see Edition 1563, pp. 1340—1344; they were also republished in the Edition of 1684, vol. iii. pp. 407—409.—Ed.

(2) Malipur in Coramandal, where St. Thomas was slain.—Ed.

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spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them: and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture. God took Enoch away, that is to say, he departed out of this world like other men: Primo male vertit, nam scriptura dicit transtulit, non abstulit deinde falsum est, quod addit: nam ad Hebræos undecimo legitur, fide Enoch translatus est, ne videret mortem et non inveniebatur, quia transtulit illum dominus ecclesiastice. Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradisum, ut det gentium sapientiam."

"David's good intent, and Nathan's, in building the temple, were nought: Et quid est quod dicit (1 Reg. viii.), Quoque cogitasti in corde tuo ædificare domum nomine meo, seu fecisti hoc ipsum mente pertractus, et ob illum propositum, videtur David illud præmii à Deo tulisse, et ejus filii in regno ei succederent."[1]

Out of the Primer.

"He putteth in the book of seven Psalms, but he leaveth out the whole Litany; by which it appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to saints."

no profession: they might eat, drink, fast, pray, when they list. They had no certain masses, nor hours to sing daily," fol. 63, p. 2.

"What is now the life of religion, but a superstitious subjection unto certain vain ceremonies!" fol. 66, p. 1.

"If a man vow to live chaste, and in poverty in a monastery, then if he perceive that in the monastery he liveth worse than he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leave the cloister and break his vow without sin," fol. 71, p. 1.

"St. Augustine holdeth them for heretics, that say that religious men should not labour with their hands," fol. 81, p. 1.

"Bodily labour is commanded to all persons," ibid.

"It is abomination to make sumptuous monasteries, chapels, altar-cloths," fol. 81, p. 2.

"Four manner of people, or four parts of people, live and are fed by one part; that is to say, by citizens, artificers, and husbandmen, which labour and get their own expenses, and the expenses of the other four parties, of priests, monks, of lord councillors, old people and children, of men of war, thieves, murderers, ruffians, common people, and that get nothing, but spend all," fol. 92, p. 2.

"Thou shalt not count at night how much money thou hast gained," fol. 97, p. 2.

"The good christians shall not defend themselves by justice in no manner, for any manner of wrong that they suffer, but recommend all to the good will of God," fol. 98, p. 1.

"He that is rich, and liveth of his rents, may not use to over-spend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee," fol. 68, p. 2.

"God hath not given riches to rich men for to boast and brag therewith; nor to make great cheer, neither to make themselves lords: but to the intent that they should be servants unto all the world," fol. 101, p. 1.

"It is not true that a rich man doth gain his goods, nor that he is lord of his own goods, nor that he may not [?] use them at his pleasure," fol. 101, p. 2.

"A man shall be reproved for no other thing at the day of judgment, but for forgetting of the poor," ibid.

"Making of churches, and foundations of masses, chauntries, and chapels, are rather invented by covetous mind of men, than otherwise," ibid.

"There be two sorts of people: one is the kingdom of God, to which belongeth all true christian people, and in this kingdom Christ is king and lord, and it is impossible in this kingdom (that is to say among very true christian people), that the sword of justice temporal should have aught to do," fol. 104, pp. 1, 2.

"There is another sort of people belong to the world, and they be unrighteous, and they had need of the sword of temporal justice," fol. 105, p. 1.

"No man is under the secular power, but they that be of the christian estate, and out of God's kingdom," fol. 106, pp. 1, 2.

"Jesus Christ hath not ordained in his spiritual kingdom, which is all true Christians, any sword: for he himself is their king and governor, without sword, or without outward law," fol. 108, p. 2.

"Christian men, amongst themselves, have nought to do with the sword nor with the law; for that is to them neither needful nor profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christ's kingdom, for in it is none but good and just," fol. 109, p. 2.

"The gospel maketh all true christian men servants to all the world," fol. 101, p. 1.

"Christ saith that no man shall resist evil, nor sue any man at the law," fol. 110, p. 2.

"The gospel is written for all persons' estates, prince, duke, pope, emperor," fol. 112, p. 2.

"When judges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful; as Christ was to the woman taken in advoutry. The temporal law must obey the gospel, and then that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct them by justice," fol. 113, p. 2.

"A true christian man never plaineth to the injury that men do unto him," fol. 114, p. 1.

"By the gospel christian men ought not to have suit and parties among themselves," fol. 114, p. 2.

"The obedience of a christian man to temporal power, is as Christ was obedient to temporal puissance, and paid tribute money, not because that he owed it, but because he would not offend: so must a christian man do. But when lords ask nought, thou owest them nought before God," fol. 116, p. 2.

"Men of war are not allowed by the gospel: the gospel knoweth peace and not war," fol. 117, p. 1.

"Doctors that say that war is a thing reasonable or good, understand not the words of the gospel, or of St. John," ibid.

"St. John praised not war by his word, but rather forbade it, as teacheth all the gospel," fol. 118, p. 1.

"A servant should not be sorry that his master will not suffer him to hear mass, nor come to the church; for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place," fol. 121, p. 2.

[The Parable of the Wicked Mammom, and the books subsequently mentioned, were printed at Malborowe, in the lande of Hesse, by Hans Luft," from 1528 to 1530. The "Parable," etc., and the "Obedience," etc., appear in Tyndale's Works, vol. i. pp. 83–163. Edit. London, 1831.—Ed.]

(1) This last passage is out of the "Kalender of the Prymar."—Ed.

"He hath left out all the hymns and anthems of our Lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to our Lady." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

The ungodly and erroneous Sayings contained in an English work, inscribed "An Exposition upon the Seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians."

"Whosoever in himself doth not feel this godly thing, this gift of chastity, but doth feel incontinency to him, I say, a commandment is given that he may be married." Fol. 2.

"Hereof doth follow that no person may make a vow or promise to live chaste or single, and that none is bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: and he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned." Ibid.

"The touching of women, some persons have compassed much straitly, so that they dare not touch a woman's hand or skin, moreover they imagined many both statutes and ceremonies, to keep them from company of women, as they thought that built abbeys; but how fortunately that hath come to pass, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of." Ibid.

"He that is compelled outwardly to abstain from women, and is inwardly full of lust, is a dissembler, and it is double lechery." Fol. 3.

"Mark what soul-slayers they be that provoke foolish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice." Ibid.

"All other evils may be suffered with a mean conscience. This cannot so be endured; this can be holpen by no medicine, but by marriage."

"'It is good for a man not to touch a woman:' this word 'good' is not understood of merit and deserving afore God, as though an unmarried man were better afore him, than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is spoken of temporal quietness of this life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity." Fol. 4.

"Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontinency make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all amiss. But the apostle will, that universally all men be conjugal: but all the bishops since his time have destroyed this godly ordinance, when they babble and rail in pulpits, changing this word 'quisque' into 'quidam.'" Fol. 6.

"Men ought to stint of their statutes-making, for a better statute can none be than this, that men without any respect of time use their wife: not to exempt certain days as they have, which we call vigils, and women conceived." Fol. 8.

"Fasting is a measurable usage of meats and drinks: prayer is a crying, sigh, desire, and mourning." Fol. 9.

"No man ought to enforce and compel men to fasting and prayer, as they hitherto by laws have done." Fol. 11.

"Before God, all things are alike and equal." Fol. 12.

"Abominably they do sin which make nuns swell in pride, when they babble that their religion is more precious than matrimony, and then feign that they shall have a crown or garland of gold, so making them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful. Chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man either promise or vow, or keep it." Fol. 13.

"The sects of all them that are called religious, and of all manner of shavelings, are falsely called the spiritual orders: for matrimony like as in very deed, so it ought to be called the spiritual state before other orders worldly and secular; matrimony is of all others the highest religion and most spiritual estate."

"Matrimony is as gold: the spiritual estate as dung. The spirit and such spiritual estates have no more agreement than Christ and Belial, the day and the night, the spirit and the flesh, faith and our senses or reason." Fol. 17.

"Their prayer, their singing, doing their spiritual works, for so much as they have not the very word of God to confirm them, God cannot be pleased with them." Fol. 18.

"'Dico autem non nuptis et viduis,' etc. Of this we have gathered that Paul had a wife, and here he speaketh only of widows; a wife which either was

Mary. dead, or for a time left him for the gospel's sake: but the other apostles led about their wives." Fol. 19.

A.D. 1555. "By testimony of Scriptures, all the apostles and all the bishops' successors were married." Fol. 2.

"St. Paul saith, that he ought to be chosen for to be a bishop, that is the husband of one wife."

"Seeing ye choose not married men to be bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous which so did choose, or you antichrists and deceivers."

"You put away universally marriage from priests, contrary unto God, to nature, to reason, to right; only of presumption, without all manner of cause." Fol. 21.

"There is no sin, no mischief in all the world so manifold, that can let a man from priesthood, but godly matrimony." Fol. 32.

"Wicked traditions and laws, and ungracious constitutions, let bigamy from priesthood."

"What other thing is it to say, that a priest should not marry, than to say, that a man should not be a man?" Fol. 23.

"The body of a christian man must as well nourish seed, and beget children and multiply, as the body of birds, beasts and other lively things."

"Every man, as willeth St. Paul, needeth to go to matrimony; necessity so requireth." Fol. 25.

"This dare I be bold to say, that where is one chaste, there ought more than a hundred thousand to live married." Fol. 26.

"St. Jerome, which extolleth chastity with most highest, but most perilous lauds, nevertheless confesseth, that he could not tame his flesh. He belonged to the number of them that belonged to matrimony. Such example shalt thou find in a book 'De Vitis Patrum.'" Fol. 27.

"To keep a young man in cloister, to live chaste, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch, there to be burned." Fol. 28.

"If the one would be at one, and the other will not, the party that would be reconciled to love, may marry another, though the other be alive." Fol. 23.

"Whosoever doth not expel faith, is by reason of the same harmless, pure, clean, holy, profitable." Fol. 35.

"Infants be holy and clean, though they have not received baptism, because their parents be holy and clean."

"The wretched laws of the pope bind unmarried persons to abide, other the coming again of the other that was his mate; and that under pain (O presumption, O shameless boldness!) of damnation." Fol. 38.

"To help a man to God, or let a man from God, cometh only of faith and unbelief." Fol. 43.

"'Pretio empti estis,' etc., a general proverb, or fit sentence against all human laws and traditions. He showeth what liberty is granted by the doctrine of Christ, and how that faith maketh all states and things equal." Fol. 47.

"Christ with his precious blood hath redeemed and delivered us from all sins and laws, so that no longer any law can bind us in conscience." Fol. 48.

"All exterior things before God, are free, and that a christian man may use them according to his appetite, either leaving or taking."

"Thou owest nothing unto God, but faith and confession. By confession I mean not the whispering of sins into the priest's ear, nor yet thy confession of thy sins to God; but, with St. Paul, if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is Christ, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from death, thou shalt be saved. In all other things, he giveth thee liberty of thine own will; thou mayest do all things without jeopardy of conscience. God careth not as concerning for himself, though thou didst forsake thy wife, run from thy lord or master, and shouldst break all manner of covenants that thou makest with all men, but for that thou art bound to thy neighbour." Fol. 49.

"Thou canst not perish or be damned, whatsoever thing thou shalt outwardly either do, or else leave undone: we owe nothing unto any man, save love only."

"In cloisters and monasteries they do against faith, God, liberty, and God's ordinances. They shall occupy seats appointed for them in the deep dungeon of hell." Fol. 52.

"By this is overthrown the devilish doctrine of the brainless and doting

doctors and preachers of the devil, which do forge singular coronets for nuns and virgins. In heaven only faith hath it." Fol. 53. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

"Reading, sounding of organs, singing amongst religious, be superstitious; and among them, the service and honour of God is suppressed and quenched." Fol. 54.

"Where the apostles here are better, it is to be understood of goodness in this world." Fol. 6.

"The jolly and cruel tyrants and soul murderers, that shut up youth in cloisters."

All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such error, the king's highness present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the universities, as of all others assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects; and his highness willeth further that his pleasure and determination should be notified by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all such books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like; delivering unto certain preachers the form of a writing, to be published in effect unto the people in their sermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his realm to publish the same.

Here followeth the Bill or Declaration in English, to be published by the preacher.

Form of a declaration, etc.

It is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to show and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify unto them such things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed; and also, as near as they can judge, who be teachers and authors of the same. This example we have of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, "Attendite à falsis prophetis," etc. St. Paul likewise many times giveth warning to such as he wrote unto, that they should beware of the false apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine that he had taught them being present. Wherefore, considering that it hath pleased the king's highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his subjects, for his and the worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls, and their due order towards God, thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such books as be now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conscience to make relation unto his highness, whether the same books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conscience and soul, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same, and whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's word and doctrine or no: forasmuch as the said congregation and assembly had free liberty and license granted unto every man to say as his conscience and learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to be spoken there, whose person soever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but only to say that his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify: after mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there by a whole consent, no man repugning or gainsaying, determined and agreed that the books now being abroad in the English tongue contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far discrepant from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of Scripture, only persuading pernicious heresies to the destruction of the souls of good christian men; and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of

Mary. A.D. 1555. mine own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinions read, declared, and examined, and by the true sense and meaning of God's learning reproved and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of a preacher, following the example of our master Christ and St. Paul, as is aforesaid, to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ, as I spake before: "Attendite à falsis prophetis," etc. And take heed of yourself that ye be not infected by the contagion and infection of such pseudo-apostles as have, in our English tongue, set forth books to seduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their false interpretations of Scripture into the detestable and abominable heresies, to the destruction of our souls. Wherefore you that have the books called "The Obedience of a Christian Man;" "the Sum of Scripture;" "the Revelation of Antichrist;" "the Supplication of Beggars;" "Mammona Iniquitatis;" "the Matrimony of Tyndale;" the New Testament in English, of the translation which is now printed, and such other books in English, the authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, are pernicious books; detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the superiors such as call for them: and if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breasts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel it and purge it, to the intent that ye, being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls. Thus I move and exhort you in God to do; this is your duty to do.

Form of a declaration, etc.

The prelates of the church, having the cure and charge of your souls, ought to compel you, and your prince, to punish and correct you not doing of the same; unto whom, as St. Paul saith, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose. Ye shall also farther understand, that the king's highness, forasmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered an opinion in divers of his subjects, that it is his grace's duty to cause the Scripture of God to be translated into the English tongue to be communicated unto the people, and that the prelates, and also his highness, do wrong in hindering of the same, his highness therefore willed every man there present in the said assembly, freely and frankly to show and open unto him what might be proved and conferred by Scripture and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highness (as he there openly protested) might conform himself thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they should do their duties towards him. In which matter, after the Scripture declared, holy doctors and authors alleged and read, and all things said which might be on both sides and for both parts spoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole Scripture in English is not necessary to christian men; but that without having any such Scripture, endeavouring themselves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teacheth them, and so learned by his mouth, may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same Scriptures in English. And like as the having of Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been by both holy fathers of the church heretofore in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time, it hath been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicated amongst them, wherein forasmuch as the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conscience, that the divulging of the Scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, considering such pestilent books, and so evil opinions as be now spread amongst them, should rather be to their further confusion and destruction, than the edification of their souls, and that as holy doctors testify, upon such like considerations, the semblable hath been done in times past, it was thought there in that assembly to all and singular in that congregation, that the king's highness, and the prelates in so doing, and not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicated in the English tongue unto the people, at this time do well. And also I think and judge the same, exhorting, and moving you, that in consideration his highness did there only say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands, ready

to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same; that ye will so detest these pernicious books, so abhor these heresies and new opinions, so decline from arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of Scripture after your fantasies, and show yourself in cunning and reasoning so sober, quiet, meet, and temperate, as, all fear of misusing the gift of Scripture taken away, ye may appear such in your prince's eyes, and eyes of your prelates, as they shall have no just cause to fear any such danger; persuading unto yourself in the meantime without grudging or murmuring the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretion of the superiors, so as whensoever they think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well, to give it unto you: and whensover it shall be seen otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it. Of and upon the which decree, order, and determination above recited, his gracious highness being in person in the chapel, called The Old Chapel, which sometime was called St. Edward's Chamber, sat on the east-side of the parliament-chamber, within his grace's palace at Westminster, upon the 24th day of May, the year of our Lord God 1530, and in the two-and-twentieth year of his reign called before his grace the three notaries hereunderwritten, and then and there, in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, willed and required the said three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and us to set thereunto our seal accordingly, in and for witness and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's desire, order, and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present, to testify the same, and bear record and testimony thereupon: In witness of all and singular the premises, we William archbishop, primate and legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public or authentic instrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscribed and consigned by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be sealed with our own seal. All which premises have been done in manner and form above specified, then and there being present the noble personage of Thomas More, knight, great chancellor of England, our reverend brother in Christ Cuthbert, by the permission of God bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, master Stephen Gardiner secretary; master Richard Samson, dean of the chapel, doctor of law; master Richard Wolman, master of the request; master John Bell, counsellor, doctors of the holy decrees; master Nicholas Wilson the king's confessor, master Richard Duck, archdeacon of Wiltshire, doctors of divinity; master John Oliver, master Edmund Steward, doctors of the law, chaplains to our said sovereign lord the king's grace; master Richard Mawdly, master William Mortimer, master Edward Crome, master Edward Wiggen, doctors also of divinity; master Robert Carter, master Edward Leighton, master Hugh Latimer, and master William Latimer, and Roger Tilson, masters of arts in both the universities above-said, with many more learned men of the said universities, in a great number assembled then and there, together witness to the premises required and exhibited.

Form of a declaration, etc.

These being premised, now let us see the answer of Master Latimer again to this foresaid testimonial or instrument of the bishops, in a letter which the said Latimer wrote to king Henry the Eighth the same time in that behalf.

Ye heard before of two sundry proclamations, set out by the bishops in the name of king Henry, the one in the year 1531, and the other set out A.D. 1546: in the which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were inhibited all English books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where also we have expressed at large the whole catalogue of all the errors and heresies which the said bishops falsely have excerpted, and maliciously imputed to godly writers, with their places and quotations above

Mary. A.D. 1555. assigned in the place aforesaid. Now master Latimer, growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion by reason of these proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conscience, directeth unto king Henry this letter hereunder ensuing, thereby intending by all means possible to persuade the king's mind to set open again the freedom of God's holy word amongst his subjects. The copy and tenor of this letter here followeth.

A Letter of Master Latimer to King Henry the Eighth, for restoring again the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.

To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ:— The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalandus, saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostome saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience; and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

Latimer touched in conscience to write to the king.

For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which saith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and of all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men, and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! and specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy scripture, yet will neither show the truth themselves (as they be bound), neither suffer them that would. So that unto them may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees,[1] "Wo be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in." And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth, "a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts," according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And especially in this your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say).[2] And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny), they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the scripture in English.

What it is to be a traitor to truth.

The subtle wiliness and practice of the Pharisees.

Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the

(1) Matt. xxiii. (2) "I would say," i. e. I wish to say.—Ed.

corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ.[1] And though you be a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For, as St. Paul saith, "Those members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body."[2] This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your lowly, favourable, and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

Kings stand as much in need of Christ's passion, as any inferior subject.

First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel;[3] and to note also the words of our master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel; and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our master Christ, "The tree is known by the fruit:" for by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all scripture showeth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

The rule of Christ.

Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both Master and Man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, were they entreated in the inns and lodgings by the way! and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight! Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

The poverty of Christ's life.

But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: "If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them." So that it is not against the poverty in spirit,[4] which Christ preacheth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse), which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth;[5] unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every christian man to obey: yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

It is not against the poverty of the spirit, to be rich.

Privy enemies to spiritual poverty.

Monks, friars, and prelates of the spirituality.

Subjection to superior powers.

Your grace may see what means and craft the spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them: neither will I that your grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

Ambition of the spirituality.

(1) Eph. ii. (2) Rom. xii. 1 Cor. ii. Eph. iv. 1 Cor. xii. (3) Matt. vii.
(4) The poor condition of Christ's life, is an example to us to cast down our pride, not to set by riches. (5) Matt. xvii.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

I name nor appoint any person or persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew vii., "By their fruits you shall know them." As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew xv., where he showeth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake. But he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, "It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you, devilish persons and heretics." Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity; but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also, he saith, "In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you: but in me you shall have peace."[1] And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, "Lo I send you forth as sheep among wolves." So that the true preachers go like sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any others but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among those worldly wisemen, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

Christ promiseth no promotion, but persecution to his followers.

God's word only is the weapon of spiritual pastors.

The apostles were persecuted, but never persecutors.

And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that "every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution." And also he saith further, in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that "it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake."

Persecution a sure mark of true preaching.

The word of the cross.

Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel, the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

Crafty pretences of the prelates to stop the Scripture.

Therefore pleaseth it your good grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, "By their fruits you shall know them." For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John's gospel) "is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works." And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection: and so they persuade, at the least way they would fain persuade, your grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their God, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

Belly-wisdom.

But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your grace their

(1) John xvi.

minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hanun the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying that "they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land; so that afterward they, bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it."[1] And they caused the young king to shear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

Persuasion to let the Scripture to be read in English.

Sinister counsel about princes.

Wicked policy turned to its own destruction.

Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainsaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your grace's commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so, like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard nor esteem other your grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion: for your grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put them out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English,[2] yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if God hath not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about:[3] and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they, being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books, who before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Under the pretence of insurrections and heresies, the prelates stop the liberty of Christ's gospel.

Objection prevented and answered.

Cause of the proclamation against Scripture books in English.

A practice of prelates to convey their own proclamations under the king's name and authority.

Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which have been in this realm heretofore; and whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which

The cause of insurrections.

(1) 2 Sam. x.

(2) He meaneth of Cranmer, Cromwell, and one or two more, against whom the Bishop of Winchester and his faction did prevail.

(3) He meaneth of the pope, which went about to drive king Henry out of his kingdom, and that not without some adherents near about the king.

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causeth many a man to sin, in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books, and them that have them.

The greatest enemies to the gospel.

And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these books, that be evil, unruly and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words, the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the scripture. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself, could hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame: so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read; but to show that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

The froward life of the gospellers, not to be laid to the gospel.

Lack of good curates is the cause of all mischief in the realm.

The gospel will not go forth without persecution, though the reading thereof be free.

And though it be so that your grace may by other books, and namely by the scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite-wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me!) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ showed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your grace had once commanded that the scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

The last sign before the judgment day.

Latimer chaffereth forth his talent.

And take heed whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that, for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion,[1] they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should now be put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which, before, he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Paul, a good example for all persecutors to follow.

David a good example for all kings to submit their intents and purposes to God's word.

Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had showed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance;[2] whom I pray to God that your grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness

(1) He meaneth this belike by sir Thomas More, who, for the bishop's pleasure, set his pen against the gospel.

(2) By Nathan we may learn not to be ashamed to call back our words when we know God's pleasure to be otherwise.

before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and, according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith: for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your "quietus est" sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your grace.—Anno Domini 1530. Prim. die Decembris.

Divers things in this letter of Latimer to the king to be considered.

In this letter of master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God, his good-will to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of princes' courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and specially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no counsellor durst once speak unto him, in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessity would follow (as indeed they should), so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and also for lack that the officers of God's word do not their duty.

Heavenly courage of Latimer in discharging his conscience.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time: yet, notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of the prince, for, not long after the same, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.

The king pleased with his plainness.

Seeing master Latimer was so bold and plain with the king (as is afore specified), no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their misorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression: for example whereof we have another letter of his written to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who, as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The letter, although it may seem somewhat

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long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects: first that the virtue and faithful conscience of this good pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the salt of God's word the sores of the people. Which thing if every bishop for his part within his diocese had done in king Edward's days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of queen Mary had not so plagued the realm as it did: but where never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the realm? Item, another respect is, because of the justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed thereby, not to abuse their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong, through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I showed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the gentleman, is this as followeth.

Example for bishops, and all good pastors to follow.

Warning to justices of peace.

A fruitful Letter of Master Latimer, written to a certain Gentleman.

Right worshipful, salutem in Domino. And now, sir, I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that "you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the best bishop in England," etc.

Ah sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, "Well, I have fished and caught a frog;" brought little to pass with much ado. "You will not bear it with me," you say. Why sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It might seem unseemly for a justice of peace to be a breaker of peace: I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceed in judgment:[1] and then and there, do best, have best, for club half-penny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein, confuting me, you will defend yourself and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, ut dicitur vulgariter. I cannot choose but must allow such diligence:[2] for so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings, in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons.[3] But I think it will not be.

But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell; no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper-dealing, and such like misbehaviour. What a sore matter is this![4] And will ye not bear so much with me? Will ye not take such a show of my good will towards you, and toward the saving of your

(1) Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuso judicium ullum. Accusemus invicem, ut emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat justitia in judicio.
(2) Non potero sane non vehementer probare ejusmodi industriam.
(3) Et ego tum justis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confessurus.
(4) O quam grave piaculum!

soul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that master N. had been so impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the best of the realm,[1] and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even[2] "to rebuke the world of sin," without respect of persons. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers.[3] You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed up letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth.[4] But, master N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I ween you have forgotten your catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complain, etc.

Item sir, you said further, "that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour," etc. How so, good master N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of master Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Master N., to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cause), that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing: as though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, master N., I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Paul's precept, not esteemed of the children of this world, Hate you, saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time, for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen.[5] And now what manner of man do you make me, master N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this tottering world, and have I been so many ways turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood; but that every silly soul, and base witted man, might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused me, promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false, faithless wretches abuse me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you yourself have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burden me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God

Latimer flattereth no man.

(1) As may well appear by his letter sent to the king before.

(2) "Arguere mundum de peccato."

(3) "Quod quidem ipsum est ipsius Spiritûs sancti peculiare in ecclesiâ munus et officium, sed non nisi per prædicatores legitimos exequendum."

(4) "Nisi forte acriter reprehendere peccata sit jam omni charitate, amicitiâ, veritate carere."

(5) "In omnibus hominibus, sive amicis sive inimicis, juxta præceptum Paulinum, à filiis hujus seculi in pretio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, prosequentes quod malum est, adhærentes autem ei quod bonum est: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus unquam id quod filii hujus seculi vulgò faciunt, ut est videre ubique."

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help me at my need! For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, etc.

Item sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agreed to stand to your award, etc. No sir, master N., you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have persuaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your soul, for consenting, at least way, to the maintenance by falsehood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you show yourself nothing inclinable to the redress of your brother's unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.[1]

Bolstering of falsehood and iniquity.

Ah, master N! what manner of man do you show yourself to be! or what manner of conscience do you show yourself to have? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well that sir Thomas Coking,[2] with a letter of his own hand-writing, hath witnessed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I showed the same to my neighbour, and others more ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to show. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you? the Lord himself saying, "In the mouth of two or three,"[3] etc. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do? But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.[4]

Corrupt tenants.

Item sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother,[5] etc. Ah, master N., what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth! For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to minister justice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your brother? as you yourself know, no man better. What! justices? No, jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be those justices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your brother's part against all right and conscience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my neighbour's cause, after your substantial and final award-making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholden to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you show yourself a worthy juggler: *oh! I would have* said a justiciar, among other of your juggling and partaking justices. Deum bonum! i. e. O good God! what is in the world? Marry sir, my neighbour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking justices, through your good counsel, had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all God's flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking justices. Amen.

Justices turned to jugglers.

Partaking justices.

Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices in Warwickshire, if master N. himself, one of the same order (but altogether out of order), and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, etc. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural? For we read, of a double nature, sound, and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be restored,

(1) Brother ought not to bear with brother, to bear down right and truth, especially being a justice.
(2) This was probably sir Thomas Cockaine, who died in 1592.—Ed.
(3) "Vel ipso dicente Domino. In ore duorum vel trium," etc.
(4) "Verum vivit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia, et judicat justè," etc.
(5) Were not here good sort of justices, trow you?

abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another:[1] so that he that will not help his brother, having a just cause, in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing according to the instinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored.[2] But he that will take his brother's part against right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural; as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God;[3] and so to be natural may seem to be cater-cousin, or cousin-germain with, to be diabolical. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

I fear me we have too many justices that be too much natural, to their own perishment both body and soul. For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes (of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would[4]) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity of blood;[5] but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem causæ, ut quod justum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum; of which number I pray God make you one. Amen. "He is just," saith St. John, "that doth justice. But he that sinneth" (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) "is of the devil,"[6] saith he; of which sort all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dignum et justum est, that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime; so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us.[7] Amen.

Quare seponite justitiam, et sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as Germain's lips, which came not together by nine miles, ut vulgo dicunt, etc.

Item sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: "Well," quoth you, "let master Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life," etc. Ah, sir! and is your brother such an one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one brother to give another! Is this your glorying, my friend?[8] And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, "Vexation giveth understanding."[9] And again, "It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me."[10] At least way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like. After this sort: "Bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee."[11] In the mean season, I would I had never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardliness of you both to godliness, for I cannot be but heavy hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, "I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece," etc. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confess your brother's cause wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naught. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a *fast* man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be. Wherefore, knowing so well your brother's cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourself, as a worthy justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether? Summa summarum, master N., if you will not come off shortly, and apply

(1) De naturâ duplici, integrâ et corruptâ. Illa erat justitiæ plena: hæc nisi reparata, semper manet injusta, injustitiæ fructus alios post alios paritura.
(2) Juxta instinctum naturæ, sive integræ, sive reparatæ.
(3) Tanquam sequens ingenium sive inclinationem naturæ corruptæ, contra voluntatem Dei.
(4) Quales sunt pauciores apud nos, quàm vellem. (5) Ad propinquitatem sanguinis.
(6) "Justus est qui facit justitiam. At qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quisquis injuste facit in gratiam et favorem ullius hominis) ex diabolo est."
(7) Juste priventur munere, et amplius quoque plectantur pro sui quique facinoris quantitate, ut vel sic tandem abscindantur, tanquam nati in incommodum reipublicæ nostræ, qui nos conturbant, cum adjuvare debeant.
(8) "Estne ejusmodi gloriatio tua, mi amice?" (9) "Vexatio dat intellectum."
(10) "Bonum mihi, Domine, quod humiliasti me."
(11) "Ad hunc modum: Chamo et fræno maxillas eorum constringe, qui non approximant ad te." [This way of spelling "chamo" may not be incorrect: see Stephen's Greek Thesaurus, col. 10,363, under χαβών. Edit. Valpy.—Ed.]

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yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your colourable supportation of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least way I shall so warn my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your company.

You shall not stay me, master N., no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other men's sins.[1] For whether it be by detestable pride:[2] whether by abominable avarice,[3] or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, master N., what theft is; that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour?[4] Consider with yourself, good master N., what it is to oppress, and to defraud your brother in his business;[5] and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, "The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away."[6] No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood, of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery.[7] Wherefore let not your brother, master N., by cavillation continue in the devil's possession. I will do the best I can, and wrestle with the devil, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

Godly threats of Latimer to save the soul of his friend.

I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's majesty, and all his honourable council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your crabbed brother (as crabbed as you say he is) out of the devil's claws, maugre the devil's heart.

These premises well considered, look upon it, good master N., that we have no further ado: God's plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter; and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call yourself to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply yourself to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing itself; being of such sort as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to God's high pleasure.

Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not well what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well enough), I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleasure. Amen.—From Baxterley, the 15th of June.

Yours to do you good, to his power, Hugh Latimer.

(1) Ego nolo tam justam causam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare.

(2) Per detestabilem superbiam. (3) Per abominabilem avaritiam.

(4) Furtum quid sit, nempe, quovis modo auferre vel retinere alienam rem invito domino, ut quidam definiunt. Si fur sit qui sic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuscunque ambagibus suffulcit?

(5) Quid sit opprimere et fraudare in negotio fratrem.

(6) "Non tollitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum."

(7) De rebus per fraudes, technas, et dolos, ut de rebus per manifestum furtum et latrocinium partis.

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During the time that the said master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake; who so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to master Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to master Coverdale, master Latimer, doctor Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

A Letter sent to Mrs. Wilkinson[1] of London, Widow, from Master Hugh Latimer, out of Bocardo, in Oxford.

If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, "I was in prison, and you visited me?" God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

Yours, in Bocardo, Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first day of January, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another. But master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, "Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus."

New-year's gift sent to king Henry.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of master Ridley and of master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of queen Mary, being the month of October, A.D. 1555; in the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, which were, Dr. White bishop of Lincoln,

Ridley and Latimer brought to examination.

October.

White bishop of Lincoln, Brooks bishop of Gloucester, the pope's deputies.

(1) "Mrs. Wilkinson, of Soper-lane, in London, widow." See Edition 1563, p. 1356.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. Dr. Brooks[1] bishop of Gloucester, with others, and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used; and what again were the answers of these men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

THE ORDER AND MANNER OF THE EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, HAD THE 30TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1555, BEFORE THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the 28th of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from cardinal Pole, legate à latere, to John White bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr. Holyman bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge master Hugh Latimer, and master Dr. Ridley, pretensed bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions; that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

The effect of the cardinal's commission sent down to Oxford.

Ridley and Latimer cited to appear.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared

(1) Brooks is highly spoken of in a small volume (to be referred to more fully hereafter), entitled "Historia de Vitâ, etc. Buceri et Fagii" (fol. 197), which makes us regret his present situation: "Erat in Broko literatura non vulgaris, eloquentia non contemnenda, ingenium acutum, morum felicitas satis amabilis, si illorum temporum iniquitas, et malorum hominum consuetudo, naturam ejus non immutassent."—Ed.

master Dr. Ridley, and anon master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, master Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley, standing barcheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is my lord cardinal's grace, legate à latere to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage [and therewith master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have becomed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer), you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

The words of the bishop of Lincoln to him, for not putting off his cap.

To whom master Ridley making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley:—"As touching that you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome [and therewith put on his cap] whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

Answer of Ridley to him.

Ridley reverenceth the person of the cardinal, but not his legacy.

Ridley doeth not reverence to the pope.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (which look for no such honour of you), neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent [at which word master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and master Ridley put on his]; and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you

White bishop of Lincoln replieth.

Putting off caps at the naming of the pope.

Mary A.D. 1555.

allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Ridley:—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome,[1] and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

The usurped supremacy of Rome defied.

Ridley's cap plucked off by force.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is an officer of the University) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ in this manner:

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter[1] at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time), if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do."

Though the country of Rome be not strange, yet the doctrine of Rome is strange.

"Remember, master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long agone, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter-forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring,[2] the council willing to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you), and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, "Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also."[3] If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter), hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

The bishop of Lincoln persuadeth Ridley to return to the pope's church.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholicly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place, whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ

(1) Nay the faith of Christ may be proved to have been at Rome in Tiberius's time, before Peter came there.
(2) Another untruth in bishop White, for "only faith" is no new doctrine.
(3) These words of Ridley are falsely reported.

promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine,[1] who writeth in this manner:" "All the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome."[2]] Here you see, master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Then master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Answer of Ridley.

Ridley:—"My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

Three points noted in the bishop of Lincoln's oration.

First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

The see of Rome founded upon Peter.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

Confirmed by old doctors.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

Ridley once of the same see.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter said, 'I say That thou art Christ, the Son of God.' To whom Christ answered, 'I say, thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church;'[3] that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

The church not builded upon Peter.

The church builded upon faith, not upon any person.

The words of Christ to Peter expounded.

Faith the foundation of the church.

"Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters-forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the

Lineal descent of the bishop of Rome.

(1) "Dubitatur utrum forma verborum hæc sit Augustini." [Some doubt may well be expressed, as the tendency of the language contradicts the 22d canon of the Council of Milevis, to which Augustine had himself subscribed: "Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur." See Concilia, Studio Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1543; but the passage intended for citation is, no doubt, that in Augustine's treatise "Contra Epist. Parmen." lib. i. cap. 3, § 5, and its application to the bishop of Rome is here aided by the addition of *Romanæ Ecclesiæ*.—Ed.]

(2) "Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectus est."

(3) "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam."

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sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake: so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most reverenced and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled]. Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

Why the bishops of Rome have been more esteemed than other bishops.

The prerogative that the doctors give to the see of Rome.

"Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting-forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But, after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.'

So long as it continued in sound doctrine, it was worthy to be reverenced.

The bishop of Rome proved to be Antichrist.

"Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, *All the* christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection, I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St. Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called Mare Mediterraneum, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Augustine saith, 'All the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions, are subject to the see of Rome.'[1] If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, 'All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

The place of Augustine answered.

Four patriarchs in the church in his time.

How countries beyond the sea were subject to Rome.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet not supreme head of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I, doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as

(1) "Totus orbis christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris ecclesiæ Romanæ subjectus est."

your lordship said) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverendly of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine." Ridley falsely charged to preach transubstantiation at Paul's Cross. Ridley mistaken in his sermon.

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him said:—

"Well, master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, 'In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris,' only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that 'totus mundus' is more than Europe." Lincoln replieth.

Ridley:—"Indeed, my lord, if St. Augustine had said, 'simpliciter totus mundus,' and not added 'in transmarinis,' it had been without limitation; but in that he said, 'totus mundus in transmarinis partibus,' 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by 'totus mundus.'" Ridley answereth to the words of Augustine.

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:—

"Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholica,' 'catholic,' which is deduced of *κατὰ ὅλον*, that is, 'per omnia:' so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places,[1] not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possession, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning Lincoln returneth to his oration. Two powers; the keys, and the sword.

(1) And why then do you alligate it to the city of Rome?

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matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yielded?

England, how subject to the king, and how to the pope.

Ridley exhorted to submit himself to the pope.

"Wherefore (master Ridley) you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

Fear of punishment set before him.

"Wherefore, master Ridley, consider your state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), but that is the temporal judge's office;[1] we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust, master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Answer of Ridley to Lincoln.

Ridley:—"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err,[2] without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed.[3] And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.[4] In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair

The church tied to no place.

Great part of Christendom infected with the church of Rome.

(1) But that office you yourselves have assigned unto them.
(2) He meaneth, in which general error can be finally.
(3) The catholics do bind the church to a certain place, and that only to Rome. The protestants bind the church to no one certain place, but follow the confession of the word.
(4) Vincentius Lyrinensis, cap. iv.—Ed.

to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded,[1] receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ, after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, 'à suffocato et sanguine,' that is, from things stifled, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"[2]

Great reasons of the Catholics to prove the communion under one kind.

Ridley:—"My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln:—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St. Mary's Church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

ARTICLES, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY MINISTERED TO DR. RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, BY THE POPE'S DEPUTY.

In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocesrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum—miseratione divinâ S. Mariæ in cosmedin, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum—authoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et

(1) The Bohemians required that, and were shent for their labour.

(2) Argument:—The church did abrogate the precept of the apostles of strangled and bloodings: ergo, the church likewise hath authority touching the ministration under both kinds.

Answer:—The precept of the apostles was but for a time, and for a purpose, by little and little to win the Jews.

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Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes, specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo) proponimus, et articulamur conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.[1]

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful master doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. RIDLEY UPON THE SAID ARTICLES.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln:—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln:—"Yea, master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley:—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers, as I should think good.[2] It was meet, also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort, the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."[3]

Then spake doctor Weston, one of the audience:

Weston shooteth his bolt.

Weston:—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley:—"No, master doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's

(1) The articles here follow in Latin in the First Edition, page 1362.—Ed.

(2) The Catholics promise fair, but they perform nothing.

(3) The high priests had not power to put Christ to death, but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to absolve Christ.

deeds, and the high priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

The protestation of Ridley.

Ridley:—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln:—"No, master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley:—"I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Ridley not to speak.

Lincoln:—"No, master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln:—"Well, master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

How the body of Christ may be said to be really, and how not really, in the sacrament.

Ridley:—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *verè*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *verè et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism."

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Two questions under one. The papists and protestants, in granting the presence, do agree: only in the manner of being, they differ. How Christ may be in the sacrament, and how not.

Ridley:—"My lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *verè et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

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This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

What change is in the sacramental bread.

Ridley:—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread.

Bread and wine not changed.

Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Comparison between the communion and baptism.

Ridley:—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

Difference put between the communion and baptism.

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holy Ghost," as he did by the bread, "This is my body."

Then master Ridley recited St. Augustine who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Answer to the third article.

Ridley:—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving.

Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass is a derogation to Christ's passion.

But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

Unbloody sacrifice.

Lincoln:—"Indeed as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross: yet, nevertheless, he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Answer to the fourth article.

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientiâ scholasticâ*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln:—"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article [for it was long before he was understood] if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require: but, if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it." Ridley assigned to appear again the next day.

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed master Ridley, and sent for master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

MASTER LATIMER APPEARETH BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

Now, after master Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, eftsoons as he was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer:—"My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready: for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Then the bishop of Lincoln:—"Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended."

Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin), wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner: The order of Latimer's apparel.

Lincoln:—"Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole's grace, legate à latere to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and, together with all this realm, yea all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance of your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from the which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I desire you but to return thither from whence you went. Consider, master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors.[1] Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed: it shall be no more shame to you, than it The oration of Lincoln to Latimer.

(1) But this church then standeth upon the truth of God's word, and not upon the fantasy of man.

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was to us all. Consider, master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead,[1] to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved."

The pope's authority.

With that master Latimer, who before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying:

"For Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, 'Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas,' the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government;[2] and therefore is the king called 'Rex à regendo:' so that in saying 'rege,' Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But, if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness; if you will not acknowledge your errors; if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions; if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do, (*that* the temporal sword of the realm, and not we,[3] will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are 'filius perditionis,' a lost child; and, as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws. Therefore, master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate; remember you are a learned man; you have taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your soul's health, quiet of your conscience. Consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part [then the bishop put off his cap] again with all my heart exhort you."

Reasons to persuade the flesh, but not to satisfy conscience.

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then master Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had said; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer:—"Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

(1) How you spared the dead, your own acts can bear witness.
(2) Ποιμαίνειν, signifieth to feed, or to rule.
(3) "Qui tradiderunt me tibi majus peccatum habent," saith Christ.

Lincoln:—"Yea, master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer:—"I beseech your lordship license me to sit down."

Lincoln:—"At your pleasure, master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

His answer to Lincoln.

Latimer:—"Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and me thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him 'regere,' govern his people.[1] Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid 'regere:' but, since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of 'regere.' Indeed they ought 'regere,' but how my lord? not as they will themselves: but this 'regere' must be hedged in and ditched in. They must 'regere,' but 'secundum verbum Dei;' they must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned 'regere secundum verbum Dei,' into 'regere secundum voluntatem suam:' they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best; as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word 'regere;' and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, 'If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests *Levitici generis*, of the order of Levi, shall decide the matter *secundum legem Dei*, according to the law of God, so it must be taken.[2] This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter 'according to God's law,' that 'according to God's law,' is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin?" With the which terms the audience smiled. "This is much like the 'regere' which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

The universal church hath not its foundation only in Rome.

"Regere secundum verbum." turned to "regere secundum voluntatem."

Clipping of God's Scriptures by the catholics.

Lincoln:—"No, master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Latimer:—"Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read,[3] and is entituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book.

Latimer:—"Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I knew not your lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again; and master Latimer spake unto them, saying:—

Latimer:—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death, 'Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.'"

(1) Argument: Christ bade Peter, "regere," govern his people: Ergo, the pope must play the *rex*, to reign over kings and emperors.
(2) Deut. xxi.
(3) The author of this book was Dr. Brooks, who was there in the commission. [James Brokis his Sermon at Paul's Cross; printed by Robert Caley, twice in 1554.—ED.]

Mary. The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:—

A. D. 1555. *Lincoln*:—"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done."

Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, speaketh. After this the bishop of Gloucester said, in excusing of his book. "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." Then master Latimer interrupted him, saying:—

The Catholics unreasonable in using of men. *Latimer*:—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:—

The Catholics allege the Scriptures, but take not all. *Gloucester*:—"I went not about to recite any place of Scripture in the place of my book; for then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal 'secundum legem Dei?'"

Latimer:—"Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spiritualty to decide matter of religion; and, as my lord said even now, 'regere:' but they must do it 'secundum verbum Dei,' and not 'secundum voluntatem suam;' according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saying that the bishop of Lincoln said that they came not to dispute with master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to master Ridley. But master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester.

Latimer:—"Well, my lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and to snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

The protestation of Latimer. But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of master Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing of the articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to master Ridley, and required master Latimer's answer to the first. Then master Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their majesties' subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again: and master Latimer answered as followeth:—

First Article. Latimer against the gross and carnal being of Christ in the Sacrament.

Latimer:—"I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament, as you would have it."

Lincoln:—"Then, master Latimer, you answer affirmatively."

Latimer:—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively

Second article.

Lincoln:—"What say you, master Latimer, to the second article?" and recited the same.

What change is in the bread and wine in the sacrament, is not in the nature, but in the dignity of representing.

Latimer:—"There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity; because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word."

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:—

Lincoln:—"Lo, master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine! That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Latimer:—"Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him and said:—

Lincoln:—"Oh, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread. [With that the audience laughed]. Well, master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?"

Difference between Christ's bread and the Pope's.

Latimer:—"Yes, verily, it must needs be so; for Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread: not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body; and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Third article.

Lincoln:—"What say you to the third question?" and recited the same.

Latimer:—"No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Fourth article.

Lincoln:—"What say you to the fourth, master Latimer?"

And recited it. After the recital whereof, when master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no?

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Latimer :—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby."

Lincoln :—"Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by master Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, master Latimer?"

Latimer :—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Fifth article.

Lincoln :—"What say you, master Latimer, to the fifth article?" And recited it.

Latimer :—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer: I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln :—"In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouths of the people."

Latimer :—"I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

Latimer assigned to appear the next day again.

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said, "Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that, after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer :—"Now, my lord, I pray you give me license in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

Lincoln :—"Nay, master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak forty words."

Latimer :—"Nay, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again."

Lincoln :—"Yes, master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer :—"Truly, my lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

Lincoln :—"Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy: you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St. Mary's church."

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The next day following (which was the first day of October), somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Ridley's appearance before the deputies.

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you, neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but, in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's holiness (with that the bishop and all then present, put off their caps, but master Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but, forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

The words of master White bishop of Lincoln, to Ridley, about his cap. Capping again at the name of the pope.

Ridley :—" I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Ridley refuseth to put off his cap to the pope, or to them which come from the pope.

Lincoln :—" Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

Lincoln :—" Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but, because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then, also, to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you [and therewith he put off his cap], not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Augustine's meaning, in that you would have 'totus mundus' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St. Augustine's words, will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not 'totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis,' etc., but first 'totus mundus Christianus Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est:' 'all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, 'in transmarinis partibus,' 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

The former examination of Ridley. The words of the bishop of Lincoln.

The place of St. Augustine again repeated, 'Totus mundus.'

But master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

" I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called 'Mare Mediterraneum,' cast between

Mary. A.D. 1555. Europe, and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

How the catholics use to allege the doctors.

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Augustine. After long disceptation the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

A place of Cyril alleged by Melancthon.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common Places;[1] and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before—wherefore he passed it over.

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: Ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*.[2] I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Dr. Ridley smiling, answered, "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altare,' in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word 'altare,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: Ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: Ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lincoln:—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table[3] instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive: and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley:—"Your lordship's unreverend terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

(1) The "Loci Communes rerum Theol., seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ," first published at Wittenberg, 1521 (of which the second in 1522 has been consulted), does not mention the name of Cyril or any other under the head "De cœna Domini." They seem to have been written without alleging testimonies.—Ed.

(2) "Argumentum a contrario sensu ex Cyrillo contra Judæos." Altars be erected in Christ's remembrance in Britain: Ergo, Christ is come. Altars be now plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come. Answer: This argument is not "a sensu contrario:" for erecting of altars in the antecedent, and plucking down altars in the consequent, be not contrary. In the antecedent, Cyril meaneth the table, or else the celebration of the Lord's supper in his remembrance. In the consequent, by plucking down of altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments serving not to the Lord's supper, but to idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lord's supper, in his remembrance, may be erected again.

3) Bishop White blasphemously calleth the board of the Lord's supper, an oyster table.

Lincoln :—"As for that, master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified, "Now master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

The articles read again to Ridley; he not suffered to read his own.

Then master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley :—"Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure: therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln :—"Well, master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Lincoln :—"In the first part, master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley :—"No, my lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

First article.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required master Ridley's answer to it. Then master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, master doctor Weston being prolocutor.

Second article.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move master Ridley to turn.

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The words of exhortation of Brooks to Ridley.

Gloucester :—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit:[1] so that if you overthrew the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.'

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but, if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the 'væ' and 'woe' which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit:' then, for God's love, master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church,[2] with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most

(1) This is a rather favourite presumption with Romish arguers, as is apparent from the repeated reference to Luther's idea, that he was opposing the whole world *alone* (solus), just as if Luther's *supposition*—not unnatural in his circumstances—was equivalent to matter of *fact*. The contrary appears in the following extract: "Sic pugnavi, ut me *solum* esse putarem—sed ecce et mihi dicitur esse Domino reliquias suas salvas etiam in hoc tempore, et prophetas in abscondito servatos. Nec hoc solum dicitur, sed et cum gaudio ostenditur. Prodiit en! Wesselus (quem Basilium dicunt) Phrysius Groningensis, vir admirabilis ingenii, rari et magni spiritûs, quem et ipsum apparet esse vere Theodidactum:—hic si mihi antea lectus fuisset, poterat hostibus meis videri Lutherus omnia ex Wesselo hausisse, adeo spiritus utriusque conspirat in unum." Luther. præf. in Wesseli Epist. ad Engelbert. Leidensem; which appears in the condemned list, vol. iv. p. 670. The latest and completest edition of Wessel's works (and in any shape they are rare) is entitled "Aura purior, hoc est M. Wesseli Gainsfortii, alias Basilii Groningensis, opera: prædicavit M. F. Lydius;" Amstel. 1617.—Ed.

(2) The *determination of the church* is only that, whereupon our catholic men do ground their faith.

truly with the prophet, "Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit;" but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of master Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholar, then was master Cranmer a doctor, so that he confessed that master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:— *Mary.* A. D. 1555. A brief answer of Ridley to bishop Brooks's tale.

Gloucester:—"Why, master Ridley, it is your own confession, for master Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in master Cranmer's books, and master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform. Ridley could not for his conscience yield to the pope's doctrine.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, who sat by, and said, "Why my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers.[1] And eftsoons master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence. Weston shooteth his bolt. Ridley limited no more but forty words to speak.

After this the bishop of Lincoln who sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln:—"Now I perceive, master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than 'dolentes et gementes:' for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soul."

Lincoln:—"Nay, not so, master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is

(1) Note, reader, the extreme dealing of the papists.

Mary. A.D. 1555. sufficiently already expressed before,[1] we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar: Secondarily, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration: Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol) did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

THE LAST APPEARANCE AND EXAMINATION OF MASTER LATIMER BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately master Latimer was sent for: but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat master Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) master Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as master Ridley had. But eftsoons as master Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying:

Latimer:—"My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm."

Lincoln:—"I am sorry, master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that master Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner:

The bishop of Lincoln's words to Latimer.

Lincoln:—"Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you: or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry."

Latimer short with the commissioners.

It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that master Latimer interrupted him, saying:

Latimer:—"Your lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to

(1) See the degradation of Hooper, vol. vi. page 651.—Ed.

the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here, in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble.' How think you then, my lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection:" which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

The catholic church, and the Romish church, be two things.

Cyprian's counsel: in truth no deliberation to be taken.

Lincoln:—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel. But you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Master Latimer interrupting him, said: "Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."[1]

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk: "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually, there were very few which truly served God; but, after his coming, began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist. There is a diverse consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school, a place for disputations. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had license to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors, we, thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time; and now have called you again here in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning;" and eftsoons recited the first article.

The image of the church before Christ, compared with the church after him.

Articles propounded again to Latimer.

Latimer:—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships' authority, in that you are legaced by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction—to the first article I answer now, as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the Spirit and grace: but, after that corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The very body of Christ received in the sacrament by the spirit and grace.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer:—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice."

The second and third articles.

(1) The cause of the martyrs of the primitive time, and of the latter time, is all one.

Mary. A.D. 1555. The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

Latimer will not deny his master Christ. His condemnation read.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and master Latimer had answered that he neither could, nor would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired master Latimer to hearken to him: and then master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare the cause, why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Papists false in their promises.

Then master Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth master Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name."[1] With that appellation the bishop was content: but, he said, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, master mayor." Because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed master Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued bishop Ridley, and master Latimer, in durance till the 16th day of the said month of October.

A COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DR. BROOKS, AND DR. RIDLEY, IN THE HOUSE OF MASTER IRISH, THE 15TH DAY OF OCTOBER, AT WHICH TIME HE WAS DEGRADED.

In the mean season upon the 15th day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, Dr. Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with divers other of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same,[2] and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they

(1) Master Latimer appealeth to the next general council, truly called in the Lord's name; but that council is long a coming.
(2) No mercy to be had without consenting to iniquity.

must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

Answer of Ridley to Dr. Brooks. O worthy champion of Christ's church.

"My lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

Gloucester:—"Well, you were best, master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."[1]

Ridley:—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish Antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

Ridley commanded to silence, when otherwise he could not be convinced.

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley:—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

Gloucester:—"Put off your cap, master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley refuseth to put on the surplice.

Ridley:—"Not I, truly."

Gloucester:—"But you must."

Ridley:—"I will not."

Gloucester:—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley:—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Gloucester:—"Will you not do it upon you?"

Ridley:—"No, that I will not."

Gloucester:—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Ridley inveigheth against the bishop of Rome and his foolish apparel.

Ridley:—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; 'the servant is not above his master.' If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants."

The surplice here is called a foolish apparel.

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him

(1) With that their caps went off, but Dr. Ridley held on his cap.

Mary. A.D. 1555. Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Gloucester:—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

Master Edridge giveth counsel, that Ridley should be gagged.

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well!"

Degrading of Ridley.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

Ridley would not let come in his hand the chalice and wafer-cake.

When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Ridley degraded from preaching.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," etc. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation[1] was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the

A praise of Bertram's book upon the Sacrament.

(1) All the glittering of Antichrist's kingdom, consisteth in apish toys.

same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then master Ridley said, *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better." Note the charity of papists.

Then he read the same; and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said, "This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done." And with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them." Ridley's sister put from her lease by Bonner.

Ridley:—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester:—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley:—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester:—"I will do what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queen here followeth.

A Supplication of Bishop Ridley to Queen Mary in the behalf of certain poor Men's Leases.

It may please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

Now, I hear say, that the bishop[1] which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of

(1) This bishop was doctor Bonner.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

money as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore, if that way shall please your highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them.[1] I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered in durance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his movable goods; for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into that place: yea and also, if any were left, known to be his, he had license to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called master Stanton, can testify), I paid for him towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and in especial the archbishop of York, who, for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your highness I make most humble suit.[2] The 16th of October, anno 1555.

Nicholas Ridley.

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then master Ridley in praising God, burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure,[3] bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe

Ridley could not with any notorious crime be charged.

(1) If to succour the widow and fatherless, is pure and undefiled religion, as St. James saith, then are Bonner and his religion filthy and abominable, which do such wrong to the widow and fatherless.

(2) Notwithstanding these goodly and just requests, no justice could be had, until that now, of late, some of these shameful injuries, by order of law have been redressed.

(3) "One master Warner, as I remember." Edit. 1563, p. 1376.—Ed.

thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AT HIS SUPPER, THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS SUFFERING.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and, as he sat at supper, the same night at master Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married:" and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk mistress Irish wept. Ridley biddeth guests to his marriage. Mrs. Irish, a great papist before, weepeth for Dr. Ridley.

But master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," etc.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, etc. Ridley without care at his death.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, AT THE TIME OF THEIR DEATH, WHICH WAS THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1555.

Upon the north-side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol-college,[1] the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred[2] likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all

(1) "Balliol College." A correspondent in the *Christian Observer* for June 1838, (p. 354) after referring to a previous communication in the number for September 1837, tending to confirm the accuracy of Foxe's history, states that, "not many weeks since, some workmen, who were employed in making a drain in Broad-street, opposite the door of the master of Balliol's lodgings, found, at the depth of about three feet from the present surface, such a quantity of ashes and burnt sticks, as plainly indicated that they had discovered the spot on which the martyrs suffered."—Ed.

(2) "With a tippet of sables:" Edit. 1563.—Ed.

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worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Ridley and Latimer brought together to the stake.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then master Ridley, looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying master Latimer, with a wonderous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

Behaviour of Ridley and Latimer at the stake.

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Dr. Smith preaching at the burning of Ridley and Latimer.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby."[1] Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Œcolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Smith raileth against the martyrs.

Christ's congregation burdened with diversity of opinions.

Dr. Ridley said to master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

(1) "Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio."—1 Cor. xiii.

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Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshal. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying, master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Ridley ready to answer Smith's sermon, but not suffered.

Marshal, vice-chancellor of Oxford, stoppeth Ridley.

Ridley committeth his cause to God.

Latimer's words when he could not be suffered to answer Dr. Smith.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet,[1] and gave it to his brother-in-law master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Ridley giveth away his apparel and other gifts to the people.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Latimer at the stake in his shirt.

Then master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou

Ridley thanketh God for his martyrdom, and prayeth for England.

(1) This was no popish tippet, but made only to keep his neck warm.

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hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's, and master Latimer's middle: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shaked the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked, what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning master Latimer. "Yea sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto master Latimer.

Gunpowder given to the martyrs.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Ridley's suit to the lord of Thame, for leases of poor men.

Bonner taketh away the leases from poor men, granted before by Ridley.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

The church lightened by the martyrdom of saints.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum." And after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

Latimer's prayer and martyrdom.

But master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-

THE BURNING OF BISHOP RIDLEY AND FATHER LAITMER; WITH DOCTOR SMITH PREACHING.

high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God), he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Ridley long in burning.

The death and martyrdom of Ridley.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

The lamenting hearts of the people at the martyrdom of these two saints.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the story of the martyrs, unto the latter Appendix in the end of these volumes; thinking also to have done the

Mary. A. D. 1555. like with these farewells and exhortations following of bishop Ridley, yet for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned pastor, with the life and story of the author; whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolk, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christ's congregation: the other more special to the prisoners and banished Christians in the gospel's cause: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the city of London, and to all others, with necessary precepts of christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

A Treatise or Letter written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his true and faithful Friends in God; with a sharp Admonition withal unto the Papists.

The first farewell of Ridley to his friends.

At the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure, so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you—Oh all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world—having like mind towards you all—and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness—to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

Commendation of George Shipside, his brother-in-law.

Farewell, my dear brother George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions; and now, in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and steadfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

To his brother John Ridley.

Farewell, my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

To his sister-in-law of Unthank, wife to Hugh, his brother.

Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

To his cousin, Nicholas Ridley.

Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, master Nicholas Ridley of Willymountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness), to be as it were the bell-wether to order

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and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others: so I pray you, good cousin (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness; and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

To his cousin, Ralph Whitfield.

Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss: but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

To all his kindred.

Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, king Edward, and so also announced openly in his court, by his privy council.

Ridley appointed to be bishop of Durham.

Martyrdom, God's singular and rare promotion.

I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed nor astonied at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I assure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I assure thee, O man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, "If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ," (that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake,) "then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you."[1] If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy: how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs; that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

A blessed thing to suffer death for Christ.

If it be a point of a faithful friend to die with his friend, upon thieves, for worldly goods; how much more then to die in Christ's quarrel, upon the enemies of his church?

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, (where, alas! the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand,) if it chance a man so to be slain of a thief, as it often chanceth there, which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact, and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs): know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God [to] rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God,

(1) 1 Pet. iv.

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nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations:[1] the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love, than to give his life for his friend.[2]

To die in any right, whatsoever it be, is to die in God's cause.

To die in the truth against thieves, and to die for the truth against Christ's enemies, compared.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both are God's cause, both are in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his household shall live), he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

Truth taught in the church of England.

True ministration of the Lord's Supper.

This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated, unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

Homilies in the Church of England.

Articles set forth for matters of controversies.

It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone.

But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying,[3] "O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones;" that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves, be of Samaria; these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they

Robbing of Christ's church.

(1) Deut. vii. (2) John xv. (3) "Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam," etc. Ps. lxxii.

have carried it away, and overthrown it, and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments (as of baptism and others), they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

Baptism mixed with men's fantasies.

Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but, in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and made them to believe *that* to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but, in substances, is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table, is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood: which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, "Do this in remembrance of me."[1] And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again."[2] And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

The Lord's Supper turned to the mass.

The Lord's cup robbed.

Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word, wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?

Prayers turned into an unknown tongue.

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed (nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things), but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God; high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; for it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God there-for, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

Instead of homilies the pope's decrees.

The pope's doctrine containeth blasphemy to God, treason to Christ, is contrary to God's word, is a subversion of true godliness, and destruction of man's soul.

Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, while helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality are both one (as I said before), yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders: the goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far divers. These thieves are worse (I say), for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called "sacrilegi," as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all

Comparison between popish persecutors and strong thieves.

(1) Luke xxii. (2) 1 Cor. xi.

Mary. A.D. 1555. heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live. These goods (I say), these thieves, these church-robbers, go about to spoil us of: the which goods, as, to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so, to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

Popish persecutors are false thieves, but true catholics.

These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-times hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

The fight with spiritual thieves is worse than with temporal thieves.

The kind of fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of Antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtleties concerning heavenly things,[1] therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

The weapons of a christian warrior.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, "we fight not against flesh and blood;"[2] that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master, duke, and captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a many of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful, is the kind of death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

(1) Ephes. vi. (2) Ibid.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities), ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice (if ye love me indeed), for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt), than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I say), that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do): who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dr. Ridley named to the see of Durham.

The cause of martyrs is the common cause of Christ, and of all his elect saints.

Let no man shrink to die in such a blessed and common quarrel.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted), than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born?

To his friends in Cambridge.

Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees: of thy common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader. And, of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow; and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Benefits showed to Ridley in Cambridge.

Farewell Pembroke-hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now (God knoweth) I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse: of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after; and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all

Commendation of Pembroke-hall to be a setter-forth ever of the gospel.

Ridley learned the Epistles of St. Paul and Peter.

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the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to the vicar of Herne[1] in East-Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: oh! that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but, I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of his word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Fiennes: the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

Ridley called by archbishop Cranmer to the parish of Herne in Kent.

To the metropolitic see of Canterbury.

Farewell thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitic see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity' sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's-church, in deed and in truth.

To the see of Rochester.

Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God! Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

To Westminster.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare you well!

To the see of London.

O London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever in them delight.

Ridley deposed from the see of London without right or judgment.

Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expulsed by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well! as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

The see of London worthily rebuked.

O thou now wicked and bloody see! why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses, instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostome, yea the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it

(1) Ridley was collated to the vicarage of Herne in 1538; in which parish resided Lady Fiennes, an ancestress of Lord Say and Sele.—Ed.

should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon! thou wicked lamb of Antichrist! thou bloody wolf! why slayest thou down, and makest havock of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and wilt follow none other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I say) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands, O thou whorish drab! shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab! and all thy false prophets.

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The bloody see of London.

Ridley's prophecy upon the episcopal see of London.

Yet thou, O London! I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there may be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in the office of mayoralty, yea, and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city: and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

To the city of London.

Commendation of sir Richard Dobs, alderman and knight.

The erecting of the hospital by Ridley and sir Richard Dobs, mayor of London.

And thou, O sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Chris-

Commendations of sir George Barnes.

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tendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly king Edward, that christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell;[1] and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

To the citizens of London.

Farewell now, all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be! Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

To the higher house and temporal lords of the parliament.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of king Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already, to the see of London. To you therefore, my lords of the temporalty, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor, if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good: hearken what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, "I wonder, my lords, what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist; from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions; from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus: "We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame:" My lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands:[2] but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but he saith, both, shall fall into the ditch.[3] Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death); forsooth no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands,

A good warning or lesson to the temporal lords.

Ignorance will not excuse the temporalty, being seduced in religion.

(1) Bridewell was obtained of king Edward by sir George Barnes, to set poor people on work.
(2) Ezek. iii. (3) Luke vi.

neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

And lest, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish; and that I do but rage, and, as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.[1] For I assure your lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called "apostolici," that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolic church; yea and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof "apostolicus," or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

Many good men in the see of Rome.

So long as the see of Rome followed the rules of the apostles, it might be called Peter's or Paul's chair.

But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed,[2] in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

The see of Rome hath degenerated from the apostles' rules, and hath set up another religion.

If true doctrine make the see apostolic, then contrary doctrine maketh the see to be antichristian.

The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon,[3] and spiritual Sodoma and Egypt, the mother of fornications, and of the abominations upon the earth.[4] And with this whore do spiritually meddle, and lie with her, and commit most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples' sake), her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises

Kings committing adultery with the whore of Babylon, what it meaneth.

(1) Acts xxvi.
(2) That is, hath exercised another power.
(3) Rev. xvii.
(4) Rev. xi.

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more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon,[1] and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintain at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophecy[2]) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light or light unto darkness, white to black or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ or Christ unto antichrist himself.

I know, my lords,[3] and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at these my words lordlike stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need (I trow) to fear what any lord, no nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

My lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure), how hath then your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which, I am persuaded assuredly by God's word, shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betimes, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed.[4] For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiss), so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly, with one consent, to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy say now, and so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity for our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation:[5] how then chanced it that ye were all, O my lords, so light and so little passed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be saved), as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith—that is, to forsake Christ and his Gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is, so necessary to salvation, how

(1) Rev. xvii. (2) Dan. vii. (3) He speaketh to the lords temporal. (4) Psalm iv.
(5) If the unity of the pope's church standeth upon necessity of salvation, why did the lords of this realm abjure this unity in king Henry and king Edward's days? If it be otherwise, why then do they perjure themselves, turning to it again?

chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spiritualty and temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But, on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law (as it is indeed), and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting-forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be), then, my lords, never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law.' The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon "a pœna et culpa") that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try this matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health: repent, I say, or else without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations: so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen.

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Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the Prisoners in Christ's Gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own Country, choosing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Master Christ.

Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye my fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity, than the Gospel of Christ.

Farewell, all ye together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such, after trial (ye know) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dear beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord.[2] As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example, of patience in tribulation, of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable.[3] For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called; that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth. When he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he

(1) Jer. vi. (2) James v. (3) 1 Pet. i.

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railed not again: when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him that judgeth aright.[1]

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you."[2] Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our master hath told us before hand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake: but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.[3]

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his Master, and the servant to be as his lord.[4] If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they so call them of his household?[5] "Fear them not then," saith our Saviour, "for all privities shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light."[6] Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our master commandeth us, saying, "That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad; and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell fire."

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you; so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ), for ye are more worth than many small sparrows.[7] And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven." Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us; we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in his cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant, yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon.[8] "Wonder not," saith St. Peter, "as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire," (he meaneth of tribulation) "which thing," saith he, "is done to prove you;" nay rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.[9]

To confess Christ, and not to fear danger.

Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's

(1) 1 Pet. ii. (2) Matt. v. (3) Luke xxi. (4) Luke vi. (5) Matt. x.
(6) Matt. x. (7) Matt. x. (8) 2 Cor. iv. (9) 1 Pet. iv.

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cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and, thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that which the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified;[1] he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

The causes why the apostles so rejoiced in their afflictions.

O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul,—in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and pass them all,[2]—what wonderful Spirit was that (I say), that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him?[3] O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? "Bear thou," saith he, "affliction like a good soldier of Jesus Christ."[4] This is true: "If we die with him [he meaneth Christ], we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Christ and his way: and "all that will live godly in Christ, shall," saith St. Paul, "suffer persecution."[5] By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the Spirit (for so it was in Isaac's time); so said St. Paul, it was in his time also.[6] And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man (the selfsame man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God), let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories; if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, "Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others again, were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheep's pilches, in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted; such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith."[7] And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we

The glory of Paul, wherein it consisteth.

The way to heaven is by afflictions.

(1) 1 Cor. ii. (2) 2 Cor. xi. (3) 2 Tim. ii. (4) Ibid.
(5) 2 Tim. iii. (6) Gal. iv. (7) Heb. xi.

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may all go together to meet our Master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: "Let us throw away whatsoever might let us—all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality—and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ the ringleader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin."[1] Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: "My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth."[2] "What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we reverenced them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it."[3] Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ, to bear Christ's cross, than for this short lifetime to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, who is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth, but contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.[4]

Reasons to move us to patience under the cross.

Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, etc., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him.[5] And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all these, above that which man's heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally), and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption:[6] who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live.[7] Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise."[8] To die in the defence of Christ's gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord

(1) Heb. xii. (2) Prov. iii. (3) Heb. xii. (4) 2 Cor. v.
(5) 2 Cor. v. (6) 1 Cor. i. (7) 2 Cor. v. Phil. i. (8) Luke xxiv.

over all.[1] And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard, yea give our life for our brethren.[2] And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord,[3] and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, "He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die."[4] And, in another place, "He shall depart from death unto life."[5] And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution, and both Peter and Paul, "a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house,"[6] meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries: for so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the kingdom of heaven.[7] And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom.[8] What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

To covet to be with Christ, and not to fear death.

Farewell, dear brethren! farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse! here wandering in this world in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost, farewell!

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the Heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom.[9] Farewell!

Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell! Farewell!

Another Treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of Religion in England: then a comparison between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Romish Religion; with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.

Alas! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! When, as of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yea and almost in every honest man's house, alas! now, it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content, in Christ's cause and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer.

(1) Rom. xiv. (2) 1 John iii. (3) Rev. xiv. (4) John xi. (5) John v.
(6) 2 Pet. i. 2 Cor. v. (7) Acts xiv. (8) Luke xvi. (9) Luke xii.

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The babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of Antichrist which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

The lamentable change of religion in the church.

Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor public perjury do more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.[1]

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment (as Paul saith plainly), that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word.[2] But, alas! all is turned upside down; Paul's doctrine is put apart; Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts is nothing mindful at all; for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

Abuse in the Lord's supper.

Of late the Lord's supper was duly ministered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians with thanksgiving and setting-forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting-forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

The sacrament turned out of its right use and kind.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness), was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry wherein that adoration is given unto

Idolatry in worshipping the creature for the Creator.

(1) Jer. v. (2) 1 Cor. xiv.

the liveless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be showed unto this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

The cup debarred from the ministration of the Lord's supper.

Blasphemous sacrifice for sin.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them:"[1] this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost everywhere in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry (as the wise man saith), were taken out of the churches, and straightly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. But now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon; and that which he forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Idolatry to stocks and stones.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain yea wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief is Antichrist and his brood; the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. "The whore is that city," saith John, in plain words, "which hath empire over the kings of the earth." This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth. And of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk; yea and kings of the earth have lien by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleasant merchandise have been made rich.

Now what city is there in all the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth;[2] or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (of whom this stinking strumpet

The whore of Babylon with her cup of abominations expounded.

(1) Deut. v. (2) Rev. xvii.

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beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause), did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles (for this whore and beast will be called "dominus apostolicus," whosoever say nay) after this manner in his latter epistle? "There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness, by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall," saith Peter, "make merchandise upon you."[1] And doth not John likewise, in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise), reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, "Et animas hominum," that is to say, "and the souls of men too?" Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb in Latin, "Omnia Romæ venalia;" "All things for money are set to sale at Rome?"[2] Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween in Latin?

The mystical merchandise of the Babylonical strumpet.

All things at Rome for money.

"Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum:
Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius."

Verses against pope Alexander.

These two verses in Latin I have read thus of one translated into English rhyme:

"Alexander, our holy father the pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom;
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick
To set to sale, ready money for to get.
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore,
For what doth he sell but what he bought before?

I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now, by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked see, and make indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

Abominations and wicked abuses of the see of Rome declared.

But you would know which be those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow;

(1) 2 Pet. ii.

(2) This proverb has been largely illustrated, so far as regards the church of modern Rome, in Rivet's "Jesuita vapulans, sive Castigatio not. in Epist. ad Balsacum;" (Lug. Bat. 1636.) The passage which will confirm Ridley's statement is this: "Æneas Sylvius, qui postea Pontifex fuit (epist. 66); 'Nihil est quod absque argento Romana curia dedat. Ipsa manuum impositio et Spiritus Sancti dona venduntur, nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur.' Hinc illi Actii Synceri Sannazarii lusus in Leonem X. Epigr. lib. iii.

'Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, hora
Cur Leo non poterat sumere? vendiderat.'

De Alexandro VI. testatur Guicciardinus Hist. Ital. lib. i. sect. 2 (p. 7, edit. Friburgo, 1775). Cardinales ei vendidisse potestam exercendi Mercaturam sacrorum thesaurorum in præcipua et eminentissimâ parte templi; de quo dictum fuit,

'Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.'"

Jes. Vap. cap. 10, sect. 2.—Ed.

as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, "placebo" and "dirige," with trentals[1] and "scala cœli," dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and "tot quots,"[2] with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution "a pœna et culpa," for thousands of years; yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise: for all these things, they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew! As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and such like things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man once, at the least, every day of a wafer-cake. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith (the meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him)—that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of *The true word of God, and the office of the same declared.*

(1) These terms will be explained by the following illustrations:—"But yet, not trusting to the uncertain charity of others, most persons strained to the utmost, and many most excessively, their fortunes considered, to leave some provision behind them, for that purpose (namely, the release of souls in purgatory): and most commonly by their last wills and testaments, which were accounted sacred, and carrying an obligation more than ordinary for all persons concerned, to see them performed: and thereby, or by acts executed in their life-time, it was not rare, for many men, though they had many children to provide for, or many debts to pay, to postpone all relations, and considerations to this concern of the soul, and to appoint and take order for 'masses satisfactory,' 'anniversaries,' 'obits,' 'requiems,' 'dirges,' 'placebos,' 'trentals,' 'lamps,' 'lights,' and other offices, to be performed daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly, as far as the sums destined would afford, for the ease and help of the testator's soul.

"'Masses satisfactory' were the *Romish* service appointed to be said, or sung, at a certain time, or times, and at an appointed place, at such an altar, or in such a chapel, with special reference to, or remembrance of, such a soul or souls, tormented in purgatory.

"An 'anniversary' was the appointment and performance of prayers, at such or such a time, *once a year*, for the souls of deceased persons; commonly upon the day of the death of the party who appointed it: and this in imitation of the old anniversary days, whereon the martyrdom or deaths of saints were celebrated.

"An 'obit' was a funeral office, performed for the dead, and for his soul's health, at certain times and places appointed.

"A 'requiem' was an office or mass, commonly sung for the dead, so called from those words in it—'Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.'

"A 'dirge, quasi dirige,' was an office of the same nature for souls in purgatory, so called from the first word of the first *antiphone* in the office, 'dirige.'

"A 'placebo' was another such like office, or service, so called from the word *placebo*, being the first word of the office.

"A 'trental,' from the French *trente*, was a service of thirty masses, said or sung for the dead, or a service performed thirty days after death." See the Romish Horseleach; or an Account of the Charge of Popery to this Nation; (London, 1769,) pp. 199, 200. The folios of the Manuale ad usum Sarum (Antv. 1542), are full of the above terms; as page 123, &c.—Ed.

(2) "Tot quots," an abbreviation of *totiens quotiens*, a kind of unlimited limitation occurring in papal documents and grants. Thomas Aquinas, as quoted in Serrami de septem urbis Romæ ecclesiis (Coloniæ, 1600), p. 134, will explain the meaning of this item: "Quicunque vadit ad ecclesiam talem usque ad tale tempus, habeat tantum de indulgentia; intelligitur semel tantum: sed si in aliqua ecclesia sit indulgentia perennis, sicut in ecclesia B. Petri xl. dierum, tunc *quoties* vadit aliquis *toties* indulgentiam consequitur." Thom. Aquin. summa Theol. Supplem. 3 part. quæst. 25 art. 2, § ad quart. And abundant instances of this form are recorded in p. 118 of "De Origine, Progressu, Valore et Fructu Indulgentiarum," auth. Eusebio Amort (Venetiis, 1738), a very straightforward writer upon the subject. Bishop Jewel also mentions "tot quots" amongst a variety of other expedients for obtaining money. See his Defence of the Apology; part 6, ch. 23, divis. 2.—Ed.

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God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work—when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is; what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us; how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do; and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they are taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation): and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow; who shall be the judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke—when (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion (whereof I spake before), it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which be appointed in the margin,[1] whereupon this talk is grounded, and, by God's grace, he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: "Well," said he, "spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, ye shall ear with your ears, and not understand; and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull; and with their ears they are hard of hearing; and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God."[2]

Alas! England; alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly uncurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused

(1) Note here, that these Scriptures were written by master Ridley in the margin, but were not in the copy which we followed.
(2) Act xxviii.

him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou beardest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in king Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself; and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for showing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but, alas! all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, sergeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his): but, for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

Cranmer and Ridley, standing in the duke of Somerset's cause, etc.

The corrupt life of gospellers in king Edward's time.

And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired; and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he, being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil), and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and unreligiously to come to the holy communion and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and undiscreet devotion which they had aforetimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

Hypocrisy a double evil.

And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as, he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged and impotent poor needy folk, and

Slackness that was in that time, to good works.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing: in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison, I mean, of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up, and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year began marvellous well. The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

God's plague upon England justly deserved.

All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so that he deny not his Master Christ; or else he is but a castaway, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

He exhorteth to constant confession of Christ.

Now then, seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers, alas! are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will, he can make them bow: and also that christian princes in old time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, but even (as all the world knoweth), after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death. And Daniel declareth further, that the kind of death accustomably should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

Punishment of heretics, more gentle in the old time, how it was used.

Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomable laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss, at the last, both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall show thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

Counsel given in these days of persecution what to do.

My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezebel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another:" and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius.[1] But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination. Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, "Tunc inquit qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes." "Then," saith he, mark this Christ's "then," for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this "then" is commanded. "Then," saith Christ, "they that be in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains; and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck; but pray," saith Christ, "that your flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabbath-day." The abomination of desolation set up in England.

These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be "in Jewry" spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; such as they whom Christ here biddeth in the time of the reign of Antichrist's abominations, to fly unto "the mountains;" which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house-top, "not to come down," and him that is in the field "not to return to take with him his clothes;" he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back; and, for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, "Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck;" women great with child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word "woe" signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And whereas Christ saith, "Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day;" in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the Sabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways; and also to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same place of St. Matthew's gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayest read them there. Christ commandeth to fly to the mountains.

And in Revelations xviii. the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Fly my people out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens! Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul,

(1) Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, [was elected about A.D. 340, deposed, and re-elected, for a time, A.D. 349.—Ed.]

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that blessed apostle. He plainly forbiddeth us,[1] "to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful. For what fellowship can there be," saith he, "of righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God." As God hath said, "I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people." "Wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God."[2]

Counsel to depart the realm. Doubts whether to fly or to tarry, debated.

This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, "We should counsel a man always to do that, which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardliness. In many things, that which is best for one at sometimes, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go." I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God: as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister, after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game (that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the christian faith, in hope of everlasting life), should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befal; but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day—so likewise I dare not wish nor counsel any,

Presumptuous provocation and rash running in danger forbidden.

either brother or sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or further in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his Ecclesiastical History) for evermore.[3]

But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the Antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly, agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as they who think otherwise. "Yes," peradventure will some say, "thus it may be: thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the common wealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience. In other countries,

Conscience in religion would not be dissembled.

somewhere, this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot: but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England, in the times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience: for in observing of them, thou

(1) "Ducere jugum cum incredulis." (2) 2 Cor. vi. (3) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.

shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bare a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the conjured water? *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre for setting-up and painting of images—nay indeed of idols—and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for "requiem," masses, "dirige," and commendations, and such like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for "amicus Cæsaris?" A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more, contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, "Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil;"[1] or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

A hard dwelling in England for a good man, either with danger of conscience, or peril of life.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find, and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, "Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body. I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?"

O my friend, beware for God's sake; and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David, "Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin." Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing. And God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers God's word accounteth to be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Invent not excuses to cloak sin.

Confession of mouth must go with belief of heart.

Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man! take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιογνώστης, that is to say, "the searcher of the heart." Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments," saith Christ, "and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that

To trust in God, what it is.

(1) "Ab omni specie mali, abstinete vos."

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God hath thy heart after this manner of sort (which is to have thy heart indeed), when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's,[1] and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. "Do you not know," saith St. Paul, "that your body is a lively temple of God?"[2] And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely; it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every christian soul? "As you have in times past," saith he, "given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified."[3] And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he showed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet, to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what, I suppose, is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master, the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his head, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee what, I think, to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with "tau,"[4] whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which, for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.[5]

To bear the beast's mark, what it is.

The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a promise of Messias, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore. But they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messias, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory; whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood—of Elias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one that should be endued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles; and of Messias's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias, and the true Messias; and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise, I fear me, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God ("for the world is not able to receive him," saith John,) neither doth, nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his

The literal taking of the Scripture made the Jews infidels.

The pope's marked men.

(1) 1 Cor. vi. (2) Ibid. (3) Rom. vi.
(4) The letter T, or a cross. See Dr. A. Clarke's Comment. on Ezekiel ix.—Ed.
(5) Rev. xiii. xx.

marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say, "O sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can, or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand," etc. Carnal objections answered.

I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, "If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother," (he meaneth, and will not in His cause forsake his father and mother) "his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple." And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience, to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some, "Alas! sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and, because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care. Another worldly objection answered.

Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, women with child, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of Antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, "Woe be to the women with child and travailing women, and women that give suck in those days." For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befal; and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace; and yet he saved them all. Paul was A lesson to trust to the Lord, who is always a help in extremity of need.

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plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he saith of himself), and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet he that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

Examples of God's ready help in extreme perils.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both Old and New. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but, of all others, Joseph, and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side—the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other—that they could look for none other (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jonas, and many others, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when both the high priest, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews, had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison; and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, nor man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

Examples of God's deliverance.

Now to descend from the apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these, and a hundred more, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and in the Tripartite History.

But for all these examples, both of holy Scripture, and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: "All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these, we must needs grant, were

special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?" *Mary.*

Well beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times); or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things; or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth: but God our heavenly Father is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore. A. D. 1555. God worketh great miracles in our time, although every man doth not see them.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the prison-door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith; as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake. The Lord's favour no less in adversity, than in prosperity.

Thinkest thou, O thou man of God! that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to stone him to death? No surely, nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist's time, "And the learned" [he meaneth truly learned in God's law] "shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame," [that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire] "and in captivity," [that is, shall be in prison] "and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season."[1] And after a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth, "And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white"[2] [he meaneth, be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty]. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand steadfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

(1) "Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, et ruent in gladio et in flammâ, et in captivitate, et rapinâ dierum, etc. Et de eruditis ruent ut conflentur et eligantur, et dealbentur," etc. Dan. xi.
(2) Dan. xi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

To die in Christ's cause, is a high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, "that they loved not their lives, even unto death."[1] And our Saviour Christ saith, "He that shall lose his life for my cause, shall find it." And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians (as the worldly do wickedly dream), but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all), "Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it;" [he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth]; and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the Gospel's sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and lose his own soul," his own life? "or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul?"[2] "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my Gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels."[3] Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. "All things," saith Paul, "work with the good to goodness." Even the enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

Martyrdom a high honour.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and Gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. "Of the which some were racked (as the Apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection; some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheep's skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated."[4] They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, endued with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, "Come, Lord Jesus, come."[5] For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible; that which now is vile shall be made glorious; that which is now weak shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

Who, or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we

(1) Rev. xii. (2) Matt. xvi. (3) Mark viii. (4) Heb. xi.
(5) "Veni Domine Jesu." Rev. xxii.

have here, in Christ's cause? in our Lord God's cause? O thou, therefore, man of God, thou that art loaden, and so letted like unto a woman great with child, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet, if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befal, in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve and to work with thee unto the best, before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end! Nothing happeneth without God's foresight.

All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called a woman great with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause; for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour, that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our comforter and sanctifier of all, unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his apostles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's Gospel, "Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into hell fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven."

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory, and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned pastors and constant soldiers of Christ, master Latimer and bishop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with the farewells also of bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdom of heaven. Divers and sundry other treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

*About[1] this time suffered William Dighel, most constantly offering his body a burnt-sacrifice unto God, forsaking the world, life and all, for the love of his holy truth. This holy martyr suffered at Banbury in the county of Oxford.

(1) This passage, and the following Profession of Faith, are only extant in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments; respecting the latter, Foxe gives no authority from whence he derived it. It is called, "*Brevis Descriptio Professionis Fidei Christianæ in comitiis Petruotitæ, vulgo Pret-kan Plegatos, regni Poloniæ; facta tertio die Maii*, 1555. Omnes in peccato orti et nati sumus, et omnes intelligentiæ humanæ sicut tenebræ; ita ut nedum Dei tantum, sed ne nostri cogitationem habere possimus. Proinde dedit Deus decem precepta legis, ut ex eis veluti caligantes oculi nostri aperiantur et illustrentur, ex illisque humanam infirmitatem agnoscamus," etc. See Edition 1563, pp. 1238, 1239.—Ed.

Mary.

A.D. 1555. A brief Description of the Profession of the Christian Faith, agreed upon and made at Peternot,[1] commonly called Pretkan Plegatose, of the Kingdom of Poland; the third of May, A.D. 1555: translated out of Latin into English.

All men have their beginning and be born in sin, and all men's understandings be as darkness, so that we cannot have a thought, not only of God, but neither of ourselves; wherefore God gave the Ten Commandments of the Law, that, by them, our blind eyes, as it were, might be opened and made bright, and by the same we might know man's infirmity.[2]

Therefore Christ came that he might manifest God unto us, and his will: wherefore Christ is the light of this world, whom whoso followeth, and swerveth not from his word, he walketh in the eternal light.

This only Doctor and Schoolmaster, that eternal God of the world, commanded us to hear and follow, forasmuch as that Son of God cannot lie; and whosoever follow not his word, although they be most mighty and wise, they all be liars.

He hath manifested unto us all things that seem to pertain unto eternal salvation; without him, no man may be acceptable before God.

Unto him all the prophets do ascribe and bear witness that such as believe in the Son are blessed: he alone hath made us free from the wrath of God, because, by our works, we deserve not the same, neither is there any thing under heaven that may save us besides him.

Therefore whosoever doth attribute salvation and due praises to any other, but only to Christ, is guilty of blasphemy against God.

This the Son of God doth attribute to the merit of his passion by the gospel (which ought to be preached unto every person in his own mother tongue), and, by the sacraments, unto the believers of his word: that is, by baptism, and by the use of his body and blood which was shed for the remission of our sins.

In these sacraments the covenant of the Lord is sealed up unto us, which, whosoever will change, is accursed.[3]

In none other place verily we find a sacrament, but where it is tied to the word of God: for the traditions of men not agreeing to the word, be idolatries; specially when they be set in God's place.

This also we have learned out of the commandments of Christ,[4] that only God is to be worshipped,[5] who alone is the searcher of the hearts;[6] which is proper to no creature; and we have a commandment in the old law: He that worshippeth another God besides this, let him suffer death.[7] Unto this God we have none other Mediator and Intercessor, besides Jesus Christ.[8] It is evident therefore that God is not bound by the word unto images and figures.

The sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's supper do offer unto the believers the remission of sins; besides these the Christians use none other.[9]

Other godly ordinances, as matrimony, the confirmation of the ministers of the church [etc.], do not bring unto us the remission of sins, which be inferior dignities; albeit we do not despise them. We deny that oblation should be made for the dead; for if, when they were alive, they knew and praised God, where they ought, they are saved; otherwise, contrary, the masses and diriges, and such other trifles, can do them no good. Of this the word of God testifieth: "He that believeth in the Son of God shall not be damned."[10]

Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that be dead.[11] While we are in this world it is certain we may help one another as well with prayers as with counsels, but when we shall come before the throne of God, neither Job, neither Daniel, neither Noah, shall pray for any person, but every man shall bear his own burden. Here life is either lost or gotten; here provision is made for us of eternal salvation, by the worship of God, and by faith: after this life there is no place of repentance, neither of any satisfaction. There is none other place but in this life to correct our affections and manners, for after

(1) Petricow, Petercaw, or Piotrkow, a small commercial town in Poland, where the kings were elected and the diets held.
(2) Psalm l. Tobit i. Rom. iii. Gal. iii. Matt. ii. 1 Cor. x. (3) Gal. i.
(4) Matt. xxv. (5) 2 Kings viii. (6) Jer. xvii. (7) Exod. xxii.
(8) John xiv. 1 Tim. ii. (9) Bernardus "De Cœnâ Domini." (10) John iii. (11) 1 Thess. iv.

this life every person shall have that, which, in the same, he hath purchased to himself. *Mary.*

All the catholic faith, by the authority of Scripture, believeth the kingdom of heaven to be the first place from whence he that is not baptized is to be excluded utterly: we acknowledge no third place, yea, neither do we find it to be in the holy Scriptures. A. D. 1555.

We hold God's most holy word and commandment; but of the traditions of men, this God speaketh: "They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men." Also, "Every plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out." *

The Death and End of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester,

THE ENEMY OF GOD'S WORD.

The next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and master Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life: concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, forsomuch as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of king Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardness of his, he profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the civil law, then in languages and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of study.

The vices of Winchester described.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again as great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him; not so much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; toward his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good lord Cromwell and him in the reign of king Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the poets write of Pelides,[1] "cedere nescius:" who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evident partly to understand as well by his book "De verâ Obedientiâ;"[2] as also by his sermon before king Edward. Also by his answers to the council the same time, and moreover by his own words

(1) Hor. Od. lib. i. Ode vi.—Ed.

(2) Stephani Winton. Episc. De Verâ Obedientiâ Oratio; 1534. It was reprinted by Gardiner in the following year, and again at Hamburgh in 1536; when a Preface was added by Bonner. This was translated by Wood, for which see Mr. Steven's Mem. of Bradford, and Dibdin's Typographical Antiq. vol. iii. pp. 290, 292.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

it may be gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touching the monstrous making and mishaped fashion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were said not to be like to other men's, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravening beasts. What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study, nor diligence of reading was such (by reason of his too much intermeddling in prince's matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning soever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: even so he with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, peradventure, use also, and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

Winchester not worthy the title of a learned man.

And as touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and forswear, so as he did. For first in the beginning of queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of the lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, as Edward Bonner was preferred[1] to the bishopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book "De Obedientia" may appear? in which book "De Obedientia," lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how, not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment; whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that, coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a schismatic, insomuch that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him.[2] Whereof read hereafter following.[3]

The mutability of Gardiner in religion.

The first turning of Winchester from the gospel, and why.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester, during all the time and reign of queen Anne? After

(1) "'Preferred' by the lord Cromwell." Edit. 1570.—Ed.

(2) Touching the doings of Winchester at Louvain, read the letter of Driander to Crispin. [See vol. vi. p. 169.—Ed.]

(3) Also in vol. vi. of this Edition, in the Process against Gardiner.—Ed.

her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion: till again, in king Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as both by his sermon before king Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and, no doubt, he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Another half turn from popery to the gospel.

Winchester turned to a full papist.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner's popish divinity. In which his popish trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to say; and so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other papists. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of Pereseus;[1] out of whose book the greatest part of Winchester's divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

Winchester never constant in himself, nor agreeing with other papists.

A great part of his divinity is in Pereseus.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and scripture he appeareth nobody; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity: in whose obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader find any sweetness in his reading.

Winchester's style unpleasant.

What moved him to be so sturdy against master Cheke, and sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man, as it seemeth, that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a patron of old customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but smile at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of king Edward's council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners) of the high favour he had of the noble king of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the king less favour any of his council than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said bishop to be a secret maintainer of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent

(1) This was Martin Perez de Agala, a Spanish theologian. He accompanied his patron, Don Francis a Mendoza, after having been his confessor and coadjutor in the bishopric of Jaen, into Italy, and afterwards staid for some years in Louvain, Worms, and Antwerp, where he commenced the work, to which Gardiner may have been indebted, "De divinis, apostolicis, atque eccles. Traditionibus libri decem;" Coloniæ 1549. He died in 1566, archbishop of Valencia. Antonio Biblioth. Hisp. nova; tom. ii. p. 107. Matriti, 1788.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. his highness longer life) to have used the extremity of law against him, upon very sore and just matter of old, committed by him, and yet not taken away by any pardon, commanding thereupon often the lord Paget, then his secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean out of his last will and testament, not suffering him either to be any of his executors, or else in any case of his son's council (no, although he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the lords and others of his highness's council), saying, he was a wilful, troublesome, and headstrong man, and not meet to be about his son, or to have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongst other causes that moved the king thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his majesty, after his abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, (amongst other embassages to foreign princes,) to send the said bishop of Winchester, and sir Henry Knivet knight, as joint ambassadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratisbon, appointing also sir John Barkley,[1] sir William Blunt, knights, and master Andrew Beynton esquire (his highness's servants), to give their attendance upon the said sir Henry Knivet, for the more honouring of his embassage. It happened also at that time, that sir Henry Knivet entertained into his service, as steward of his household, one William Wolfe, who had in the same place and room before served sir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambassador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elsewhere.[2] This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear some news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, a banker, one of his old acquaintance; who, supposing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the bishop of Winchester (not knowing of any other joint ambassador), required Wolfe for old acquaintance, to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico showed him that the pope's legate or ambassador to the emperor (which was cardinal Contarini[3]), departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end his business himself, had put the said Ludovico in trust for the accomplishing of it; and amongst all other things he had especially charged him, that he should repair to the ambassador of England, and require of him an answer of the pope's letters, which the legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome; and that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all speed; and therefore, if his lord ambassador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for

(1) Spelt Bartley in the depositions. See next note.—Ed.

(2) This narrative has been anticipated in the Twentieth Session against Gardiner, vol. vi. pp. 165—168, where the depositions of Beynton and Chaloner are reprinted from the first edition.—Ed.

(3) Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, bishop of Belluno, was much employed in negotiations amongst the Protestants previous to the Council of Trent; in the conducting of which he did not proceed with so much dogmatism as was thought proper at Rome, and accordingly fell under suspicion of heresy. Sleidan, lib. xiv (anno 1542,) pp. 280, 281, vol. ii. edit. Franc. 1786. His name appears first amongst the signatures to the celebrated "Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia," addressed by certain cardinals and other prelates to Paul III., upon his own suggestion, in 1538; and from this and other portions of his history it is evident that he was not voluntarily altogether a *Romish* bishop. He died legate of Bologna in 1542. See Dupin, cent. 16, book iii, pp. 429 and 462; Schelhorn's "Epistola ad Card. Quirini de Consilio de Emend. Ecclesia," (Tiguri, 1748); and Rivet. Cath. Orthod., tract iv. Quæst. 2, § 12.—Ed.

the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, and yet partly guessing which ambassador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he, being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance of it (which thing Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador); and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he did straightways reveal it to sir Henry Knivet his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's so bare a report to attempt aught, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. "But sir," quoth he, "if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words at Ludovico's own mouth, as well as I." Upon which talk sir Henry Knivet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon master Thomas Chaloner his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue: not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chaloner's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the piazza, or market-stead, which he, gladly granting, so did; not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the piazza, over against the emperor's palace (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged), and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and, espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chaloner being still with them. At last, upon occasion, they entered into like talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two, one the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, that he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and more such like (as upon the former day), master Chaloner, being moved (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose), after the departure of Ludovico from them said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, "Do as you will, if you think any

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Mary. matter therein." And therefore at his return home, he told sir
A. D. Henry Knivet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth. Sir
1555. Henry Knivet, being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to sir John Barkley, sir William Blunt, and to master Beynton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof, and therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvet, and other silks, unto sir Henry Knivet's lodging, as well for himself, as for the other gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovico unto sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had awhile viewed the silks, and had had some talk about the prices, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if sir Henry were the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, "No, it was not his seigniory, but it was a bishop," terming him "reverendissimo," whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knivet hereupon, somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk thereabout, whereby Ludovico opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at last, perceiving that as well sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, did behold him somewhat fixedly, he brake off his talk; wherewith sir Henry Knivet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the meanwhile Ludovico the next morning repaired unto the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with sir Henry Knivet and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at the first to be the bishop's man, it is not certainly known. But the bishop (perceiving that by mistaking one for another, and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant, Ludovico had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light), in great hasty rage, caused Ludovico to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Granuella, one of the emperor's council, and so practised with him, that Ludovico was secretly committed unto prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then, sending in great haste to sir Henry Knivet to come and speak with him (which he did), he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that Ludovico might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences; which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Granuella, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him; but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom sir Henry Knivet

again very earnestly objected, that he marvelled that the bishop, in matter touching the king's majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovico any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them (both writing letters unto the king about that matter), until at last the king's majesty, perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the king's majesty, as either by the death of sir Henry Knivet (which I think was not long after), or by other friends the bishop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premises to be most true; and therefore, in the presence of sir Henry Knivet, and divers other of his servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at Ludovico's hands, for any malice or displeasure borne to the bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the king's majesty, desiring that the same his protestation might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament, which was then presently done; and thereunto he set his hand.[1] *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often master secretary Paget (being after lord-keeper) to keep safe as sore matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process against him had in king Edward's days, that the king's majesty, Henry the Eighth, had this matter ever in his mind; for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas: meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his majesty would call him to account. And therefore all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with king Henry his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by the lord Paget; who (as he himself reporteth in his depositions), in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the king had spoken, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraso not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the depositions of the nobles and others, examined in the long process against him in king Edward's reign, as appears in our first edition of Acts and Monuments, from page 804 unto the end of that process, in that book at large mentioned.[2]

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord there-for: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the Six

Gardiner especially hunted for the life of the lady Elizabeth.

(1) See vol. vi. p. 168.—Ed. (2) See also vol. vi. pp. 143 to 264.

Mary. A. D. 1555. Articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, etc., also as, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering also our noble queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from that bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices; for the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches. Amen.

Master Bridges, lieutenant of the tower, the Lord's organ in saving the lady Elizabeth's life.

Of things uncertain, I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the realm that can say more than here I have expressed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death: so this bishop, for his part, bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder, in assailing the root, and in casting such a platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he showed; whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he stank before he died, as cardinal Wolsey did; or whether he died in despair, as Latomus and others did, etc.: all this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday,[1] being the wife of one master Munday, secretary sometime to the old lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth:

"The same day, when bishop Ridley and master Latimer suffered at Oxford (being about the 19th day of October), there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk,[1] with the foresaid mas' r Munday his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop, being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of

(1) Foxe is incautious in relating this from mere "hearsay;" as the incident could not have occurred to the *old* duke of Norfolk, who died on the 25th of August, 1554.—Ed.

whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, "Now," saith he, "let us go to dinner." Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that meanwhile, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by urine or otherwise, anything that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before), was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story: I could name the man (but I abstain from names), who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester hearing that, "What, my lord," quoth he, "will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!"

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of his extremity;—betwixt Gardiner and him be it. If Bonner did there behold anything which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph which was made of his death, devised of a papist for a popish bishop, but I pretermit it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his sermons, words, and writings; wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he, standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermit the same, upon certain considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, sermons, writings, disputations; or else will be judged by his own witnesses of his own party produced, we have here collected such manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the pope's supremacy: and likewise afterwards may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said Gardiner, first with

Marg. A. D. 1555. Gardiner agreeing to reformation of religion, how far, and wherein.

other writers, and lastly with himself: first beginning with his sermon preached before king Edward, the sum and effect of which sermon, briefly collected by master Udall, is before to be seen;[1] and having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with other such matter above storied (wherein may appear the double-faced doings of this bishop in matters of religion), now, for the more fortification of that which hath been said, if any shall deny this foresaid sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the same, we will here adjoin certain brief notes and specialties in manner of a summary table, collected as well out of the testimonies and depositions of his own friends and servants, and others who were sworn truly to declare their knowledge in this behalf, as also out of his own writings and works agreeing with the same. In all which foresaid allegations it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points, and how far, the said bishop of Winchester agreed with the reformation of religion received, not only in king Henry's, but also in king Edward's days.

And because it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all the words and testimonial sayings of every witness particularly, the same being expressed sufficiently in our first impression before, it shall therefore suffice, by quotations, briefly to assign the place to the reader, where he may find all those points of reformation, whereunto the said bishop Gardiner fully agreed with the doctrine now received; and, first, notwithstanding the pope's supremacy, as is hereunder noted.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY IMPUGNED BY BISHOP GARDINER IN HIS BOOKS AND SERMONS.

First, as touching the confession and judgment of Stephen Gardiner against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, read in his book "De verâ Obedientiâ," folio 6.

Item, Concerning the disputations and defensions of bishop Gardiner at Louvain, against the pope's supremacy, read in our first impression, page 802;[2] also in these present volumes.

Item, How the said bishop Gardiner taught, in his sermons and preachings; as where he expoundeth the place "Tu es Petrus," nothing at all to make for the authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how

(1) For this sermon, reprinted from the First Edition, see vol. vi. pp. 87—93. A few of the side-notes which Foxe added in the later editions, are here preserved. At page 89, line 6, Gardiner had said, "But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say; for as he was our bishop then, so is it he, that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice, then made, was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to continue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself." To this Foxe says, "Note here Winchestor: the sacrament was ordained to keep us in the perpetual favour of God." At page 89, line 18, Gardiner had said, "And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the cross), neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin, but to continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us," etc. To this Foxe says, "Note here Winchester, contrary to himself; for before, he had said, 'the sacrament was ordained to keep us in the favour of God;' and now he saith 'it is to keep us in remembrance of his passion.'" At page 89, line 58, Gardiner had said, "If chantries were abused by applying the mass for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, if wicked, just, I like the act well, and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose." To this Foxe says, "Note, Winchester doth not allow mass for satisfaction to bring men to heaven, to take away sin, or to make men just," etc. And Gardiner having subsequently said of chantries, "If there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away:" Foxe adds, "as there were indeed masses of scala cœli." Foxe presently after has this remark, "Winchester craftily speaketh against the abuse of the mass, not against the mass."—Ed.

(2) "Our First Impression," called also "the Old Book," that is, The First Edition of the Acts and Monuments; page 802 of which corresponds with Vol. VI, page 138 of this Edition.—Ed.

the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church, read in the places in the old book ;[1] and in the depositions of Dr. Redman.[2]

Item, How the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing given to Peter pertained as well to all the apostles as to Peter.[3]

Item, That the place, "Pasce oves meas," was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head, read in the same book.[4]

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome was not received of the most part of christian princes, read the depositions of sir Thomas Smith.[5]

Item, How the said bishop Gardiner would not grant that the said authority was received generally.[6]

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter, read the depositions of Robert Willanton.[7]

And that though Peter was called "princeps apostolorum," that was nothing else, but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company, but because he speaketh first, read in the deposition of master Basset.[8] The headman of inquest.

Item, That when the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles, read the depositions of Robert Willanton.[9]

Item, How the said bishop taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as "super hanc petram," "pasce oves meas," "princeps apostolorum," etc., proving that they serve nothing for his authority, read likewise in the same book in the depositions of master Basset, his own servant.[10]

Item, How the said bishop in his book "De verâ Obedientiâ," did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.[11] And moreover, in his sermons did allege and preach the same, and that also vehemently,[12] pithily,[13] earnestly,[14] very earnestly,[15] very forwardly.[16]

And he not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause master White (then schoolmaster, afterward bishop of Winchester) to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like. Read the depositions of John White, schoolmaster of Winchester.[17] Verses written against the pope.

Item, How he, for the space of fourteen years together, preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before king Henry, read the depositions of John Potinger.[18] Winchester against the pope's authority.

PLACES NOTED, WHEREIN BISHOP GARDINER IMPUGNED CEREMONIES, MONKERY, IMAGES, CHANTRIES, ETC.

Item, For ceremonies and images which were abused, to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his

(1) See this Edition, vol. vi. pp. 222, 223, 225.—Ed. (2) Ibid. p. 237.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed. (4) Ibid. pp. 225, 204.—Ed. (5) Ibid. p. 186.—Ed.
(6) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed. (7) Ibid. p. 204.—Ed. (8) Ibid. pp. 232, 204.—Ed.
(9) Ibid. p. 204.—Ed. (10) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed. (11) Ibid. p. 140.—Ed.
(12) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed. (13) Ibid. p. 223.—Ed. (14) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed.
(15) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed. (16) Ibid. p. 186.—Ed. (17) Ibid. p. 223.—Ed. (18) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed.

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book taken from him, when he abuseth it, or delighteth only in the golden cover. Read in the foresaid old book the depositions of Christopher Malton.[1]

Item, The dissolving of monasteries and religious houses, he alloweth and granteth that they were justly suppressed. Read the depositions of Dr. Weston.[2]

Images abused.

Concerning images being by king Edward's injunctions abolished, how the said bishop exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith, read the depositions of W. Lorking.[3]

Monks and friars.

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves. Read the depositions of sir Thomas Smith.[4]

Friars he never liked in all his life.[5] Monks he counted but belly-gods.[6]

Going about to St. Nicholas, etc.

The going about of St. Nicholas,[7] St. Katherine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth to be children's toys.[8]

Chantry obits.

The taking away or transposing of chantry-obits, he referreth to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that if they did dissolve them, it might well be done. Read the depositions of master Basset, his own servant.[9]

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use, and that monasteries were justly taken away. Read the depositions of George Bullock.[10]

Days, hours, number, time, and place, etc.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order: but, if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not available but by observing thereof, it is an error. Read the depositions of Dr. Redman.[11]

The communion set out by king Edward he liketh well.[12]

The book of common service.

The book of Common Service he was content both to keep himself, and cause it to be kept of others. Read the depositions of the duke of Somerset.[13]

Homilies.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the church to hear them. Read the depositions of master Potinger his own servant.[14]

In sum, to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations set forth by the king and superior powers, he yielded and granted. Read in the depositions of George Bullock.[15]

Item, Cardinal Pole coming to the French king, to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France. Witness Cuthbert, bishop of Durham.[16]

Item, The said Winchester sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy. Read in the depositions of John Cook, registrar.[17]

(1) See this Edition, vol. vi. pp. 230, 224.—Ed. (2) Ibid. pp. 222, 205, 233.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. p. 211.—Ed. (4) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed. (5) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed. (6) Ibid. p. 187.—Ed.
(7) St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra in the fourth century, was disposed so early in life to conform to ecclesiastical rule, that when an infant at the breast, he fasted on Wednesday and Friday, and sucked but once on each of those days, and that towards night. (Ribadeneira's Lives of the Saints, vol. ii. p. 503, Edit. 1730.) In the Salisbury Missal of 1534, fol. xxvii., there is an engraving of the bishop with some children rising from a tub, into which their mangled limbs had been thrown, after having been cut up by an innkeeper, who intended to sell them for pickled pork: St. Nicholas brought them all to life again! and hence he became the patron of scholars (for the young gentlemen were on their way to *school*), who represented religious plays, and personated the boy bishop. See Life of St. Nicholas, 3d edit., Naples, 1645, quoted in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlvii. p. 158; Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 325; and Hone's "Ancient Mysteries," pp. 193, 194.—Ed.
(8) See this Edition, vol. vi. p. 187.—Ed. (9) Ibid. p. 232.—Ed. (10) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed.
(11) Ibid. pp. 238, 239.—Ed. (12) Ibid. p. 197, 239.—Ed. (13) Ibid. p. 169.—Ed.
(14) Ibid. p. 217.—Ed. (15) Ibid. p. 225.—Ed. (16) Ibid. p. 189.—Ed. (17) Ibid. p. 251.—Ed.

Now, gentle reader, lay these writings, preachings, and doings of this bishop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doings in queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain English book,[1] set out in queen Mary's time, which saith that there were three only in England, whose conscience had been never distained in religion: of whom he falsely saith, the foresaid bishop of Winchester was one. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Although Bishop Gardiner, in granting to these points of religion (as ye have heard) and some others again denying, could not therefore deserve the name and fame of a perfect Christian: yet notwithstanding, if he had continued in his judgment still, and been constant in himself, he might have won more commendation both with God and man. But as soon as the time began to alter, he likewise, altering with the time, was so far changed from that he seemed, that neither he agreed with other papists nor yet with himself, as Dr. Ridley in certain treatises hath noted well of him: wherein, as in a glass may be seen the manifest contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of God's blessed word, but also how the said bishop, standing so much in a singularity by himself, neither agreeth with other his fellow-writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himself in certain cases of the sacrament, as the foresaid Dr. Ridley, in examining his words and works, hath well set out in this table hereunder ensuing.

Winchester neither agreeth with the Protestants in the gospel, neither in popery with the Papists, neither with himself.

To the Reader.

Forasmuch, good reader, as our adversaries, that is the Romish Catholics, as Lindanus,[2] Pighlius, Gardiner, with others more, are wont so greatly to charge us with dissension and repugnance among ourselves, for the same cause I have thought good, especially having here in hand the story of Winchester, to set forth to the eyes of men a brief treatise of Dr. Ridley, wherein, as in a glass, you may see, and that by his own words and in his own works, the manifest contrariety and repugnance of the said Winchester: first, with other writers; secondly, with himself, in the matter of the sacrament; thirdly, herein thou mayest see and understand how far and wherein not only he disagreeth from his own profession, but also granteth and agreeth with sundry of our assertions in the said matter; as by reading thereof, thou mayest see and perceive more at large.

CERTAIN MATTERS WHEREIN STEPHEN GARDINER BISHOP OF WINCHESTER VARIETH FROM OTHER OF THE PAPISTS, TOUCHING THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Other Catholics say, that the body of Christ is made of bread. Thomas vult, ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia;[3] Winchester saith,

(1) The book of John Elder, sent into Scotland.
(2) The following may be mentioned as a specimen of such writings: "De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum varietate opuscula; item Guil. Lindani hereseon tabulæ;" Coloniæ, 1679.—Ed.
(3) Quest. 75, art. 8.

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that the body of Christ is not made of the matter of bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made present of bread.[1]

Confutation of Winchester against Cranmer.[2]

2. Winchester saith, that Christ called bread his body, when he said, "This is my body."[3] And in the Devil's Sophistry.[4] Others say contrary.[5]

Winchester saith, that "bread is my body," is as much as to say, "bread is made my body." And so he taketh "*est*" for "*fit*."[6] Others say that "est" is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for "is," and not for "is made."[7]

Winchester saith, that Christ is present in the sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in heaven.[8]

3. Winchester saith also, that when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body which hath both form and quantity.[9] Smith saith, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath not its proper form and quantity, fol. 106. And the contrary he saith, fol. 105.[10]

4. Winchester saith, we believe simply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding.[11] Smith saith, we say that Christ's body is in the sacrament against nature, with all its qualities and accidents.[12]

5. Winchester saith, that God's works be all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christ's head from his feet, nor his legs from his arms.[13] Others say, that Christ's head and feet, and other parts, be not indeed locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that wheresoever one is, there be all the rest.[14]

Winchester saith, that Christ's body is in the sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally.[15] Others say contrary.[16]

7. Others say that Christ's feet in the sacrament be there where his head is. Winchester saith, that whosoever saith so, may be called mad.[17]

8. Others say, that corporally Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach, and no further.[18] He saith contrary.[19]

9. Winchester saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ.[20] Others say contrary.[21]

10. Winchester saith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but only man.[22] Others say clean contrary: Thomas, "Hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis Christi."[23] Perin,[24] in his sermon of the

(1) Page 89, line 8; p 228. l. 44.
(2) This Confutation, with leaf and line here assigned, is in Cranmer's book against Winchester.
(3) P. 292, l. 19. (4) Fol. 27.
(5) See Smith, fol. 53. Marc. Anton. object. 13, 14, 20.
(6) P. 333, l. 25; p. 120, l. 23, 28, 30. Confutation.
(7) Marc. Anton. fol. 171, fac. 2. (8) P. 161, l. 6. Confutation.
(9) Simplicitatem sermonis sequentur, etc. vid. fol. 171: p. 81, l. 5; Marc. Ant. object. 77.
(10) Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart. Fol. 41, fac. 2. (11) P. 367, l. 41.
(12) Fol. 105. (13) P. 70, l. 5, 13, 14; p. 69, l. 34. Confutation.
(14) Tert. parte sum, q. 76, art. 3. Innoc. ter. lib. 48.
(15) P. 181, l. 13, 22, etc. Confutation. (16) Smith, fol. 39.
(17) P. 70, l. 13, 14. Confutation.
(18) Bonaventura, Hugo, Innocent, 13, lib. 4, cap. 15. Glos. de consecrat, dist. 2, cap. "tribus, et in glos. non iste Thom." Parte 3, quæst. 80, art 3. "Tamdiu manet dum est in digestione." Smith, fol. 64. (19) P. 59, l. 30, and p. 60, l. 3, 8, 12. Confutation.
(20) P. 64, l. 22. Confutation.
(21) Smith, fol. 64, etc. as before in the seventh line above.
(22) P. 75, l. 24. Confutation. (23) Part 3, q. 8, art. 3.
(24) "Three godly and notable Sermons, by W. Peryn. Imprynted by Nicolas Hyll;" 8vo. London. 1546. See Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, 4. 230.—Ed.

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Sacrament: "What inconvenience is it though the impassible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beast," etc. Magister Sententiarum, qui dicit corpus Christi non posse à mure manducari aut à bruto, is condemned.[1]

11. Winchester saith, that an unrepentant sinner receiving the sacrament, hath not Christ's body nor spirit within him.[2] Smith saith, that he hath Christ's body and spirit within him.[3]

12. Winchester saith, that of the figure it may not be said, "Adore it, worship it;" and that it is not to be adored which the bodily eye seeth:[4] "Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis." Smith saith contrary.[5]

13. Winchester saith, that reason will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough.[6] Smith saith that transubstantiation is against reason and natural operation.[7]

14. Others say, that worms in the sacrament be gendered of accidents: "Ex speciebus sacramentalibus generantur vermes."[8] Winchester saith, that they be wrong borne in hand to say so.[9]

15. Winchester saith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, sour, and wax vinegar.[10] But he answereth so confusedly, that the reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. Smith saith, "Thus I say, that the consecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poison, as long as Christ's body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition; and the bread and wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christ's body and blood, and also as long as the host and consecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by God's power, as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, engendereth worms, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth rats and mice, receiveth poison,"[11] etc.

16. Winchester saith, "Every 'yea' containeth a 'nay' in it naturally: so as whosoever saith, this is bread, saith it is no wine. For in the rule of common reason, the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thoroughly; whatsoever is bread is no wine; whatsoever is wine, is no milk; and so forth. So Christ saying, This is my body, saith, It is no bread.[12] Smith saith, that a boy which hath only learned sophistry, will not dispute so fondly.[13]

17. Others say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory by the devotion of the priest, and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered.[14] Winchester saith otherwise.[15]

18. Winchester saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for

(1) "A mouse may eat Christ's body," saith the Master of the Sentences. "A mouse cannot eat it," saith Winchester. (2) P. 256, l. 18, 25, 26.
(3) Fol. 136. "Within him," that is, within his soul.
(4) P. 202, l. 38; p. 272, l. 6; Marc. Anton. fol. 175, fac. 2.
(5) Fol. 145, fac. 2. (6) P. 30, l, 12. Confutation.
(7) Fol. 60. (8) Thom. par. 3, q. 77, art. 5.
(9) P. 400. l. 1. Confutation.
(10) P. 300, l. 24, and p. 400, l. 6. Confutation, et Marc. Ant. object. 73.
(11) Fol. 64, and fol. 105. (12) P. 291, l. 22, and p. 300, l. 17. (13) Fol. 77.
(14) Thom. par. 3, 9, 79, art. 5. (15) P. 92, l. 2. Confutation.

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the reconciliation of mankind unto the favour of God.[1] Smith saith, "What is it to offer Christ's body and blood at mass, to purchase thereby everlasting life, if the mass be not a sacrifice to pacify God's wrath from sin, and to obtain his mercy?"[2] Where he saith further, "Priests do offer for our salvation to get heaven, and to avoid hell."

Matters wherein Bishop Gardiner varieth from himself.

First Proposition. "The body of Christ in the sacrament is not made of bread, but is made present of bread."[3]

Contradiction. "Of bread is made the body of Christ."[4]

"The catholic faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christ's intent, to make bread his body."[5]

"And of many breads is made one body of Christ."[6]

"And faith showeth me, that bread is the body of Christ, that is to say, made the body of Christ."[7]

"Christ gave that he made of bread."[8]

Second proposition. "Christ spake plainly, 'This is my body,' making demonstration of the bread, when he said, 'This is my body.'"[9]

Contradiction. "The demonstration, 'this,' may be referred to the invisible substance."[10]

"The verb 'is' was of his body and of his blood, and not of the bread and wine."[11]

Third proposition. "Illis verbis, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua non aliena prædicetur."[12] "When Christ said, 'This is my body,' the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason."[13]

Contradiction. "What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, than is in these words: 'This is my body.'"[14]

Fourth proposition. "Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man; and when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity."[15]

"And he is present in the sacrament, as he is in heaven."[16]

"We believe simply the substance of Christ's body to be in the sacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding."[17]

Contradiction. "Christ is not present in the sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantities of bread and wine."[18]

Fifth proposition. "In such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally."[19]

Contradiction. "The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual."[20]

Sixth proposition. "We receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily."[21]

"When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him."[22]

"He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him."[23]

Contradiction. "An evil man in the sacrament receiveth indeed Christ's very body."[24]

"Evil men eat verily the flesh of Christ."[25]

Seventh proposition. "Christ giveth us to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the Virgin Mary."[26]

(1) P. 437. l. 31. (2) Fol. 24, 148, 164.
(3) P. 89, l. 9, etc. and p. 228, l. 44. Confutation against Cranmer.
(4) P. 388, l. 42. (5) P. 29, l. 2. Confutation. (6) P. 167, l. 2. Ibid.
(7) P. 333, l. 23, 25. Confutation. (8) P. 292, l. 34. (9) In the Devil's Sophistry, 27.
(10) P. 120, l. 41. Confutation. (11) P. 284, l. 43. (12) Mar. Anton. fol. 24. fac. 2.
(13) P. 157, l. 34. Confutation. (14) In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 51.
(15) P. 81, l. 5, Mar. Ant. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105. (16) P. 161. l. 4, etc. Confutation.
(17) P. 397, l. 41. Confutation. (18) P. 81, l. 89, and p. 101, l. 22.
(19) P. 190, l. 7; p. 197, l. 27; p. 217, l. 10.
(20) P. 181, l. 18, etc. and l. 25; p. 223, l. 21. Confutation.
(21) P. 190, l. 7; p. 197, l. 27. Confutation. (22) P. 256, l. 18. Confutation.
(23) P. 18, l. 51. Confutation. (24) P. 18. l. 24, 25.
(25) P. 261, l. 24, 25, etc. Confutation. (26) P. 274, l. 25.

" We receive not in the sacrament Christ's flesh that was crucified." [1]

" St. Augustine's rule in his book, 'De Doctrina Christiana,' pertaineth not to Christ's Supper." [2] [Eighth proposition.]

" St. Augustine meaneth of the sacrament." [3]

" Reason in the place of service (as being inferior to faith) will agree with the faith of transubstantiation well enough." [4] Ninth proposition.

" And as reason received into faith's service doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it, so men's senses be not such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances." [5] Contradiction.

" Thine eyes say, there is but bread and wine; thy taste saith the same; thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal man's understanding, which, because it taketh the beginning of the senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually." [6]

" The church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of man's senses and understanding." [7]

" It is called bread, because of the outward visible matter." [8] Tenth.

" When it is called bread, it is meant Christ, the spiritual bread." [9] Contra.

" And the catholic faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ." [10] Eleventh proposition.

" That which is broken is the body of Christ." [11] Contra.

" The inward nature of the bread, is the substance." [12] Twelfth.

" Substance signifieth in Theodoret," he saith, " the outward nature." [13] Contra.

" The substances of bread and wine be visible creatures." [14] Thirteenth.

" Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements." [15] Contra.

" Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father, for the appeasing of his wrath against us." [16] Fourteenth.

" The act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to have a propitiatory effect." [17] Contra

" The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reiterate." [18]

" Priests do sacrifice Christ." [19]

" And the catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence, that was offered on the cross." [20]

" The Nestorians granted both the Godhead and Manhood always to be in Christ continually." [21] Fifteenth proposition.

" The Nestorians denied Christ, conceived God, or born God; but that he was afterward God as a man that is not born a bishop, is after made a bishop. So the Nestorians said, that the Godhead was an accession after by merit, and that he was conceived only Man." [22] Contradiction.

" Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his apostles." [23] Sixteen.

" Christ is not to be said conversant in earth." [24] Contra.

Certain things that Bishop Gardiner granted unto.

" Christ declared eating of himself to signify believing." [25] Notes declaring wherein Winchester granted to spiritual use of the sacrament.

" Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receive the sacrament; or else he cannot receive the sacrament worthily." [26]

" How Christ is present." [27]

" By faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body; not the manner thereof." [28]

" When we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity." [29]

" Although Christ's body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity." [30]

(1) P. 276, l. 1. Confutation. (2) P. 132, l. 40.
(3) P. 432, l. 40, and p. 10, l. 44. Confutation. (4) P. 300. l. 12. Confutation.
(5) P. 307, l. 11, etc. (6) In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 6. (7) Fol. 15.
(8) P. 327. (9) P. 320, l. 41.
(10) P. 165, l. 1, and p. 392, l. 47, and in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 17.
(11) P. 392, l. 49. (12) P. 323, l. 14. (13) P. 404, l. 40.
(14) P. 322, l. 39, and 323, l. 32. (15) P. 406, l. 16, and 25, etc. (16) P. 92, l. 6, 7.
(17) P. 437, l. 13. (18) P. 416, l. 8. (19) P. 431, l. 16. (20) P. 439, l. 11.
(21) P. 348, l. 11, 12. (22) P. 347, l. 47, 50, 51, and p. 148, l. 47. (23) P. 93, l. 21.
(24) P. 144, l. 11, etc. (25) P. 29, l. antepenult. Confutation.
(26) P. 54, l. 44; p. 160, l. ultima; p. 109, l. 3; p. 105, l. 32.
(27) P. 69, l. 20, etc.; p. 81, l. 12; p. 181, l. 26; p. 65, l. 15. (28) P. 70, l. 15.
(29) P. 88, l. 5, l. 35. (30) Ibid. l. 8, 9.

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"The demonstrative 'this' may be referred to the invisible substance." [1]

"All the old prayers and ceremonies sound, as though the people did communicate with the priest." [2]

"The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal nor carnal; not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual." [3]

"When the unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him." [4]

"We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning." [5]

Transubstantiation first spoken of.

"The word 'transubstantiation' was first spoken of in a general council, where the bishop of Rome was present." [6]

"In the sacrifice of the church, Christ's death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of that death; so that Christ's offering on the cross once done and consummate, is now only remembered." [7]

To these notes and places of Dr. Ridley, let us also adjoin other twelve places or articles of the like affinity, taken out of his book, called "The Examination of the proud Hunter," noted in the latter end of Dr. Turner's second course. By these articles it may appear how the bishop swerveth no less from the sound truth of Christ's gospel, than he did in the other, both from himself and also from other his fellow brethren of his own catholic mother church of Rome. The articles in sum are these:—

Twelve new found Articles of Stephen Gardiner's Creed, taught in his Book, called "The Examination of the Hunter." [8]

1. "The ceremonies and traditions which the bishop of Rome hath ordained, and are now allowed in England, are the pale of the church of England." [9]

2. "The pope's ceremonies and traditions are good and politic laws, whereby God hath enclosed the king's subjects under his Majesty alone." [10]

One usurper well compared with another.

3. "As king Richard, an evil man, made a good politic law for the body and commonwealth of England: so can the pope, an evil man, make good laws and wholesome doctrine for man's soul, and Christ's church." [11]

4. "Whatsoever is good, spoken and used by man, is much more of God, than Christ's doctrine is his Father's doctrine." [12]

5. "He that saith, that the law of the gospel ought only to be holden in Christ's church, and is sufficient alone for it, speaketh so far out of reason, that he is not worthy to be reasoned withal." [13]

6. "They that hold, that the cross of silver or gold ought not to be worshipped with kissing of it, and bowing and kneeling to it, are enemies to Christ's true cross, and take away the means that might set out the glory of Christ's cross." [14]

7. "Neither Paul nor the cross can be worshipped with godly honour." [15]

8. "As Christ used clay for an instrument to heal the blind man's eyes withal, and saved divers by faith, and made it an instrument of salvation; and as God hath ordained Timothy to be an instrument of salvation both to himself, and for others; so may the pope ordain holy water to be an instrument of salvation, both of body and soul, to all them that are sprinkled with it." [16]

Even both alike.

9. "No man can commit idolatry with his body alone, and in only kissing of an image or idol; and in only kneeling to it can no idolatry be committed." [17]

10. "Forasmuch as God understandeth them that sing in Latin, though they understand not themselves, their prayer is acceptable before God." [18]

(1) P. 120, l. 42. (2) P. 165, l. 46. (3) P. 181, l. 19, etc. l. 25; p. 223, l. 21.
(4) P. 256, l. 18. (5) P. 276, l. 18. (6) P. 284. l. 11. (7) P. 440, l. 40, etc.
(8) Alleged out of the book of Dr. Turner, intituled, "The Rescuynge of the Romish Fox, otherwyse called The Examination of the Hunter, devysed by Steven Gardiner; with the Colophon, imprynted at Winchester, 1545." Herbert's Typog. Antiq. iii. p. 1557.—Ed.
(9) Fol. 7. (10) Ibid. (11) Fol. 23.
(12) Fol. 33. Note here blasphemous Winchester, preferring the words spoken by man, before Christ's doctrine.
(13) Fol. 37. (14) Fol. 49. (15) Fol. 61.
(16) Fol. 64. Christ never made clay to be an instrument for salvation of man's soul.
(17) Fol. 52. (18) Fol. 76.

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11. "As a father may forbid certain of his children to marry, so may a king in his kingdom forbid certain of his subjects to marry; that is to say, all the priests of this realm."[1]

12. "He that would take away the pope's ceremonies out of the church, should drive away all godliness and seemliness, all religious and devout behaviour out of the church."[2]

Winchester's manner of ceremonies.

Here hast thou, good reader, this stout prelate of Winchester, with all his properties, doings, and qualities, as in a certain anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou mayest boldly judge (and nothing err in thy judgment), what is to be esteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true protestant, nor right papist; neither constant in his error, nor yet steadfast in the truth; neither friend to the pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Christ: false in king Henry's time, a dissembler in king Edward's time; double perjured, and a murderer in queen Mary's time;[3] mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, read, I beseech thee, and behold in the depositions of the lord Paget, in the Old Book, page 816, fol. 1,[4] and also in the depositions of the earl of Bedford, page 824,[5] and there you shall see the king, before his death (both excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament), so detested and abhorred him, as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the lord Paget being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words, which indeed the king neither knew, nor yet were sent by him: the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fool's paradise; whereof read both in the Old Book before, and also in these present volumes.[6]

He falsely pretendeth the favour of king Henry towards him.

To describe and paint out the unstable mutability of this bishop aforesaid, albeit here need no more to be added besides that which is already declared; yet, notwithstanding, seeing the matter is not long, it shall not be out of the way to annex withal unto the premises, a piece of Driander's letter written to one Crispine,[7] a physician in Oxford, sent from Antwerp, concerning the doings and behaviour of this bishop of Winchester, whose story we have now in hand; the copy of which Driander's letter, written to the said Crispine his friend, beginneth thus:—

Winchester unstable in religion.

"Doctissimo viro Edmundo Crispino, amico integerrimo Oxoniæ.—Ante meam ex Lutetiâ profectionem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum nostrum," etc.

And this now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed (by the

(1) Fol. 83. (2) Fol. 94.

(3) Like a person whose common sense is leaving him, Dr. Lingard calls for *more evidence* to substantiate Gardiner's claim to the character here, and at page 592, given: he may find it in Todd's Introduction to his reprint of archbishop Cranmer's "Defence of the Catholic Doctrine of the Sacraments," etc. Lond. 1825, pp. 92—94.—Ed.

(4) "The Old Book," is the First Edition. See vol. vi. p. 162, of this Edition.—Ed.

(5) See vol. vi. p. 180, of this Edition.—Ed. (6) See vol. vi. p. 162, of this Edition.—Ed.

(7) Read in the First Edition, p. 802. [The whole of this letter in Latin and "the English, as much as to the present purpose pertaineth," may be found in vol. vi. pp. 139, 140, of this Edition. —Ed.]

Mary. A. D. 1555.

grace and leave of the Lord), as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The Burning of John Webbe, Gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury, as followeth.

Next after the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and master Hugh Latimer (of whom ye have heard at large), followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

The appearance of Webbe before the bishop of Dover.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, videlicet, the 16th day of September; and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made

His answer to the bishop's articles.

answer that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this: "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," quoth he, "it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

After this (besides sundry other times) the 3d day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges: who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by master Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore, about the end of the same month of October, or else, as I otherwise find, in the latter end of November,[1] they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; who by the way, going towards the stake, said certain Psalms mournfully.

Roper leapeth at the stake.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper, at his coming to the

Roper standeth in the fire like a rood.

stake, putting off his gown, fetched a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a rood, and so stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

The martyrdom of Webbe, Roper, and Parke at Canterbury.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ, being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

(1) Nov. 30.

Mary.

A.D. 1555.

The Death of William Wiseman, in Lollard's Tower

The 13th of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God—how and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away; by reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him; who, although to the outward appearance they were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth; I have not to say. Dec. 13.

Wiseman's body cast into the fields.

After the said William was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the holy catholic church-men cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, ἑλώρια κύνεσσι, as the poet saith.[1] And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

The Death of James Gore, in Colchester Prison.

In the same month, about the 7th day of December, deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

The Process and History of Master John Philpot,

EXAMINED, CONDEMNED, AND MARTYRED FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL'S CAUSE, AGAINST THE ANTICHRISTIAN SEE OF ROME.

Philpot, a knight's son, and a student of law in New College, Oxford.

Next followeth the constant martyrdom of master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the Convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, etc. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true divine), of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served

(1) Homer, Il. i. line 4.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1555. thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts[1] with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

Philpot goethover to Italy.

The return of Philpot into England.

Philpot archdeacon of Winchester.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet,[2] who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of king Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which convocation master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

Philpot sent from Gardiner to Bonner.

The first Examination of Master John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate-Sessions' Hall, October the 2d, 1555.[3]

Story's words to Philpot.

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! master Philpot;" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot:—"If I be fat, and in good liking, master doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me."

Story:—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

Cause of Philpot's imprisonment.

Philpot:—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof."

Story:—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?"

Philpot:—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

Story:—"If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou

(1) See Strype. Memorials under Mary, chap. 33, page 456. Edit. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

(2) This Dr. Poinet, bishop of Winchester, fled afterwards into Germany, and there deceased, anno 1557.

(3) "An Examination of the constante Martir of Christ, John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester," etc. Printed by Henry Sutton, 1559. Dibdin's Ames's, etc. vol. iv. 487.—Ed.

shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

The Scribe:—"Sir, what is your name?"

Philpot:—"My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

Story:—"This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

Philpot:—"I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor that now is."

Story:—"Ye may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

Roper:—"Come hither to me, master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

Philpot:—"I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, to whom I owe, and will do my due obedience, to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelve month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law." Philpot lying in prison a year and a half before he was called to his answer.

Roper:—"Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and, besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal." No particular matter but suspicion.

Philpot:—"If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and, if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

Cholmley:—"If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

Story:—"I perceive whereabout this man goeth He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

Philpot:—"I am no heretic."

Story:—"I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art a heretic."[1]

Philpot:—"That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

Story:—"Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

Philpot:—"I have already been convented of this matter before my lord chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary." Philpot appealeth to his ordinary.

Story:—"But sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the

(1) The major is not universally true; for in the time of king Edward he that spake against the mass, as Philpot did, by those laws, was no heretic, but a perfect Christian.

Mary. A.D. 1555. Lollards' Tower to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass."[1]

Philpot :—"Sir, you know by the law, that I may have 'Exceptionem fori:' and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

Roper :—"You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

Story :—"Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

Philpot :—"I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto."

The Scribe :—"This man is fed of vain glory."

Cholmley :—"Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

Philpot charged further than the law would bear.

Philpot :—"I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, master doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford), I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity."

Story :—"I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"[2]

Philpot :—"Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

Story :—"Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot requireth to see their commission.

Philpot :—"Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

Roper :—"Let him see the commission: is it here?"

Story :—"Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

Cholmley :—"Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

Story :—"No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

Philpot :—"You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal master doctor is offended."

Story :—"Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him and afterward of your other heretics."

Philpot :—"God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

Roper :—"Be content to be ruled by master doctor, and show yourself a catholic man."

Philpot will not dissemble against his conscience.

Philpot :—"Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?"

Roper :—"We do not require you to dissemble with us, to be a catholic man."

Philpot :—"If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

Story :—"Have we Scripture, Scripture?" and with that he rose up, saying,

(1) Philpot having public leave spake in the convocation. Ergo, he must be committed to Lollards' Tower, by Dr. Story's logic.

(2) Now cometh in the butcher's axe.

"Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The second Examination of Master Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Scribe, the 24th of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, master Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

Cholmley:—"Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

Philpot:—"I shall do as it becometh a christian man to do."

Story:—"This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou; wilt thou recant?"

Philpot:—"I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

Story:—"Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook:—"This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained."

Philpot:—"I have maintained no heresies."

Cook:—"No! have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

Philpot:—"It was the queen's majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

Cook:—"Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

Philpot:—"My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

Roper:—"You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

Philpot:—"I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

Cook:—"A meet man, quoth he! he troubled master Roper and the whole country."

Philpot:—"There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

Cook:—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot:—"I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law." Philpot deprived of his archdeaconry without any law.

Cook:—"No sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary, proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation."

Philpot:—"Master doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit

Mary. A. D. 1555.

to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."[1]

Cholmley:—"No, there thou art deceived."

Philpot:—"Upon the living I pass not: but the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law."

Cholmley:—"Why, will not you agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?"

Philpot:—"Ask you master doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes."[2]

Cook:—"No! may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?"

Philpot:—"Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority."

Cook:—"Let him be had away."

Philpot:—"Your mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand."

Roper:—"Let him see the commission."[3]

Then the scribe exhibited it to master Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook:—"No, what will ye do? he shall not see it."

Philpot:—"Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf."

Cook:—"If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot:—"Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser."

Cook:—"Thou art no gentleman."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I am."

Cook:—"A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions."

Philpot:—"The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it."

Story:—"What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?"

Cook:—"He saith, he is a gentleman."

Story:—"A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away."

The Keeper:—"Here, sir."

Commanded to Lollards' Tower by Dr. Story.

Story:—"Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the Bishop's coal-house."

Philpot:—"Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you master Cholmley, show me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place."

Cholmley talketh with Philpot apart.

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, "I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good."

Philpot:—"I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without any just cause known should thus be entreated."

Story:—"Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence."

Philpot:—"God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need: 'Do quickly that you have in hand.'"[4]

(1) That is, whether a heretic suspected, may, without ordinary process, be deprived of his living by his ordinary before his death, and by what law.

(2) "Divina imperatoriæ majestati non sunt subjecta."

(3) Philpot again requireth to see their commission, and yet it could not be seen, and that also against the law.

(4) "Et quod facis, fac citius."

Story :—"Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?" *Mary.*

Philpot :—"That is after your own understanding."

A. D. 1555.

After this, I, with four others more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: "wherefore I will begin," said I, "as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played on those organs yet, although some before us have tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal,[1] with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

Philpot laid in Bonner's coal-house.

Examples what an unquiet conscience doth.

Bonner plucketh away a great part of Whittle's beard, etc.

The Manner of my Calling first before the Bishop of London, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his Coal-house.

The bishop sent unto me master Johnson his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

Bonner's charity sent to Philpot.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson :—"My lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof); and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocese than his own.

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire: and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

Bonner entertaining Philpot.

Bonner :—"Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand."

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same."

Bonner :—"I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think, that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters; and I suppose men speak otherwise of me than I deserve."

Bonner made the common inquisitor against his will.

I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner :—"I marvel that you should be troubled there-for, if there was

(1) This godly man was Thomas Whittle, whose story followeth.

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none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

Philpot:—"If it shall please your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

Bonner:—"A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

Philpot:—"I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

Bonner:—"Why, may we dispute of our faith?"

Philpot:—"Yea, that we may."[1]

Bonner:—"Nay, I trow not, by the law."

Philpot:—"Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law, we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, 'Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same.'"

Bonner:—"Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?"

No man is bound to render account of his faith privately, unless it be to edify.

Philpot:—"My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes, in danger of my life there-for. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your lordship: "Take away the law, and I shall reason with you."[2] And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

Bonner:—"I perceive you are learned: I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church."

One church.

Philpot:—"God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same; for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation,[3] out of the which there is no salvation."

Bonner:—"How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

Bonner:—"What age are ye of?"

Philpot:—"I am four and forty."

The faith promised by his godfathers was the faith of Christ, after his creed only.

Bonner:—"You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

Philpot:—"Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

Bonner:—"How can that be? there is but one faith."

Philpot:—"I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

Bonner:—"You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

Philpot:—"Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith,[4] a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

Bonner:—"Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

Bishop Bonner offended with John Philpot's singing in prison.

Philpot:—"I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

Bonner:—"Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now,[5] I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the

(1) Or else why were the questions there propounded?
(2) "Tolle legem, et fiet certamen."
(3) "Una columba, una sponsa, una dilecta."
(4) "Nullius fidei."
(5) And why then began you so hastily with him in the sacrament of your altars?

prophet saith, 'rejoicing in your naughtiness.'[1] Me thinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Philpot:—"My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be 'merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms:' and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that."

Bonner:—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, 'tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis.'"

Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot:—"We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, 'If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing.' And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in misery), do sing."

Bonner:—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

Thus I departed, and by my lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, master Cousins, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular. The end of his first talk with Bonner.

Philpot:—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, 'Woe be to him that is alone.'[2] After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third Fit.[3]

The Fourth Examination of Master Philpot in the Archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

Bath:—"My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

Worcester:—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."[4]

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing." The prayer of Philpot before the bishops.

(1) "Exultantes in rebus pessimis." (2) "Væ soli." (3) "Fitte" or fight.—Ed.
(4) And why do not you bishops, yourselves, pray also for them that are out of the way?

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Bonner :—"Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing Antelucanos Hymnos,[1] 'Praise unto God before dawning of the day.'"[2]

Bonner against prayer.

Philpot :—"My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing."

Bath :—"Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

Bonner :—"Say on, master Philpot, my lords will gladly hear you."

Philpot complaineth of his wrongful imprisonment.

Philpot :—"I have, my lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble."

Bonner :—"There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear."

Philpot called in no sufficient assembly, and therefore not bound to answer whereby to put himself in danger.

Philpot :—"My lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, in ecclesiâ legitime vocatus, in the congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer."

Bonner :—"Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people; where he might speak to vain glory."

Philpot :—"My lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I lawyer, and no further."

Bath :—"If you will not answer to my lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion."[3]

Philpot :—"My lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as master doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London wherefore he should call me."

Bonner :—"Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar:[4] and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law."

Philpot :—"I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's Church in the convocation house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of Paul's, and therefore is counted of your lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese."

Bonner :—"Is not Paul's Church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof."

Bishop Bonner not lawful ordinary to Philpot.

Philpot :—"That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me."

Bonner :—"How say you, master doctor Cole? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?"

(1) "Antelucanos hymnos." "Merito ad honorem majorum nostrorum trahimus, quod ad eorundem opprobrium maledicus Jesuita *Strada* scripsit: (de Bello Belgico, p. 78, edit. Romæ, 1640). *Deserta a catholicis ea* (Maroti nimirum et Bernæ) *hymnorum translatio atque damnata, mansit obfirmato studio apud hæreticos: mosque canendi Psalmos Gallicâ linguâ, ad modos Genevatum in cœtibus, in triviis, in officinis, propria exinde nota hæreticorum fuit.* Sta papistæ inde hæreticos dignoscunt, unde antiqui Christianos." Witsii in Symb. Apost. exercit. ix. § 27.—Ed.

(2) Bishop Bonner here seemeth more skilful in his law than in church stories.

(3) Wilful, because he will not put himself wilfully into the wolf's mouth.

(4) This offence was for speaking in the convocation house with public liberty in the parliament.

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Cole:—"Methinketh master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and make no longer delay."

"*Philpot*:—"I would willingly show my mind of the matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment."

Cole:—"Why then you may speak by protestation."

Philpot:—"But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy (as you call it), if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?"

Bonner:—"But master doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?"[1]

Cole:—"You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese."

Philpot again appealeth from bishop Bonner to his ordinary.

Philpot:—"But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know master doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me." And here master doctor would say nothing.

Worcester:—"Do you not think to find before my lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?"

Philpot:—"I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and a half before, who never would call me to answer, as his lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him.[2] But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations."

Bonner:—"Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us."

Philpot:—"My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or selfwilled without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your lordships, which seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points."

Bonner:—"These heretics come always with their 'ifs,' as this man doth now, saying, '*If* he can be satisfied by the Scriptures:' so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved against him.[3] But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?"

Philpot:—"I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here, before God, and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion, of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf."

Bonner:—"I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind."

Philpot:—"I am about so to do, if it please your lordship to hear me speak."

Bath:—"Give him leave, my lord, to speak that he hath to say."

The chiefest controversy in

Philpot:—"My lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church: and we say, we are of

(1) Note how these men hunt for innocent blood. (2) Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure suo.
(3) Nay, rather these catholic prelates will be satisfied with no reasonable offer.

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the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation (as you say), and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not; therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

In the church of Christ now, is to know which is the true church of Christ.

Cole:—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list."

Philpot:—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand; and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

Bonner:—"I pray you, master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."[1]

Philpot:—"My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do; God forgive me."

Bonner:—"No faith! that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

Bonner:—"Master doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

Cole:—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

Philpot:—"If you, master doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto.[2] But I think you be not able to show any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council,[3] and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

Athanasius misalleged.

Cole:—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

Philpot:—"I desire to see the proof thereof." And upon this master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester:—"Take the book, master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

A place of Irenæus alleged.

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late sprung heretics, etc.; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. "The which thing if you, my lords, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in

The church of Rome not now as it was in the time of Irenæus.

(1) St. Paul twenty years before his conversion, and St. Peter, before his calling, were of another faith than they were afterwards, and yet it followeth not that they would have every year a new faith.

(2) The determination of the primitive church, and of the church of Rome as it is now, is not all one.

(3) "Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council." [The same statement is made even more circumstantially in the seventh examination; but incorrectly, as Hosius, bishop of Cordova (if any one) would assume that position, Athanasius being at that time an archdeacon: Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ τότε ἀρχιδιακόνῳ ὄντι. *Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic.* lib. 2. cap. 36. Tillemont, *Memoires Hist. Ecclesiastique*, tom. 7, pt. 2, p. 542. Edit. 12mo. 1715.—Ed.

Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Bonner:—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

Philpot:—"My lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose (as I have already proved), I trust you will receive mine answer."

Worcester:—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same." The church of Rome never deceived!

Philpot:—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

Worcester:—"Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved."

Philpot:—"Ha! my lords, is it now time (think you), for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

Cole:—"Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

Philpot:—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth:[1] but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i., the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years.

Cole:—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Philpot:—"No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other."

Bonner:—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of[2] which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, master doctor, go forth with him."

Cole:—"My lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him,[3] and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing."

Philpot:—"And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures, and by a universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome." Reason why it is not like that in Athanasius's time all men were bound to abide the determination of Rome.

Cole:—"But I can show that they revoked that error again."

Philpot:—"So you say, master doctor; but I pray you show me where. I

(1) I find not in Eusebius that Peter should be bishop of Rome twenty-five years, but this is in Linus. Hierom. lib. de Viris Illust. and in Abdias lib. i. de Vita Petri.

(2) Hark, my lord's wise parable. (3) Neither you nor they are able in this case.

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have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

Bonner :—"What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, 'De fide Catholica,' to the contrary."

Not the law but the gospel gathered the church together.

Philpot :—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St. Ambrose saith, 'Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.'"[1]

Worcester :—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth; leave it for shame."

Philpot :—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith."

Fourhundred priests against one Elias.

Gloucester :—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

Philpot :—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

Worcester :—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias; and yet I tell thee he was deceived, for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him."

Philpot :—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

Worcester :—"By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

Philpot :—"My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your lordship."

Worcester :—"Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do."[2]

Philpot :—"No, my lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

Whether the universal church may be deceived?

Worcester :—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

Philpot :—"St. Paul to the Thessalonians[3] prophesieth that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, 'Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first.'"[4]

A defection prophesied of the church.

Cole :—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek, *ἀποστασία*.

Philpot :—"Marry indeed you, master doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for 'apostasia' is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh 'apostata,' which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after, speaketh of the decay of the empire."

Cole :—"'Apostasia' doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show."

Philpot :—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to show it (as you say in words), I will believe it, and not before."

Worcester :—"I am sorry that you should be against the christian world."

Philpot :—"The world commonly, and such as be *called* Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same."

The pope's church which now is, was never universal.

Gloucester :—"Why, master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?"

Philpot :—"The church that you are of, was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

Gloucester :—"Yes, in the Florentine council[5] they did agree."

(1) 'Non lex, sed fides congregavit ecclesiam.'

(2) A good commendation for Rome by a Romanist. (3) 2 Thess. iii.

(4) "Non veniet Christus, nisi venerit defectio prius."

(5) Of this Florentine council which was about the year 1432, read before. ["Post multas easque gravissimas Græcorum Latinorumque contentiones, in quibus Josephus patriarcha, et Marcus Eugenius Ephesius, viros atque veritatis vindices se præstiterunt, concordia dolis, promissis, atque vi, est inita." Hist. Concertationes Græc. et Lat. de Transubstantione. Auct. Jo. R. Kieslingio, (Lipsiæ, 1754,) p. 155. "Omnis post hanc synodum Græcia illi Synodo (Florent.) et falso nomine dictæ *Unioni* reclamavit." Spanhemii Hist. Eccles. secul. xv. § 10, 3. This council of Florence

Philpot:—"It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

Gloucester:—"I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

The word or the church judge in controversies.

Philpot:—"By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, 'The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day.'"

Gloucester:—"What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who shall be judge then?"

Philpot:—"The primitive church."

Gloucester:—"I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

Philpot:—"I mean verily so."

Gloucester:—"What, if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?"

Philpot:—"Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

Cole:—"My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

Philpot:—"This is the matter, master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

Worcester:—"It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few, against a great multitude."

Philpot's prophecy of the increase of the gospel.

Philpot:—"We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

Worcester:—"They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew."

Philpot:—"I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship."

Philpot put off to another day.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the meanwhile I can show you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error."

Philpot:—"My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your lordship shall find me, as I have said."

Worcester:—"We wish you as well as ourselves."

Philpot:—"I think the same, my lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

Worcester:—"God send you more grace."

Philpot:—"And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his Examinations.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness

lasted from Feb. 29, 1439, to April 26, 1442. It was a continuation of that of Ferrara, which opened in Jan. 1438. The reunion of the Greek and Latin churches was also one of the chief objects of the Council of Basle. The first session of this latter was held on the 14th of Dec. 1431, and the twenty-ninth and last in May, 1443. See Nicholas's Chronology. Lond. 1833, p. 252.—Ed.]

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and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence.

The Fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph (I trow), and one other, whose See I know not, Dr. Story, Curtop, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of London's Palace.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my lords here, and other learned men to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow (as I am commanded), yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

Philpot ready to yield his life in Christ's cause.

Philpot:—"My lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

Bonner:—"Lo what a wilful man is this! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you."[1]

Philpot:—"My lord, you need not to show extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

Bonner:—"Why the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a christian man."[2]

Philpot:—"My lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your lordship."

Bonner:—"Why did you not answer them thereto?"

Philpot:—"For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without showing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner:—"Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese."

Philpot's just defence for speaking in the Parliament.

Philpot:—"My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were as great a heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentleman of the queen's majesty's that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

The Queen's Gentleman:—"Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

(1) Bishop Bonner seeketh cause against him, and yet pretendeth to be sorry of his trouble.
(2) It were the matter of a charitable bishop to make a matter better and not worse.

Philpot:—"But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not."

The Queen's Gentleman:—"You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain."

St. Asaph:—"This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς and κατηγορικῶς, which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any."

Philpot:—"My lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken." Philpot appealeth to the whole parliament house.

Rochester:—"But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?"

Philpot:—"If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer."

Rochester:—"How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?"

Philpot:—"My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands."[1]

St. Asaph:—"What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially after the words of consecration?"

Philpot:—"I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe."

St. Asaph:—"I pray you how is that?"

Philpot:—"As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, 'All things ought to be done after an order.'"

Another Bishop:—"This is a froward and vain-glorious man."

Bonner:—"It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title 'De summa Trinitate et fide Catholica.'"

Philpot:—"My lord, I have answered you to this question before."

Bonner:—"Why, I never asked thee of this before now."

Philpot:—"Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, 'That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.'[2] And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity."

Bonner:—"Thou liest, it is not so: and I will show you by the book how ignorant he is." And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book and openly read the text, and the title of the law; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, "How sayest thou to this?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon,[3] where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon."

Bonner:—"Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it; thou compellest me thereunto."

Philpot:—"Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me: but what is this to the purpose, which your lordship is so earnest in? You knew that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith." Our faith not grounded upon the civil law.

Bonner:—"By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?"

(1) This bishop belike would fain have blood.

(2) "Quòd si fidem repudiat, et legem objicit, injustus est, quia justus ex fide vivet."—Amb. lib. v. epist. 30. Eodem cont. Auxentium.

(3) Anno 451; apud Labbe, vol. iv. actio 16, col. 812.—Ed.

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Philpot:—"No, my lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."

St. Asaph:—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."

Worcester:—"The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors."

Philpot:—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

Bonner:—"I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow."

Philpot:—"If your lordship so do, I will have *exceptionem fori*: for you are not my competent judge."[1]

Bonner:—"By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?"

Philpot:—"By the civil law, De competente judice."

Bonner:—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to show what I say."[2]

Bonner:—"What? De competente judice? I will go fetch thee my books. There is a title indeed, De officiis judicis Ordinarii."[3]

Philpot:—"Verily that is the same De competente judice, which I have alleged." With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Bonner:—"There be the books: find it now (if thou canst), and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

Philpot:—"My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years: but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

Bonner:—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

Philpot returneth again to his question of the church.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: the which if your lordships now, or other learned men can simply resolve *me* of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

Coventry:—"Why, do you not believe your creed, 'Credo ecclesiam catholicam?'"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

St. Asaph:—"It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome.[4] And Christ said, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.' Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write."

Philpot:—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Bonner:—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?"

(1) Philpot still standeth to his defence of the law, in refusing the judge not to be competent
(2) De foro competente, is a title in the second book of the Decretals.
(3) De officio Ordinarii, is a title in the first book of the Decretals.
(4) That Peter did build the church of Rome it is false, for both the Scripture saith, that Peter was set over the circumcised, and not over the Gentiles; and also it is to be proved by Orosius, Suetonius, Tertullian, and other stories, that the faith of Christ was in Rome in Tiberius's time, before Peter ever saw Rome.

Philpot:—"I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God), and am of that catholic church of Christ whereinto I was baptized."

Coventry:—"I pray you, can you tell what this word 'catholic' doth signify? show, if you can."

Philpot:—"Yes that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now a days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth the same: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.'[1] So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic: otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of *κατὰ*, which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ὅλον*, a *sum*, or *principal* or *whole*. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith."

The pope's faith hangeth upon the multitude.

Fides catholica.

Bonner:—"Doth St. Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you, master Curtop?"

Curtop:—"Indeed, my lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

Philpot:—"You have said well, master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

Coventry:—"Let the book be seen, my lord."

Bonner:—"I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?"

Philpot:—"I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church."

Curtop:—"I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics,[2] the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

Coventry:—"Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

Philpot:—"It is soon answered, my lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

St. Asaph:—"You are the more to blame (by the faith of my body), for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

Philpot:—"That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

Seven general councils in which the bishop of Rome was never taken for supreme head.

The other bishop:—"This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

Philpot:—"Oh my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantinopolitan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."[3]

(1) "Æstimamus fidem catholicam à rebus præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris."

(2) Where master Curtop finds this I cannot say; but this I find, that Eusebius doth report that Irenæus did reprove Victor, bishop of Rome, for his rash sentence in excommunicating the churches of Greece concerning the observation of the feast of Easter. Euseb. lib. v. cap. 26.

(3) Socr. lib. v. c. 22.

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Coventry:—"Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

Coventry:—"Wherein doth it dissent?"

The church of Rome dissenteth from the primitive church.

Philpot:—"It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

Curtop:—"As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

Bonner:—"Yea, that was very well said of you, master Curtop."

Transubstantiation is but a late plantation.

Philpot:—"Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing:" and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, "My lords, if you can show me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

Philpot returneth again to his issue.

Coventry:—"Can you disprove that the church of Rome is not the catholic church?"

Rome is not the catholic church, and why.

Philpot:—"Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

Coventry:—"How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?"

Philpot:—"Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

Coventry:—"What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?"

The faith of the pope's church now, was never universal.

Philpot:—"Because it is not (by your interpretation of catholic) universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world, being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal."

Coventry:—"How prove you that?"

Philpot:—"All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say: for at this present the church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this matter.

Dr. Saverson:—"Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar (a notable learned man), coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

Philpot:—"I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar."

Dr. Saverson:—"Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

Philpot:—"I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good master doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Dr. Saverson:—"No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?"

Philpot:—"Upon no evil that I do know of you, master doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now-a-days."

Dr. Saverson:—"I have heard your arguments hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (who is an old ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church."

Philpot:—"That I am sure of he doth not: for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow bishop,[1] neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity."[2]

Dr. Saverson:—"You cannot be able to show that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop."

Philpot:—"I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can show it you in Cyprian, as I have said."

Dr. Saverson:—"I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so."

Philpot:—"I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof." And with that one of them went to my lord's study and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle;[3] and there would have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "it goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow bishops and the agreement of the people."[4]

Dr. Saverson:—"How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?"

Philpot:—"It maketh not so plain, master doctor, on your side, as you gather; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine: for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius, his fellow bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow bishop), findeth himself offended, that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), did flee from his diocese, who was their chief bishop (refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed), to the bishop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation; in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms. And that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church, for the time, the priest, and, for the time, the judge in Christ's stead (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed), not meaning the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow bishops, with the consent

Saverson hath lost his book to Philpot.

(1) See his Works; Basil, 1521, lib. i. epist. 1. p. 1. "Cognovimus *frater* clarissime," etc.—Ed.

(2) For the further debating of this matter that Cyprian doth allow no such thing, read the answer of master Nowel to master Dorman.

(3) Cyp. lib. i. epist. 3. p. 6.—Ed.

(4) Patriarchs only be named, to whom afterward the patriarch of Constantinople was also joined. Cyprian hath also these words following in the same epistle: it was declared amongst us, and it is according to justice and equity, that every man's cause should be heard where the fault was committed; and to every several pastor there is a portion of the flock appointed to rule and govern, for the which he must make an account before God.

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of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God; and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian."[1]

Dr. Saverson :—"You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

Philpot :—"Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

Pendleton :—"There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

Philpot :—"That is not so, master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

A Chaplain :—"Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so."

How St. Cyprian meaneth Christ to build his church upon Peter.

Philpot :—"St. Cyprian 'De simplicitate prælatorum' declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men.'[2] And also St. Augustine saith in the tenth treatise of St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.'[3] And also St. Jerome,[4] a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors, where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome.' And writing Ad Evagium,[5] he saith, 'that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.'"

Dr. Saverson :—"St. Jerome, 'De cœlesti Hierarchiâ?' It was St. Dionysius you mean."

Philpot :—"I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled: but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

Dr. Saverson :—"I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error to your own destruction."

Philpot :—"I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

False slander.

Dr. Saverson :—"A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

Philpot :—"I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures."

(1) Epist. lib. ii. epist. 8; and lib. iv. epist. 2 and 9. This is according to the earlier editions, (namely 1521, etc.); in the later the Epistles are arranged in a different order. See Concil. Nic. canon 6: also the remarkable canon 2 of the first Constantinopolitan Council: Labbe ii. 948.—Ed.

(2) "In personâ unius dedit Dominus omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denunciaret." De simplicitate Prælatorum. Tract. 10 in Johan. [This treatise also bears the title "De unitate Ecclesiæ." "Tractatus utilis et doctus, in quo monarchia illa visibilis a pontifice usurpata radicitus evellitur; quem tamen in ejusdem subsidium obtorto collo trahunt Pontificii, affingentes autori, quæ nunquam scripsit vel dixit." Rivet. Critici sacri, lib. ii. cap. 14. This statement is strongly confirmed by a witness of the papal church, the Jesuit Possevin, who has drawn out a list of two hundred and eighty-eight variations, additions, and alterations, in this one small treatise of four leaves. So much doctoring does genuine christian antiquity require, before it can be brought to testify to papal novelties.—Ed.]

(3) "Si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ mysterium, non et diceret Dominus, tibi dabo claves. Si autem hoc Petro dictum est, non habet ecclesia; si autem ecclesia habet, quando claves, accepit, ecclesiam totam designavit.."

(4) Jerome ad Nepotianum.

(5) Jerome ad Evagium. [Epist. 85. See Jewel's Defence of his Apology, part ii. chap. 3. div. 5.—Ed.]

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Dr. Saverson:—"Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered bishop Fisher's book?"[1]

Philpot:—"Yes, master doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

Story cometh in.

And after this, Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, "Master doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

Story:—"I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a phantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts;[2] for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

Philpot:—"Master doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a christian man ought."

Story:—"The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But as I may reason with thee (not that I have any hope to win thee), whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?"[3]

Philpot:—"Verily the word itself."

Story:—"Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?"

Philpot:—"If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

Story:—"Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

Philpot:—"It is the saying of Christ in St. John (chap. xii.),[4] 'The word which I have spoken,' saith Christ, 'shall judge in the last day.'[5] If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

Story:—"What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"[6]

Philpot:—"Yea sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

Story:—"I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

Philpot:—"Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me, without any cause."

Story:—"I will come to you by and by. When the judge at Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

God's judgment and civil judgment not alike.

Philpot:—"Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

Story:—"Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?"

The judgment of the church how far it serveth.

Philpot:—"Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

(1) "Fisher's book;" perhaps, "Assertionis Lutheranæ confutatio." Coloniæ, 1525.—Ed.
(2) "Happy are you when they revile you, and say all evil against you for my name's sake." Matt. v.
(3) The papists will not be ruled by the Scriptures without their own judge.
(4) "Verbum quod locutus sum judicabit in novissimo die."
(5) What say you now, master doctor?
(6) Master doctor, having not to answer, falleth to railing.

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Story:—"What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law."

Prescription of time.

Philpot:—"You do well, master doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for yourselves. But you must understand,[1] that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to show by the testimony of many doctors."

Prescription of time maketh no title in God's matters.

Story:—"Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch."

Dr. Story confesseth himself to be the chief despatcher of all God's saints that suffered in queen Mary's time.

Philpot:—"You have the more to answer for, master doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings."

Story:—"I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way." And, going away, he said to me, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me."

Philpot:—"I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you."

Story's cruelty.

Story:—"What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song."

Philpot left alone.

Philpot:—"No, master doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now." And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying,

London:—"Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

The strait handling of Philpot in prison, for all the bishop's fair words.

Philpot:—"My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest."

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

The Sixth Examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the Bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey, the 6th day of November, Anno 1555.

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said: and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well; as I might now do, if I list. And

(1) "In divinis nulla occurrit præscriptio."

after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's majesty's servants were set, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

London:—"Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporalty and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day (I thank them there-for), to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say."

Philpot:—"My lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic,[1] or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy. God grant I may have, at last, the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

London:—"Master Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison."

Philpot:—"If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward."

Riche:—"Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?"

Philpot:—"I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part, I may say that I have found more gentleness, at his lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before." Bonner not the cause of Philpot's imprisonment.

Riche:—"Well, now go forth to your matter."

Philpot:—"The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached there-for, and sustain the loss of my living (as I have done), and moreover of my life, as it is sought."

Riche:—"You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house."[2]

Philpot:—"My lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every

(1) Heretics in the primitive church were only condemned to exile.
(2) "The convocation no part of the parliament-house," saith the lord Riche.

Mary. act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spiritualty and temporalty assembled together."

A.D. 1555. *Riche* :—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

Windsor :—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."[1]

Philpot :—"My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

Riche :—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry there-for."

London :—"My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol as he did], and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my lords, God forbid that I should go about to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your lordships' consent he shall be released by-and-by. If he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

Chamberlain :—"My lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

Riche :—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

Philpot :—"My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

Riche :—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

London :—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man.[2] But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

Philpot :—"I do confess that in the Lord's Supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."[3]

London :—"You may see how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before with my lords of the clergy), and dare not utter his mind plainly."

Riche :—"Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

Philpot :—"If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will throughly open my mind therein."

Lord Chandos :—"I pray you my lord, let him speak his mind."

Philpot :—"My lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life."

Riche :—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life,[4] or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

Philpot :—"Although I mistrust not your honourable lordships that be here of the temporalty; yet here is one that sitteth against me [pointing to my lord of London] that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

(1) Whether the convocation be part of the parliament-house or no, yet free liberty was given by the queen every man to speak his conscience.
(2) How Bonner taketh in the sacrament to be both the sign and the thing signified.
(3) Both the sign and the thing signified, in due respects, be in the sacrament.
(4) Ye say ye seek not his life; and yet ye know to answer to that ye ask, will be his death!

Riche:—"My lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to show his mind."

London:—"I am content, my lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him."

The protestation of *Philpot before the* lords.

Philpot:—"That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do, for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many folks' eyes), they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church (as they shall never be able to do), I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points." And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

The papists have neither the sacrament of the Lord's body, nor the true church.

Papists untruly usurp the name of the church.

Philpot offereth himself to stand against ten of the best learned in the realm, in the proof of his cause.

London:—"It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale."

Riche:—"All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a sevennight in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my lord of Canterbury and bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now."

Philpot:—"As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well), and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to show for that I stand in."[1]

London:—"I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: 'Pater major me est;' and 'Pater et ego unum sumus.' I must interpret the same, because my lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, 'The Father is greater than I;' and 'I and the Father are one:' but I cry you mercy, my lords, I have mispoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my

(1) The pope's catholics, when they have no just reason wherewith to persuade, they fall to railing, and to charge men with stubbornness.

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lord Chandos and master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, 'The Father is greater than I.' But in respect of his deity he said again, 'The Father and I be one.'"

London:—"But what scripture have you?"

Philpot:—"Yes I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, 'Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels.'[1] It is the 15th Psalm, beginning 'Cœli enarrant.'" And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my lord took me:

London:—"It is in 'Domine Dominus noster.' Ye may see, my lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

Philpot:—"Though I say not matins in such order as your lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that 'Domine Dominus noster,' and 'Cœli enarrant,' be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved."

London:—"What say you then to the second Scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

Scripture alleged.

Philpot:—"The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father: and this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them."

London:—"How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, 'That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life.'"

How the letter killeth, and whom.

Philpot:—"St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said, 'That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death.'[2] Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth.'"[3]

London:—"What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?"

Philpot:—"It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places;[4] and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, 'The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."[5]

London:—"You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

Philpot:—"The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Philpot's request to the lords.

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be."

Riche:—"What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

Philpot:—"Yea, my lord; I was sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire."

Riche:—"He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

Philpot:—"I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

(1) "Diminuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis." Psalm viii. ["Cœli enarrant" is Ps. xix.—Ed.]
(2) 2 Cor. iii. (3) John vi. (4) 1 Cor. vi.
(5) "Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei; spiritualis dijudicat omnia." 1 Cor. ii.

Riche:—"In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good."

Chamberlain:—"He may do well enough, if he list."

St. John:—"Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well."

Riche:—"You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

Philpot:—"My lord, your lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

Riche:—"Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

Riche:—"By whom then would you be judged?"

Philpot:—"I will make your honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

Riche:—"I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you; will you promise here, afore my lords, so to do?"

Philpot:—"I will be contented to be judged by them."

Riche:—"Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

Philpot:—"There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."[1]

Riche:—"Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm."

The true order of judgment used in the primitive church.

Philpot:—"My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spiritualty and temporalty was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to."

Bonner bewrayeth his own ignorance.

London:—"My lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of."

Philpot:—"In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to show it you."

London:—"Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither."

Bonner dares not reach out his book.

Philpot:—"You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh." And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his book) whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. "Well my lord," quoth I, "master doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this."

Riche:—You would have none other judge, I see, but the Word."

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord: I will be tried by the Word, and by such as will judge according to the Word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

Riche:—"No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

Bonner triumphs before the victory.

London:—"He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be." And here the bishop thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords:—"He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

Philpot:—"My lords, it seemeth to your honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but, if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm,

(1) Philpot will not be judged by his adversaries, but by the hearers, so far as they shall judge by God's word.

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albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"[1]

Riche :—"He cannot so do."

Philpot :—"Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things." And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Objection of the lord Riche why the words are not to be taken "This is my body."

Riche :—"I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, 'This is my body,' and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?' and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his body."

London :—"My lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh.'[2] How can you answer to that?"

Philpot :—"If it please you to give me leave to answer first my lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

Riche :—"Answer my lord of London first, and after come to me."

John vi. expounded, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," etc.

Philpot :—"My lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, 'I am the bread that came down from heaven;' but yet he is not *material* natural bread neither: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

Papists cater-cousins to the Capernaites. Transubstantiation hath neither ground of Scripture nor antiquity.

"And now to my lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, 'This is my body,' but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken; they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the Papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the Council of Antioch may appear."[3]

London :—"No, that is not so; they were only 'catechumeni,' which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

Philpot :—"It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

London :—"What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

Bonner's unreverent and blasphemous speaking of God.

Philpot :—"As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth;[4] but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his Word; as that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,'[5] as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless

(1) As a judge of the law may not discern the meaning of a statute otherwise than agreeable to the words, so hath the church no power to judge the meaning of God's word contrary to itself.

(2) "Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est."

(3) Canon Apost. 9, in Concilia General. studio Labbei, tom i. col. 25; Conc. Antioch. Can. 2. tom. ii. col. 561.—Ed. (4) Psal. cxxxv.

(5) "Non potest Deus facere quæ sunt naturæ suæ contraria."

you can declare by the Word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

London:—"Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

The omnipotency pretended in vain.

Philpot:—"I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof, according to Christ's institution."

London:—"What mean you by really present?"

Philpot:—"I mean by really present, present indeed."

What Philpot calleth really.

London:—"Is God really present everywhere?"

Philpot:—"He is so."

London:—"How prove you that?"

Philpot:—"The prophet Isaiah saith, 'that God filleth all places:' and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them."

London:—"What? his humanity?"

Philpot:—"No, my lord, I mean the deity, according to that you demanded."

Bonner too weak for Philpot.

Riche:—"My lord of London, I pray you let master doctor Chedsey reason with him; and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

The lords fall to drinking.

London:—"My lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave master doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again." He went (as I suppose), to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My lord Riche said to the lords, "I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all. God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

Lord Richebiddeth Philpot drink.

Chedsey beginneth to dispute with Philpot.

Chedsey:—"Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation house before your lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so;[1] for he had leave to say what he could,[2] and was answered to as much as he was able to bring;[3] and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping.[4] I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word.[5] And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will show you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the doctors."

Philpot answereth Chedsey.

Philpot:—"It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel."

Philpot interrupted in his answers.

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the

(1) Four untruths of Chedsey at one clap. (2) First untruth. (3) Second untruth.
(4) Third untruth. (5) Fourth untruth.

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spiritualty to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect's sake.[1] And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as master dean of Rochester, and master Cheyney archdeacon of Hertford (yet being alive, and within the realm), can testify.

Chedsey:—"You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, 'This is my body.'[2] They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the body. But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.'"[3]

Chedsey proveth the sacrament by John vi.

Philpot:—"My lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

Riche:—"Let master doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can."

Chedsey:—"You must note that there is twice 'dabo'[4] in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest Scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian" [whose authority he recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

Riche:—"Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

Philpot:—"My lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, 'This is my body,' with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require master doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-a-days. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, 'This is my body,'[5] spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose or no?"

Philpot answereth protestation.

Blasphemy to say that these words only, "This is my body," make a real presence.

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

Philpot:—"That is blasphemy to say, and against all the Scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice which *is* Christ, only Christ is to be followed.'[6] And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, 'If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God.' Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, 'This is my body,' do make a presence of Christ, without 'Bless, take, and eat,' which be three as substantial points of the sacrament, as 'This is my body,' he is highly deceived. Therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:'[7] so that if

These words, "Bless, take, and eat," be as substantial points of the sacrament as "This is my body."

(1) Praise be to the Lord, for so he hath. (2) "Hoc est corpus meum."
(3) "Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita."
(4) So there is twice "ego dabo," and yet but once natural body. (5) "Hoc est corpus meum."
(6) "In sacrificio quod Christus est, non nisi Christus sequendus." Cypr. Opera. lib. ii. epist. 3, p. 56.—Ed.
(7) "Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum." [August. in Joh. Tract. 80. § 3.—Ed.]

the entire words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ), and also a showing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified, and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment—except (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the mass), these words 'This is my body,' which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, 'Take ye, eat ye,' as 'This is my body."[1]

Chedsey:—"Christ said, 'Take, eat, this is my body,' and not, 'take ye, eat ye.'"

Master doctor taken with the manner.

Philpot:—"No did, master doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, 'Accipite, manducate?' and do not these words in the plural number signify, 'Take ye, eat ye;' and not 'take thou, eat thou,' as you would suppose?"

Chedsey:—"I grant it is as you say."

Philpot:—"Likewise of consequency, you, master doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, 'This is my body,' being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again and said, "What is it that you would have master doctor deny?"

Philpot:—"My lord, master doctor hath affirmed that these words, 'This is my body,' spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament."

The words of Christ "This is my body," except a priest speak them make no body.

London:—"Indeed if master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

Philpot:—"Master doctor hath said otherwise."

London:—"I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

Philpot:—"Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, 'This is my body,' hath no place, except 'bless, take, and eat,' duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before, 'this is my body,' but preposterously follow, in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

Chedsey:—"If, 'this is my body' only do not make the sacrament, no more do, 'bless, take, and eat.'"

Philpot:—"I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

Chedsey:—"Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

Sacraments without their use be no sacraments.

Philpot:—"No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution."

London:—"Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though no body eat thereof?"

Philpot:—"It is not likely, my lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table. But so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

The sacrament of the Lord's body without receiving is no sacrament.

London:—"I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?"

Philpot:—"It is, my lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

Windsor:—"There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, 'This is my body?'"

Philpot:—"My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example; Christ

(1) Hereof read more in the examinations of master Bradford.

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biddeth the church 'to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:' if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced, do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."[1]

Chamberlain:—"I pray you, my lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

Philpot:—"If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him and he to Christ."

Chamberlain:—"I am answered."

London:—"My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, 'Take, eat, this is a fat capon,' although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still?[2] And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, 'Drink, this is a cup of wine,' is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

Philpot:—"My lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, 'Take ye, and eat ye,' be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called *κοινωνία*, i. e. communion, and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, 'Divide it among you.'"[3]

Chedsey:—"St. Paul calleth it a communication."

Philpot:—"That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

London:—"My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now."[4] And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

The Seventh Examination of John Philpot, had the 19th of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, and Master Dee, Bachelor of Divinity.

Another calling of Philpot before the bishop.

London:—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make master chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

London:—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

Philpot:—"My lord, that is another manner of question."

London:—"Lo, master chancellor, I told you we should have a froward

(1) As baptism is no baptism but to the child that is baptized, and not to the standers by: so the sacrament of the body is no sacrament but to them that worthily receive.
(2) My lord is better skilled in a fat capon, than in Christ's sacrament!
(3) "Dividite inter vos."
(4) You are too weak, my lord, you may rise when ye will.

fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.[1]

Philpot:—"I reckon, I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough."

London:—"Why answerest thou not directly whether thou wouldst have gone to mass with us or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

Philpot:—"Mine answer shall be thus; that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

London:—"Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not.[2] By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

Philpot:—"If to lie in a blind coal-house, may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

London:—"Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

The prisoners charged with that they neither did nor knew of

Philpot:—"My lord, we have no such resort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark."

London:—"Nay; now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone,[3] that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

Philpot:—"My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

Chancellor:—"Cast not yourself wilfully away, master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

Philpot' standeth upon his conscience and the fear of God.

Philpot:—"My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure."

Chancellor:—"You are not so sure, but you may be deceived.'

Bonner proceedeth ex officio with Philpot.

London:—"Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee ex officio; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles: and when he had done, he bade me answer."

Two untruths in the bishop's articles.

Philpot:—"Your libel, my lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto."

London:—"What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now I pray you?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

(1) You said before, he was learned.
(2) Note, how substantially bishop Bonner proveth the mass.
(3) He meaneth Stephen Gardiner, who in this month died a little before.

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London:—"You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

Philpot challengeth the privilege of his ordinary's right.

Philpot:—"I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither maketh it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do: no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

Chedsey:—"Hath not the queen's majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?"

Philpot:—"I grant that the queen's majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, 'spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power.'[1] As for example; you, master doctor, if the queen's majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes?"[2]

London:—"Doth not a man, I pray you, 'sortiri forum ratione delicti?'"

Philpot:—"My lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

London:—"What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

London:—"Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptized in?"

Philpot:—"I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth."

London:—"Nay, that you are not."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I am."

London:—"Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

Philpot:—"I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ."[3]

London:—"How know you that?"

Philpot:—"By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

London:—"How long hath your church stood, I pray you?"

Philpot:—"Even from the beginning; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

Chancellor:—"He will prove his church to be before Christ!"

Philpot proveth his church to be from Christ.

Philpot:—"If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church."

Chancellor:—"It is so indeed."

Philpot:—"I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity."[4]

London:—"Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

Philpot:—"My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

London:—"No, that thou shalt not have.[5] You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey;' and they will allow no head, neither vicar general."

(1) "Spiritualia non sunt subjecta imperatoris potestati."
(2) Spiritual things are not subject to temporal powers, and therefore the temporal commissioners had no power to remove him into another man's diocese.
(3) A man is not baptized into his godfathers' faith, nor his godmothers' faith; but into the faith of Christ's church.
(4) No rule better than antiquity, universality, and unity, to prove the true faith and church of the protestants.
(5) Because you dare not.

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Philpot:—"St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For in his book 'De Simplicitate Prælatorum,' I am sure he saith the contrary.[1] 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'"[2]

London:—"Fetch hither the book; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum "That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed,"[3] and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

The place of St. Cyprian explained.

Philpot:—"Master doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, 'The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'"

London:—"Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth even from Peter?"

Philpot:—"No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

London:—"Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority?"

Peter had no more authority over the church than every one of the apostles.

Philpot:—"I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

Chancellor:—"Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;'[4] the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him."

Peter beareth but a figure of the church.

Philpot:—"St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, 'That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.'"

Bonner's divinity lieth much in the civil law.

London:—"What if I can prove and show you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, 'De catholicâ fide et sanctâ Romanâ ecclesiâ?"

Philpot:—"That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

Cyprian.

A Doctor:—"What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?"

Philpot:—"I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

A Doctor:—"St. Cyprian hath these words, 'That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.'"[5]

The place of Cyprian expounded.

Philpot:—"He declareth that in an example,[6] that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book 'De Simplicitate Prælato-

(1) "Unus episcopatus est, cujus pars in solidum à singulis tenetur."
(2) St. Cyprian meaneth every church to have his own governor, not all churches to be under one.
(3) Cypr. lib. i. epist. iii.
(4) "Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum."
(5) "Quod super Petrum fundata fuit ecclesia, tanquam super originem unitatis."
(6) Philpot seems to have quoted from memory, as the Latin here varies from the same passage quoted in his fifth examination; but he may readily be excused, as the passage to which he refers, stands in connexion with one which has been shamefully interpolated in what may be truly called the papal edition of Rome, of 1563. Compare p. 139 of this, with pp. 105-6 of the Oxford edition, 1682. It is remarkable that in the splendid Benedictine edition also (Paris, 1726), the text should be retained in its papally corrupted state, contrary to MSS. and editions, and apparently the intentions of the editor, Balurius; who did not live to complete the work, and whose notes have therefore been curtailed, and the typographical signatures doubled, in order to make them accord with the mangled text. This will be evident upon inspection. Dupin, cent. 3. p. 152. Lond. 1692 is worth consulting.—Ed.

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sum,' saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men.'"[1]

A Doctor:—"What! will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good indeed!"

Philpot:—"I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

Bonner goeth to the parliament.

London:—"I will desire you, master chancellor, to take some pains with master doctor Chedsey, about his examination, for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabout he went; and therewithal he laughed. And I said his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

Master doctor slippeth away.

A Doctor:—"Yea, then I have done with you:" and so went away.

Philpot:—"You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

Chancellor:—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, 'Feed my sheep.'"[2]

The words of Christ to Peter, Feed my sheep, 'Pasce oves meas,' expounded by 'Ite, prædicate.'

Philpot:—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than 'Go ye and preach,'[3] which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, 'Feed my sheep,'[4] it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take 'Pasce oves meas,' for to be Lord of the whole world?" In this meanwhile came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help master chancellor.

Scholar:—"What will you say if I can show you a Greek author, called Theophylact,[5] to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

Theophylact of no great authority.

Philpot:—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

Scholar:—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

Council of Nice.

Philpot:—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome."

Scholar:—"Nay, that is not so."

Philpot:—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils."[6]

(1) "In personâ unius Christus dedit omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denotaret."
(2) "Pasce oves meas." (3) "Ite, prædicate." (4) "Pasce oves meas."
(5) The passage in Theophylact's Commentary upon St. Mark (ch. xiv.), here alluded to, was introduced by Melanethon into the earlier editions of his Apology for the Augsburg Confession, (Art. iv. de Sacram. § 15), as proving a similarity of doctrine between the Latin and Greek churches. The subject is discussed, not very satisfactorily, in Walch's "Introductio in lib. Eccles. Lutheran. Symbolicos," (Jenæ, 1732) p. 449. Keisling, "Hist. of the Eucharist," pt. ii. ch. 17, p. 461. Lond. 1684,) remarks, "Urberius disputat Larroguanus de doctrinâ hujus Theophylacti, et demonstrat eundem minus felicem, et idoneum Transubstantiationis esse interpretem, sed rem ex fide et doctrinâ Græcorum sæculi, quo inclarûit, potissimum esse definiendam." "Hist. concertationis Græc. et. Lat. de Transub." p. 96; so that the scholar might have pressed his argument from this compiler with some apparent advantage, had not his comparative modernness stood in the way. He was archbishop of Acrida in Bulgaria, about A.D. 1070, and Philpot's refusal of his evidence as "a favourer of the bishop of Rome," must be in some measure limited to the point in question, as by Bellarmine (De Auct. Eccles. p. 163. edit. 1613) and by Possevine (Apparat. Sac. tom. ii.) he is considered a schismatic. Vide Buddei "Isagoge ad Theolog. Universam," tom. ii. p. 1420. edit. Leipsiæ 1730.—Ed.
(6) This alludes, no doubt, to Bart. Carranzæ "Summa Conciliorum et Pontificum, à Petro ad Paulum iii.;" Salmanticæ, 1549. This has been often reprinted; namely at Douay, in 1639; Paris, in 1624; and by Schran, in four volumes octavo, "Augustæ Vind. 1775." For a notice of some of its corruptions see page 34 of Mr. Gibbing's excellent Preface to "A Reprint of the Roman Index Expurg.;" Dublin, 1836. The first edition of the "Epitome," according to Antonio (Biblioth. Hisp. Nova), appeared at Venice in 1546, so that it is by no means improbable that copies might have reached England even in those times, especially as the compiler himself was in this country with Philip and Mary. He succeeded to the archbishopric of Toledo in 1557, but within a few months after the death of Charles V. he was confined, upon suspicion of being a protestant, first to

Scholar:—"I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of General Councils." He went into my lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to show the same, and so shrank away confounded. The scholar of Oxford shrinketh away.

Chancellor:—"The church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?"

Philpot:—"I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you." The pope's side not able to prove their church to be the holy catholic church.

Chancellor:—"Do you hear, master doctor, what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil?"

Chedsey:—"I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?"

Philpot:—"I am sure you can show no such thing." And with that he fetched the book of St. Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise:—

Chedsey:—"Here you may see, that the council of Carthage[1] writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church." The see of Rome, how apostolical, and not apostolical.

Philpot:—"Master doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolical see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the apostolical see of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ. Peter being at Rome, giveth no perpetuity to Rome to be head of the church.

"And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent,[2] certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and, agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

"And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine,[3] it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove

his own palace, and afterwards, for ten years, in the castle of St. Angelo. He died at Rome in 1576. Burnet, vol. iii. anno 1556. M'Crie's Reformation in Spain (p. 321) gives additional particulars and especially Llorente's Inquisition of Spain, Lond. 1826. chaps. xxxii.—xxxiv.—Ed.

(1) Concil. Carthag. contra Pelagianos, II.; apud Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1534. "Hoc igitur gestum, domine frater," is the style used.—Ed.

(2) The council of Carthage wrote to Innocent bishop of Rome, to confirm their acts with his subscription. Ergo, the bishop of Rome is above all bishops. Argumentum à causa non sufficiente.

(3) Epist. 53, § 2. tom. ii. edit. Benedict.—Ed.

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the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory), that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."[1]

Chancellor:—"Well, master doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

Philpot refuseth the chancellor to be his ordinary.

Philpot:—"Master chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

Chancellor:—"Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The sum of a private Conference or Talk between Master Philpot and the Bishop of London.

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

Bishop's Man:—"Master Philpot, where be you?"

Philpot:—"Who is it that calleth me?"

Bishop's Man:—"My lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

Philpot:—"My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my lord I am sick." After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my lord.

The Keeper:—"Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my lord."

Philpot:—"I am at your commandment, master keeper, as soon as I can." And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:

The Keeper:—"Will ye go to mass?"

Philpot:—"My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning."[2] After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

London:—"Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, master Dee, and my registrar have from me to object against you; go and answer them."

Philpot refuseth to answer but in open judgment.

Philpot:—"My lord, all judgments ought to be public.[3] Therefore, if your lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

London:—"Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough: thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

Philpot commanded to the stocks of the coal-house.

Philpot:—"I may well go with them at your lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already."

London:—"No, wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: What! foolish knave?"

Philpot:—"Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and

(1) The scope of St. Augustine's argument is not to prove the church of Rome therefore to be sound in the doctrine, because it hath succession of bishops from the apostles, but to prove the Donatists to be schismatics; for that the church of Rome continuing both sound in the doctrine of the apostles, and also in retaining still succession of bishops from the apostles' time, yet they would forsake the unity of that church, and set up another church of their own.

The argument is this:—

To dissever from that church which by continual succession of bishops descendeth from the apostles and keepeth the same institution still in faith and doctrine, is to break the unity of the church, and to be schismatics. The Donatists do so from the church of Rome, having no just cause of doctrine so to do: Ergo, the Donatists be schismatics.

(2) A marvel how the priests, eating up a whole man, flesh, blood, and bone, to breakfast, can have such a hungry stomach to their dinner afterward, as they have, as if they had eaten never a bit of meat before!

(3) "Omnia judicia debent esse publica."

we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!" And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Another Conference between Bonner, Bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other Prisoners.

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper. Another day's talk.

The Keeper:—"Master Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord."

Philpot:—"I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

Keeper:—"I will go tell my lord what answer you make." And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no."

Philpot:—"If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not." And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery. Philpot brought to the bishop by violence.

London:—"What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched."

Philpot:—"I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

London:—"I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this.[1] And in faith I made suit to my lord cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my lord of Lincoln[2] stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my master were called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic." Philpot, being archdeacon, excommunicated bishop White for preaching false doctrine.

London:—"Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee), to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst."

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your lordship is able to overcome me." Matter made of a knife sent to Philpot in a pig's belly.

London:—"I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I shall demand of thee." Articles again put to Philpot.

Philpot:—"I will first know your lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

(1) Note here the just dealings of these bishops.
(2) This bishop of Lincoln was Dr. White.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

London:—"What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

Philpot:—"My lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary."

Bonner, of mere power and authority, pronounceth himself to be Philpot's ordinary.

London:—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee" [taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

False articles feigned against Philpot.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain;" and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot:—"Hah, my lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me! You might as well have said I had killed your father. The scriptures say, 'that God will destroy all men that speak lies.' And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman (who is unknown to me), that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

London:—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

Bonner taken with an untruth.

Philpot:—"Then it was not justly said of your lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

London:—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?"

Philpot:—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

Other prisoners called in to bear witness against John Philpot.

London:—"Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee. Where are they? Come!"

Keeper:—"They be here, my lord."

London:—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

The prisoners refuse to be sworn against Philpot.

Prisoners:—"My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him."

Philpot:—"I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

Bonner again doeth against the law.

London:—"Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And master sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

Philpot:—"You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you list."

Prisoners:—"No, my lord."

Note how the bishops make Anabaptists.

London:—"No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptists, master sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge."

Philpot:—"We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

London:—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of master sheriff object

the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar and some of my chaplains." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Prisoners :—"My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

London :—"Master sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with master sheriff.

Philpot :—"Master sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us." Bonner seeketh corners.

And after this [we] were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

Another Private Conference between the Bishop of London and Master Philpot in the Coal-house.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying— Bonner viewing his coal-house.

London :—"Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

Philpot :—"My lord, you have my body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as, you say, I long there-for; and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I."

London :—"Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?"

Philpot :—"My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can show me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

London :—"Have you then the truth only?"

Philpot :—"My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably.[1] I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." With this saying he was apaused,[2] and said at length:— Good counsel given to Bonner.

London :—"That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me (as the sequel did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's, up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west Philpot conveyed into a close tower joining to Paul's church.

(1) He meaneth Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. (2) "Apaused," i. e. struck.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place, the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle, and knife; but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

Philpot searched for writings.

The copy of his examinations by God's great working preserved.

After this he went his way, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better:" the which I, hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying, that I heard what he said: wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The Eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's; Master Mordant, and others, in the Bishop's Chapel.

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, master Mordant one of the queen's council, master archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise:—

Articles objected and read to Philpot.

London:—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would, when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely my lord of St. David's, master Mordant, and master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book!" And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, "I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, by looking on the gospel book, without touching

Witnesses sworn against Philpot.

of the same."[1] And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?" *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Philpot:—"My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this? Papists keep no promise.

London:—"Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Philpot:—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge." Philpot appealeth from Bonner.

London:—"Indeed, master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

Philpot:—"You will do what you list, my lord, you have the law in your hands."

London:—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

Philpot:—"I will not otherwise than I have said."

London:—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

Philpot:—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom." And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste. Bonner doth without order of law.

St. David's:—"Master Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you."

Philpot:—"My lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

The Ninth Examination of Master Philpot, before the Bishop of London, and his Chaplains.

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

London:—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise." Philpot still standeth to his former plea to answer before his own ordinary.

London:—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

London:—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

(1) "Inspectis evangeliis, et non tactis."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over he said unto me,

London:—"I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?"

Philpot will not hear his articles read.

Philpot:—"My lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same."

London:—"What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire."

Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, "My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly showed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me."

London:—"Yea marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me."

Philpot:—"My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament."

London:—"What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Talk of the sacrament.

Philpot:—"No, my lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted."

London:—"Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?"

Philpot:—"Yes, verily, that it is."

London:—"Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament."[1]

Philpot:—"You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded: for therwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament."

London:—"I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution."

Philpot:—"I deny that, my lord.'

The bishop, being brought to a narrow strait, is fain to call for more help.

London:—"I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will go show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me master doctor Chedsey, master Archdeacon, master Cosins, and other chaplains hither."

"Here, my lord. Master doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and master Archdeacon was here even now."

London:—"Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before."

(1) This argument in the second figure concluding affirmatively, doth not hold by logic.

Cosins:—"I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?" *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Philpot:—"Master Cosins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but, if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you."

Cosins:—"No, will you? Why, what is that, then, that is in question between my lord and you?"

Philpot:—"Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no."

Cosins:—"What, the mass to be a sacrament? who ever doubted thereof?" Whether the mass be a sacrament.

Philpot:—"If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof."

Cosins:—"Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot:—"I deny your antecedent."

Cosins:—"What, will you so? then there is no reasoning with you."

Thus master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that master Harpsfield came out from my lord with St. Augustine's Epistles, saying, Master Cosins giveth over in the plain field.

Harpsfield:—"My lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth: I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the Sabbath and holy-days."

Philpot:—"I perceive the contents of this Epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass."

Harpsfield:—"No! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?"

Philpot:—"St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; for this word 'mass' hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell." The Epistle of St. Augustine alleged for confirmation of the mass, answered.

Cosins:—"No? cannot? That is marvel."

Philpot:—"Then tell me, if you can." But master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon master Harpsfield for help; and at length he spake.

Harpsfield:—"You think it cometh of the Hebrew word 'massah,' as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you."

Philpot:—"I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of 'missa,'[1] which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called 'missa,' à mittendo, of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called 'missa,' as learned men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary." The word *missa*.

Harpsfield:—"What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame, speak it not."

Philpot:—"I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it."

(1) See Jewel's "Replie to Harding," art. 14, divis. 8; and art. 1.—Ed.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Harpsfield:—"Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament.'[1]

Philpot:—"You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice."

Harpsfield:—"Why? doth not Christ say, 'This is my body?' and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?"

A sacrament is no sacrament without its use.

Philpot:—"The pronunciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a christian person to be baptized."

Harpsfield:—"Nay, that is not like; for 'Hoc est corpus meum,' is an indicative proposition, showing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine."

Philpot:—"It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, 'This is my body;'[2] said also, 'Take ye, eat ye.'[3] And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, 'This is my body,' can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will."

Morrow-mass Chaplain:—"Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament."

Receiving maketh not the sacrament, yet the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without it be received, is no sacrament.

Philpot:—"I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, 'Take ye, eat ye,' which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution."

Cosins:—"We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it."

What the priests ought to do at their mass.

Philpot:—"Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, 'Take ye, eat ye:' and likewise, by preaching, show forth the Lord's death, which you do not."

Cosins:—"What if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none have communicated beside the priest?"

Philpot:—"In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament." After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

The Morrow-mass Priest:—"If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said 'Take ye, eat ye;' then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, 'Go preach the Gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father,' etc.

The sacrament of baptism may be ministered unto any person.

Philpot:—"In that saying of Christ, 'baptizing all nations,' is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the Eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express words of St. Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, "As oft as ye come together to eat [meaning the Lord's Supper] tarry one for another.'[4] And also the minister, in the celebration of the sacrament, speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, 'Take ye, and eat ye.' Wherefore, as many as be

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper requireth a communion.

(1) The mass is a sacrifice, quoth Harpsfield. (2) "Hoc est corpus meum."
(3) "Accipite, manducate."
(4) "Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectate," 1 Cor. xi.

present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament.'

Harpsfield:—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?"

At the ministration of the Supper all that be present ought to communicate.

Philpot:—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St. Chrysostome, writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest.' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?"

It is no sacrament without it be a communion.

Cosins:—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, master Archdeacon, and him together." And so they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Harpsfield:—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me."

Talk between Philpot and Harpsfield.

Philpot:—"I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you: for, afore God, I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and, if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time. I give you warning, for else, in the day of judgment, I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

Harpsfield:—"Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

Philpot:—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there."

Harpsfield:—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation 'in parvis,' you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

Philpot:—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now, our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a show: wherefore I pray you judge not so of me now."

Harpsfield:—"What, will you think yourself better learned, than all the learned men in this realm?"

Philpot:—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

Harpsfield:—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

Philpot:—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield:—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you.'

What this pronoun 'hoc' doth demonstrate.

Philpot:—"I pray you, master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun 'hoc' doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' this is my body?"

Harpsfield:—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."[1]

Philpot:—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

(1) That is against the opinion of Winchester. Read before in the tractation of Winchester's sermon.

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Harpsfield:—"Yea, that it is."

Philpot:—"Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Harpsfield in a double tale.

Then Harpsfield fetched about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God.

Contrariety in Popish doctrine.

Philpot:—"This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated: contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!"

Pretence of God's omnipotence.

Harpsfield:—"Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

Philpot:—"But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread, as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it 'bread' many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, 'Take ye, eat ye, Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me:' and to place in their steads, 'Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead?' If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

The substantial parts of the sacrament taken away by the papists.

Harpsfield giveth over for lack of good matter.

Harpsfield:—"I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

Philpot:—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield:—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

The Tenth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, his Registrar, and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said,

London:—"I do here lay unto this man in your presence (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them) these articles, this book of the catechism made in king Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath stood accursed more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my lord chancellor?"

Philpot accursed by Gardiner without order of law.

Philpot:—"I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law; being never personally cited."

London:—"Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?"

Philpot required absolution of Winchester, and was denied.

Philpot:—"More than a twelvemonth and a half."

London:—"Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

Philpot:—"But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my lord chancellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was 'excommunicatus ipso jure,' because I was a heretic,

as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Gentleman:—"Why do you not require absolution at my lord's hands here now?"

Philpot:—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

London:—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

Philpot:—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, master registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing." Philpot appealeth from Bonner again.

London:—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocese."

Philpot:—"I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese."

London:—"I pray you may not a man be of two dioceses at once?"

Philpot:—"No, that he cannot."

London:—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen! I tell thee a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocese: or else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity, also thou art to be counted of my diocese: or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocese." How one may be of three dioceses at once.

Philpot:—"In none of these respects I am of your lordship's diocese. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocese."

London:—"What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?"

Philpot:—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

London:—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

Philpot:—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?"

London:—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my lord Riche, or no."

Philpot:—I said, "He said so himself to me the other day, but how, I know not."

Chedsey:—"I heard him say he was his nigh kinsman."

Balaamite:—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?" His Balaamite kinsman.

Philpot:—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, 'that the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for my truth's sake.'"

Balaamite:—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

Philpot:—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

Balaamite:—"What, prove it a sacrament, quoth he! Doth not St. Paul say, 'That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?"[1] Scripture handsomely applied.

Philpot:—"That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

Balaamite:—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived."

Philpot:—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred, I understand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that showed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation,[2] and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

(1) "Quæ oculus non vidit, et auris non audivit, ea præparavit Deus diligentibus se."

(2) This was no doubt the fourth edition of Stephen's, which is remarkable as being the one in which the text was first divided into verses. It bears the title "Novum Test. cum duplici interpretatione Erasmi et vet. Interpretis, etc.; ex officinâ Roberti Stephani, 1551." In the copy from which this title has been transcribed, it may be remarked, that the words D. Erasmi have been erased, and the preface, consisting of one leaf, torn out, in order to render the volume inoffensively papal. Any curiosity about the edition and its incorrect date of 1541, may be satisfied in Le Long's "Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. i. p. 210, edit. 1723; or in Masch's enlarged republication of it, vol. i. p. 305. The fourth edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament (Basiliæ, 1527) is arranged in the same

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Balaamite:—"I knew Greek too once, as well as you; I care not which you read."

Philpot:—"You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other." With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day's talk with the bishops.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel, and there my Balaamite kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me: and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also; saying, "You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man;" and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence.

Witness again sworn against Philpot.

Philpot appealeth again from the bishop.

Philpot:—"My lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you, master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour."

Registrar:—"Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me."

Philpot:—"I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present." With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kinsman, looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all mine examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

The Eleventh Examination of John Philpot, had on St. Andrew's Day, before the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Master Christopherson, and Dr. Chedsey, Master Morgan of Oxford, Master Hussey of the Arches, Dr. Weston, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and Master Johnson Registrar to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.

Yet another examination of John Philpot before bishops and doctors.

I was coming, being sent for with my keeper; and the bishop of London met me in his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman-usher to bring me before the lords, saying, "My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man; he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself."

Durham:—"Come hither sir; what is your name?"

Philpot:—"My name is Philpot."

Durham:—"I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock; and since you be a gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?"

I told him the cause, as in my former examination is expressed.

Durham:—"Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new fangled opinions and heresies? I wis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth."

Philpot:—"My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in the same. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I with others these twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto: wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word. For faith is at a sudden

manner as this of Stephen's, and is the one alluded to in Foxe (vol. v. p. 117), as containing the first mention of Tonstall's name, by which Tyndale was attracted:—see Russel's edition of Tyndale and Frith's works, vol. i. p. 500. Foxe says, "in the annotations;" but it would be more correct to refer to the "capita argum. contra morosos quosdam ac indoctos," near the close. These precede the text, and are in the Basle edition unpaged; and here it is that Tonstall's name appears as bishop of London.—Ed.

neither won, neither removed, but, as St. Paul saith, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word.' "[1] *Mary.*

Chichester:—"And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will show him how he taketh the saying of St. Paul amiss, as many others now-a-days alleging the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe: whereas St. Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithful. And so St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, saith, that the faithful may be compelled to believe.[2] A. D. 1555. Papists will have faith to be compelled.

Philpot:—"St. Bernard (if it please your lordship) doth take that sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined.[3] And St. Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness." Faith ought not to be compelled.

Chichester:—"So Bernard meaneth of infidels also."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, that he doth not, for he writeth not of the infidels, but he writeth of such as were deceived by errors."

Chichester:—"My lord of Durham, I have been so bold to interrupt your lordship of your tale: I pray you now proceed on."

Durham:—"Master Philpot, will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us [which] you were baptized in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? and then may you be rid out of trouble." I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you should do well."

Philpot:—"I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die." Philpot of what faith.

Durham:—"That is well said: if you hold there, you cannot do but well."

Chichester:—"Yea, my lord, but he meaneth otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?" No man bound to be of the faith of his godfathers in every respect.

Philpot:—"I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is, the faith of Christ: for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ."

Chichester:—"St. Augustine saith, that infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers."[4]

Philpot:—"St. Augustine, in so saying, meaneth of the faith of Christ, which the godfathers do or ought to believe; and not otherwise." St. Augustine.

Durham:—"How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no? and be of one church with us?"

Philpot:—"My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches."

Chichester:—"Nay, that is not so: there is but one catholic church."

Philpot:—"I shall desire your lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church a false church, adversary to the true: and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who persecuted and slew his brother, in whom (as St. Augustine witnesseth) is represented the false and true church.[5] And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and showed unto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, anon after rose the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themselves at Bethel and set up golden calves; and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them." The true church and the false church ever joined together. The true and false church declared first in Abel and Cain.

Chichester:—"I will grant you before the coming of Christ, there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot show it to be so by the Scripture." Dr. Day driven to a strait.

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ

(1) "Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum."

(2) St. Augustine's sentiments upon this point occasionally seem rather perplexed; but the testimony in favour of lenient measures is clear, and greatly preponderates. In the passage supposed to be here referred to (contra Gaudent. Donatist. lib. i. cap. 25, § 28), the concluding words must have been overlooked: "qui" (Deus) "eos volentes facit, dum coguntur inviti." In a similar way the following passage has been perverted and mutilated in Dens's Theology (vol. ii. p. 80), and probably by hundreds of other Romish writers and transcribers: "Non ut homines, quod fieri non potest, nolentes credant, sed ut volentes ex nolentibus fiant." (Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 37, tom. x. col. 428, edit. 1688.)—Ed.

(3) "Fides est suadenda, et non imponenda." Bernard. in Cant. Ser. 66. [See his Works. Basil, 1552, p. 1045.—Ed.]

(4) "In fide susceptorum."

(5) Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 15.

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had chosen his twelve apostles was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false church?"

Chichester:—"Yea, but I mean after the gospel was written: where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?"

Philpot:—"The gospel was, within eight years after the ascension, written by St. Matthew; and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of these two churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be showed; and yet, as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalypse; and also St. Paul to the Thessalonians maketh mention that Antichrist, with his false generation, shall sit in the temple of God." [To the which Chichester replied not.]

Durham:—"The church in the Scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth."

Philpot:—"My lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth."

Durham:—"Do you so, and then shall you do well. It is almost night, my lord of London, I must needs be gone."

The bishops begin to be weary of their part.

London:—"Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while." And before he had so said, the bishop of Bath went his way without saying any word. "What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel. I pray you sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, 'The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar in earth,'[1] Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine; that the Spirit is Christ's vicar on earth?"

Bonner would fain pick out matter if he could tell how.

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not my saying, it is a better learned man's than mine; for I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers, as all others be, where ye find the same written. And, as I remember, it is even the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my lord of Durham and my lord of Chichester by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said."

London:—"No will? Why, take away the first syllable, and it soundeth Arius."

Philpot:—"That is far fetched indeed: if your lordship will scan men's sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list."

Another matter picked against Philpot.

London:—"But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another book, 'In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit et gratia;' that is, 'In me John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded.' I pray you what superabundant grace have you more than other men? So said Arius, that he had abundance of grace above all others."

Philpot:—"My lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of St. Paul himself; and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all.[2] And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, as it is well known I have written against them."

London:—"Also I lay to thy charge, that thou killedst thy father, and was accursed of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witness thereof."

Philpot falsely charged with untruth, when no truth can be found against him.

Philpot:—"O Lord, what blasphemy is this! Hath your lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your honours) such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at Paul's Cross, what you will have me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Hah, my lords! I pray you consider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded against me: for indeed he hath none other but such pretensed slanderous lies."

Chichester:—"They be 'πάρεργα;' that is, matters beside the purpose."

Durham:—"My lord, I must needs bid you farewell."

London:—"Nay my lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your lordship to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to

(1) "Quod Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terrâ." (2) Rom. v. 1 Tim. i.

write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called master Green, in my house (Call him hither!) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He all-to tare the letter when he saw my man went about to search him;[1] but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a copy to be written thereof." [And he read the torn letter, bidding master Christopherson and Morgan to mark the copy thereof.] *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Philpot charged with a letter written to master Green.

The contents of the letter were the examination of master Green before the bishop of London in the presence of master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, and of divers others; whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at of the dean himself, and of many others, as Fecknam did report; and that he was committed to Dr. Chedsey, and to have his meat from the bishop's own table. "How say you, my lords, was this well done of him, being my prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shameful lie, that he was in Dr. Chedsey's keeping. How say you, master doctor Chedsey, is it not a shameful lie?"

The contents of Philpot's letter to Green.

Chedsey:—"Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping."

London:—"Art thou not ashamed, to write such shameful lies? Come hither, master Green, Did not I show you this letter?"

Green called.

Green:—"Yea forsooth, my lord; you showed it me."

London:—"How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man to belie me, and to call my chaplain a great conjuror?" [My lord of Durham smiled thereat.]

Philpot again charged with an untruth.

Philpot:—"Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how master Green sped at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report."

London:—"Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend; and specially seeing you will take all things at the worst: neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for."

London:—"I would see any so hardy to put up thine appeal."

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot tell what God will work: I have written it, speed it as it may."

London:—"My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou; have I not?"

Philpot:—"If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman and an archdeacon), and in a coal-house, by the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, be to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness.[2] But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are at these days."

London:—"Lo, what a varlet is this! Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose, I——"

Black powder sent to Philpot to make ink.

Philpot:—"Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's Bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn."

London:—"And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknown unto me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house, I tell thee."

Philpot:—"My lord, because you have caused my penner and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet fain that my friends might understand what I lack: not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight."

False surmises against Philpot.

London:—"More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife be put between the skin and the flesh; for what purpose judge you. How sayest thou, didst thou not so?

Philpot:—"I cannot deny but there was half a pig sent me, and under the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know: your lord-

(1) This letter torn in the Blind Tower, read before.

(2) Note what great gentleness this bishop showed to Philpot, and compare the same with the handling now of him in his imprisonment.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

ship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife, since I came to prison. Therefore all these be but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal."

London:—"I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, master doctor Weston? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?"

Weston:—"Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never be answered. And it is pity that the same worshipful congregation should be slandered with such untrue reports."

Dr. Weston's chief arguments in the convocation-house.

Philpot:—"You answered me indeed, master doctor (being then prolocutor) goodly, with 'Hold thy peace,' and 'Have him to prison,' and 'Put him out of the house.' I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because he setteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worst of the house."

Weston:—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot:—"Indeed, master doctor, ye have amongst you unarchdeaconed me as now (I thank God of it), and that without all order of law."

London:—"I pray you, my lords, hearken what he writeth of himself, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that Dr. Weston called him frantic and madman, and said he should go to Bethlehem."

Philpot:—"Indeed my lord, so it pleased Dr. Weston to taunt at me, and say his shameful pleasure; but yet I was no whit the more so for all his sayings, than Christ was when the Scribes and the Pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was possessed of a devil, most blasphemously."

Bishop Tonstal and master Weston give over the matter.

Durham:—"My lord of London! I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Master Philpot, me thinketh you have said well, that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well." [And so he departed with master Weston and master Hussey.]

Philpot:—"I have purposed so to do, howsoever I speed, by God's grace."

London:—"I pray you my lord of Chichester, and master prolocutor, and master doctor Morgan, to commune with him whiles I bring my lord of Durham going."

Christopherson:—"Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you be remembered (but you have forgotten me), and talked somewhat with you of these matters; and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit."

Philpot:—"Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was so, though it were but very strange on your part, to me-ward, being driven to necessity."

Christopherson:—"You know the world was dangerous at that time."

Wisdom in God's matters consisteth not in man's learning.

Philpot:—"Nothing so dangerous as it is now; but let that pass. Whereas you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God for that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myself: indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you. But faith and the wisdom of God consist not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can show by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatsoever he be."

Christopherson:—"I marvel why you should dissent from the catholic church, since it hath thus long universally been received, except within this five or six years here in England."

Philpot:—"I do not dissent from the true catholic church; I do only dissent from the bishop of Rome, where if you can prove to be the catholic church of Christ, I will be of the same also with you."

Christopherson:—"Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can show out of him, "that the church of Rome is such a one, unto the which misbelief cannot approach."[1]

(1) "Quòd ecclesia Romana est talis ad quam perfidia accedere non potest."

Philpot:—"I am sure you cannot show any such saying out of St. Cyprian."
Christopherson:—"What will you lay thereon?"
Philpot:—"I will lay as much as I am able to make."
Morgan:—"Will you promise to recant, if I show his saying to be true."
Philpot:—"My faith shall not hang upon any doctor's saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by God's word."

Christopherson:—"I will go fetch the book, and show it him by and by." And therewithal he went into the bishop's study, and fetched Cyprian, and appointed out these words in one of his epistles, "But unto the Romans, whose faith by the testimony of the apostle is praised, misbelief can have no access."[1]

Philpot:—"These words of Cyprian do nothing prove your pretensed assertion, which is, that to the church of Rome there could come no misbelief."

Christopherson:—"Good Lord, no doth? What can be said more plainly?"

Philpot:—"He speaketh not of the church of Rome absolutely."

Christopherson:—"By God, a child that can but his grammar, will not deny that you do, the words be so plain."

Philpot:—"Swear not, master doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I shall make you to say as I have said."

Christopherson:—"I am no doctor, but I perceive it is but labour lost to reason with you."

Dr. Day shrinketh alsoaway.

And with that the bishop of London came in blowing again, and said, "What! is my lord of Chichester gone away also?" [for he even a little before departed also without saying any other word, but he must needs be gone.] "What is the matter you now stand upon?"

Morgan:—"Master Christopherson hath showed master Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it."

Bonner:—"Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, sir, what say you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with St. Paul's own testimony, the first to the Romans, where he saith, that their faith is preached throughout the world. How can you be able to answer to this?"

A place of Cyprian expounded.

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider all the words of Cyprian: for he speaketh of such as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world by an epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. 'With such as are praised of St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place.'[2] And if you can show that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans, in his time, then will I say that St. Cyprian then said, and with you, 'that infidelity can have no place there:' but otherwise it maketh not absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do mistake it."

Christopherson:—"You understand Cyprian well indeed: I think you never read him in your life!"

Papists wresters and misreporters of the doctors.

Philpot:—"Yes, master doctor, that I have; I can show you a book, noted with mine own hand: though I have not read so much as you, yet I have read somewhat. It is a shame for you to wrest and writhe the doctors as you do, to maintain a false religion, which be altogether against you, if you take them aright. And indeed your false packing of doctors together hath given me and others occasion to look upon them, whereby we find you shameful liars, and misreporters of the ancient doctors."

Morgan:—"What! will you be in hand to allow doctors now? they of your sect do not so: I marvel therefore you will allow them."

Philpot:—"I do allow them inasmuch as they do agree with the Scriptures, and so do all they which be of the truth, howsoever you term us: and I praise God for that good understanding I have received by them."

Christopherson:—"What! you understand not the doctors: you may be ashamed to say it."

Philpot:—"I thank God I understand them better than you: for you have the blindness of heart;[3] so that you understand not truly what you read, no

(1) "Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, non potest accedere perfidia." Cyprian. ad Cornel. [Opera, 1521. Basil; lib. i. Epist. iii. p. 14.—Ed.]
(2) "Ad Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, perfidia accedere non potest."
(3) "Excæcationem cordis."

Mary. more than the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian doth well declare. And, afore God, you are but deceivers of the people, for all your brag you make of learning; neither have ye scripture or ancient doctor on your side, being truly taken."

A. D. 1555.

Doctors make against the papists, if they be rightly taken.

Morgan:—"Why, all the doctors be on our side, and against you altogether."

Philpot:—"Yea, so you say when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little sight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my side, than you shall be able for yours; and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are ye so content herewith?"

Christopherson:—"It is but folly to reason with you: you will believe no man but yourself."

Philpot:—"I will believe you, or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God, there is no truth in you."

Morgan:—"What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and sound in nothing."

Morgan:—"What say you, do we not believe well on the sacrament?"

Philpot:—"It is the thing which, among all others, you do most abuse."

Morgan:—"Wherein I pray you? tell us."

Philpot:—"I have told you before, master doctor, in the convocation-house."

Morgan here beginneth to play the clown.

Morgan:—"Yes, marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping; ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed there-for, if you consider the cause of my weeping."

Morgan:—"What, make you yourself Christ? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"No, sir, I make not myself Christ: but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foresaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare."

Morgan:—"That is your argument."

Christopherson:—"Wherein do we abuse the sacrament? tell us."

The sacrament abused by the papists, how and wherein.

Philpot:—"As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution."

Christopherson:—"Why, is not there as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?"

Sacrament in one kind.

Philpot:—"I believe not so; for, if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only, for he instituted nothing superfluous; and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, since the Scripture teacheth otherwise."

Christopherson:—"What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in one or two places, where it is written that the apostles continued, 'In prayers and in breaking of bread,'[1] which is meant of the sacrament."

Philpot:—"Why, master doctor, do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole use of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, 'synecdoche,'[2] where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?"

Christopherson:—"Nay, that is not so. For I can show you out of Euseb. in Eccl. Hist., that there was a man of God (whom he named) that sent the sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was sick."[3]

Philpot:—"I have read indeed that they did use to give that was left of the communion bread to children, to mariners, and to women; and so peradventure the boy might carry a piece of that was left to the sick man."

(1) "In orationibus et fractione panis."

(2) Synecdoche is a figure, when by one thing or by part the whole is understood.

(3) Eusebius hath these words: "Parum Eucharistiæ puero dedit," i. e. "He gave a little of the sacrament to the boy:" which words may very well comprehend both parts. And it seemeth by the words that follow, that part of it was liquor, for it is written in the same place, "Jussit ut id infunderet, et in os senis instillaret." I. "He commanded that he should pour it and drop it into the man's mouth, and so he did."—Euseb. in Eccles. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 44.

Christopherson:—"Nay, as a sacrament it was purposely sent unto him."

Philpot:—"If it were so, yet can you not precisely say that he had not the cup ministered unto him, also, by some other sent unto him. But though one man did use it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which rose upon singular men's examples, as using of water instead of wine: therefore he saith, 'We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all men did and commanded.'"[1]

Christopherson:—"Hath not the church taught us so to use the sacrament? and how do we know that Christ is 'homousios,' that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of Scripture; and where find you 'homousios' in all the Scripture?"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I do in the first of the Hebrews, where it is written that Christ is the express image of God's own substance, 'ejusdem substantiæ.'"

Christopherson:—"Nay, that is not so. That is, there is no more but 'expressa imago substantiæ,' the express image of God's substance; and image is accident."

Philpot:—"It is in the text, 'of his substance,' 'substantiæ illius,' or of his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in St. John manifesteth the same, saying, 'I and the Father be one thing,' 'Ego et pater unum sumus.' And whereas you say, 'imago,' here is accidence, the ancient fathers use this for a strong argument, to prove Christ to be God, because he is the very image of God."

Christopherson:—"Yea do? is this a good argument, because we are the image of God, ergo, we are God?"

Philpot:—"We are not called the express image of God, as it is written of Christ, and we are but the image of God by participation; and, as it is written in Genesis, we are made to the likeness and similitude of God. But you ought to know, master Christopherson, that there is no accident in God; and therefore Christ cannot be the image of God; but he must be of the same substance with God." The image of God, is not like in Christ, and in us.

Christopherson:—"Tush!"

Morgan:—"How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand to the judgment here of your book, or no? or will you recant?" Presence of the sacrament.

Philpot:—"I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be of my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment."

Morgan:—"Speak, be you of the same mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of man than you were."

Philpot:—"What I was, you know: what I am, I will not tell you now. But this I will say to you, by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass, as you now use it, to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence; but first you must prove the same a sacrament, and afterward entreat of the presence." The sacrament of the mass as it is used, is no sacrament.

Morgan:—"Ho! do you doubt that it is a sacrament?"

Philpot:—"I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament."

Christopherson:—"Yea do? good Lord, doth not St. Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?"

Philpot:—"That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For so he, with other ancient writers, do call the Holy Communion or the Supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, the which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure and shadow; the which pertaineth nothing to your sacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and stone."

Christopherson:—"No doth? I pray you what signifieth 'altar?'" Altar, what it signifieth.

Philpot:—"Not as you falsely take it, materially, but for the sacrifice of the altar of the cross."

Christopherson:—"Where find you it ever so taken?"

(1) "Non respiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, sed quid Christus qui omnium primus ante nos fecerit et mandavit."

Mary. A. D. 1555.

Philpot:—"Yes that I do in St. Paul to the Hebrews, where he saith, "We have an altar, of the which it is not lawful for them to eat that serve the tabernacle."[1] Is not altar in this place taken for the sacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and stone?"

Christopherson, for lack of better proof, falleth to exclaiming.

Christopherson:—"Well! God bless me out of your company. You are such an obstinate heretic, as I have not heard the like."

Philpot:—"I pray God keep me from such blind doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they say, then they fall to blaspheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof." In the mean while the bishop of London was talking with some other by, and at length came into supply his part, and said:

London:—"I pray you masters, hearken what I shall say to this man. Come hither, master Green. And now sir [pointing to me], you cannot think it sufficient to be naught yourself, but must go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like."

Wrangling matter against Philpot.

Philpot:—"My lord, he cannot say, that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any such matter, as he here can testify."

Green:—"No, you never wrote unto me."

Bonner:—"Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?"

Philpot:—"I have showed your lordship my mind concerning that letter already: it was not written to master Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof."

London:—"How say you then, If a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?"

Philpot:—"I am bound to do the best I can to bring him out of it."

London:—"If master Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof, if you can?"

Philpot:—"Yes that I am, and will do the uttermost of my power therein."

The bishop remembering himself, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceased to go any further in his demand, and called master Green aside, and, before his registrar, read him a letter; I know not the contents thereof. And therewithal he gave master Green the book of my disputation in the convocation-house; and afterward went aside, communing with master Christopherson, leaving master Morgan, master Harpsfield, and master Cosins to reason with me in the hearing of master Green.

Morgan:—"Master Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is?"

Philpot:—"It is older than yours by a thousand years and more."[2]

Morgan:—"I pray you where was it fifty years ago?"

Philpot:—"It was in Germany apparent, by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliff, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more, did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and since hath been, although under persecution it hath been put to silence."

Morgan:—"That is a marvellous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it."

Philpot:—"It ought to be no marvel unto you to see God's truth through violence oppressed; for so it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by stories, and as Christ's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions."

Morgan:—"Ah! are you seen in the Apocalypse? there are many strange things."

Scoffing Morgan.

Philpot:—"If I tell you the truth, which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out so earnest matters. Methinketh you are liker a scoffer in a play, than a reasonable doctor to instruct a man: you are unclad, and dance naked in a net, and you see not your own nakedness."

†

Morgan:—"What! I pray you, be not so quick with me, let us talk a little more coldly together."

Philpot:—"I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you."

(1) "Habemus altare de quo non est fas edere his qui tabernaculo deserviunt." Heb. xiii.

(2) Philpot's religion elder than popery by a thousand years. This religion was not seen openly a hundred years ago: ergo, this religion was not. The antecedent is true, and the consequence false.

Mary.

Morgan :—"Why will not you submit your judgment to the learned men of this realm?"

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Philpot :—"Because I see they can bring no good ground whereupon I may, with a good conscience, settle my faith more surely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifest word."

Morgan :—"No do? that is marvel that so many learned men should be deceived."

Philpot :—"It is no marvel by St. Paul, for he saith, 'that not many wise, neither many learned after the world, be called to the knowledge of the gospel."[1]

Morgan :—"Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?"

Philpot :—"I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, have the Spirit of God, as well as I."

Morgan :—"How know you that you have the Spirit of God?"

Philpot :—"By the faith of Christ which is in me."

Morgan falleth to scoffing and railing at the good martyrs of God.

Morgan :—"Ah! by faith do you so? I ween it be the spirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it."

Philpot :—"It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttery[2] than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I must now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite! in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scorners of his word, and blasphemers of his people, as thou art."

Morgan :—"What, you rage now."

Philpot :—"Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that which I have said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness!"

Morgan :—"Why do ye judge me so?"

Philpot :—"By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blasphemous doctor! for as it is written, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' I have spoken on God's behalf, and now I have done with thee."

Morgan :—"Why, then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell-fire."

Philpot, with great zeal, denounceth hell fire to Morgan unless he repent.

Philpot :—"I tell thee, thou hypocrite! that I pass not this for thy fire and faggots; neither, I thank God my lord, stand in fear of the same: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire which thou threatenest me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unless thou speedily repent), and for such hypocrites as thou art."

Morgan :—"What, thou speakest upon wine; thou hast tippled well to-day, by likelihood."

Philpot :—"So said the cursed generation, of the apostles being replenished with the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God. They said, they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as thou dost now."

Morgan :—"Why, I am able to answer thee, I trow."

Philpot :—"So it seemeth, with blasphemies and lies."

Morgan :—"Nay, even with learning, say what thou canst."

Morgan fumbling and stammering in the convocation-house.

Philpot :—"That appeared well at my disputation in the convocation-house, where thou tookest upon thee to answer those few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wast not able to answer one, but in thine answers didst fumble and stammer, that the whole house was ashamed of thee: and the final conclusions of all thine answer was, that thou couldst answer me, if I were in the schools at Oxford!"

Morgan :—"What, did I so? thou beliest me."

Philpot :—"I do not belie thee; the book of the report of the disputation beareth record thereto, and all that were present then can tell, if they list, thou saidst so. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to answer that Spirit of Truth which speaketh in me for the defence of Christ's true religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this gallery before me: and if it would please the queen's majesty and her council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for shame shrink behind the door."

Morgan :—"Yea, would you so?"

(1) 1 Cor. i.

(2) A fairy or goblin, said to haunt pantries or butteries.—Ed.

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Philpot:—"Thou hast the spirit of illusion and sophistry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of Truth. Thou art but an ass in the true understanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee ass, not in respect of malice, but in that thou kickest against the truth, and art void of all godly understanding, not able to answer to that thou braggest in."

Morgan taken up for halting.

Morgan:—"Why! have I not answered thee in all things thou hast said unto me? I take them to record."

Philpot:—"Ask of my fellow whether I be a thief!"

Cosins:—"Hark, he maketh us all thieves."

Philpot:—"You know that phrase of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am sure you will not judge with me, against him, speak I never so true; and in this sense I speak it. The strongest answer that he hath made against me is, that you will burn me."

Morgan:—"Why, we do not burn you; it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we!"[1]

Philpot:—"Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, call upon the secular power,[2] to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, 'to burn heretics?'"

Harpsfield:—"I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, master Philpot."

Cosins:—"Neither I, in all my life."

Philpot:—"You are not able to prove me a heretic, by one jot of God's word."

Harpsfield and Cosins depart.

Harpsfield:—"You have the spirit of arrogancy; I will reason with you no more." And so he was departing, and master Cosins also. And with that the bishop and Christopherson came in again, and said:

Bonner:—"Master doctor, how do this man and you agree?"

Morgan:—"My lord, I do ask him where his church was fifty years ago?"

Bonner:—"Are you not half agreed? as one man said once to two parties, of whom the one was equally disagreeing from the other."

Christopherson:—"My lord, it is but folly to reason with him any further, your lordship shall but lose time, for he is incurable."

Bonner:—"Well then, let his keeper have him away." And with that Dr. Chedsey led me a way by the which we could not pass, and therefore came back again through the bishop's chamber, where all these doctors were clustered together; and, as I was passing by, the bishop took me by the gown and said, "Wot you what master Christopherson telleth me? I pray you, master Christopherson, rehearse the sentence in Latin." And so he did: the contents whereof were, that a heretic would not be won.

Christopherson:—"St. Paul saith, 'Flee a heretic after once or twice warning.'"[4]

Christian truth called heresy.

All the Doctors:—"Yea, my lord, it is best you so do, and trouble your lordship no more with him."

Philpot:—"You must first prove me justly to be a heretic, before you use the judgment of St. Paul against me; for he speaketh of such as hold opinion against the manifest word, the which you cannot prove by me: and because you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing against me, therefore you go about falsely to suppose me to be a heretic, for the safeguard of your own counterfeit honesties. But afore God, you are the heretics which so stoutly and stubbornly maintain so many things directly against God's word, as God in his time shall reveal." As I went out of his chamber the bishop called me aside, and said,

The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar upon earth, and how.

Bonner:—"I pray thee in good sadness, what meanest thou by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, 'The Spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth?'[5] I wis you have some special meaning thereof."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, that Christ, since his ascension, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me have my Bible,

(1) This is mere delusion. In the "Lucerna Inquisitorum" (Romæ, 1584), it is stated that the secular powers are to be *excommunicated*, unless they act within a year; page 38. The Aphorismi Inquisitorum, Auct. Ant. de Sousa (Turnoni, 1633), support this representation; lib. 3. cap. 6.—Ed.
(2) "Invocate seculare brachium." (3) "De hæreticis comburendis."
(4) "Hæreticum hominem post unam atque alteram admonitionem devita."
(5) "Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terris."

with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Bonner:—"Your Bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another; and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good."

Philpot:—"I pray your lordship then, that you would let me have candle-light." John Philpot denied to have candle-light.

Bonner:—"To what purpose, I pray you?"

Philpot:—"The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myself about somewhat, and not spend my time idly."

Bonner:—"You may then pray."

Philpot:—"I cannot well say my prayers without light."

Bonner:—"Can you not say your Pater-noster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you get none."

Philpot:—"I had rather have a candle, than your meat and drink: but, seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light."

Bonner:—"Have him down."

Chedsey:—"I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. Master Philpot, I wonder all these learned men whom you have talked withal this day, can nothing at all persuade you."

Philpot:—"Why, master doctor, would you have me to be persuaded with nothing? or would you have me build my faith upon sand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any sufficient authority to be persuaded to you?"

Chedsey:—"I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away yourself, whereas you might live worshipfully: do you not think others have souls to save as well as you have?"

Philpot:—"Every man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am, you are deceived, and maintain a false religion; and as for my casting away, I would my burning day were to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead."

Chedsey:—"You are not like to die yet, I can tell you."

Philpot:—"I am the more sorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory. Amen."

The Twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday, the 4th of December, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.

In the morning I was fetched down to the wardrobe adjoining to the chapel, and within a while after came three of the bishop's chaplains unto me, saying, "Master Philpot, my lord hath sent us unto you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a doctor of divinity, a chaplain of my lord's, a notable learned man called Dr. Chedsey, going to mass. Therefore we also pray you, good master Philpot, be content to come: it is hard hereby."

Philpot:—"I wonder my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing he knoweth I am a man, by your law, that cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicated." Philpot, sent for to mass, refuseth to come.

Bishop's Chaplain:—"Your excommunication is but upon a contumacy; and my lord will dispense with you, if you will come."

Philpot:—"My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands."

With this answer they went their way; and after mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his registrar (after he had said his mind, because I would not come to mass), recited the articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depositions of the witnesses, of whom some were not examined. "Sir," said Bonner, "what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against thee as a heretic?" The bishop layeth out his articles again

Philpot:—"Why, my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses be examined? That is plain against your own law, as all your doings have been hitherto." The bishop's doings against the law.

Bonner:—"See what a fool thou art in the law. I need not to recite the depositions of the witnesses, but if I list; for I know them well enough already."

Mary. A.D. 1555.

Philpot:—"It appeareth indeed you may do what you list."

Bonner:—"Tell me, I say, whether thou wilt answer, or no: and whether, if thou wert absolved of thine excommunication, thou wouldst come to mass or no?"

Philpot:—"I have answered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful judgment: and as concerning my conscience, I will not make you God, to sit there as yet; it is God's part only, to be searcher of my heart."

Bonner:—"Look how foolishly he speaks. Art thou God? and yet dost thou not sit in thine own conscience?"

Philpot:—"I sit not in mine own conscience; but I know it, and God there only ought to sit, and no man else."

Philpot is rebuked for singing.

Bonner:—"Thou art a naughty fellow, and hast done much hurt, and hast seduced other poor fellows here in prison with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and hast made them rejoice and sing with thee."

Philpot:—"Yea, my lord, we shall sing, when you and such others as you are shall cry, 'Væ, væ,' 'Wo, wo,' except you repent."

Bonner:—"What an arrogant fool is this! I will handle thee like a heretic, and that shortly."

Philpot:—"I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me. But God shall destroy such as thou art, and that shortly, as I trust."

Bonner:—"Have him away: this is a knave indeed."

And I was had into the wardrobe again by my keeper; and, within an hour after, was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Bonner:—"Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to be talked with of many learned men, yea and honourable, both temporal and spiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore so many: for they say thou gloriest to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyself; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past shall be forgiven, and you received to favour."

Talk between Philpot and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Worcester:—"Master Philpot, we are sent (as you here have heard by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it; and, of good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, whilst it is offered; and be not a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, which now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. There have many very learned men talked with you. Why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Be not of such arrogancy, but have humility: remember there is no salvation but in the church."

Bangor:—"Me thinketh my lord hath said wonderfully well unto you, that you should not think yourself so well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of so good wit, but others be as wise as you, neither of so good memory, but others have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come home to us again. I wis I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion.[1] And I was the same manner of man then, that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bare with that time. Wherefore master Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you: and therefore be content to come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome."

The pope's religion hath no other ground to stand upon but violence.

Philpot:—"Whereas, my lord (as I may begin first to answer you), you say, that religion is to be misliked, which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not men occasion to think the same by yours at this day, which hath none other argument to stand by, but violence. If you can show me any good sufficient ground, whereby to ground my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the same: otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years."

Where this religion was one hundred years ago.

Bangor:—"Where was your religion to be found (I pray you) a hundred years ago, that any man knew of it?"

(1) If violence and tyranny be no token of true religion: what may men judge then of the pope's religion, pray you?

Philpot:—"It was in Germany, and in divers other places apparent."

Worcester:—"Jesus! will you be still so singular a man? What is Germany to the whole world?"

Bonner:—"My lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you; that I sent for him to hear mass this morning. And wot you what excuse he made unto me? forsooth, that he was accursed, alleging his own shame. He playeth as the varlet Latimer did at Cambridge. When the vice-chancellor sent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies), and the chancellor was coming to his chamber, he, hearing that the chancellor was coming, made answer that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellor. Even so this man saith, he is accursed, because he will not come to mass." Bonner raileth at Latimer.

Worcester:—"My lord, I am sure, here doth behave himself like a father unto you; therefore be admonished by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your fathers before you."

Philpot:—"It is forbidden us of God by the prophet Ezekiel, to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandments."

Worcester:—"It is written also in another place, 'Ask of your fathers.'"[1]

Philpot:—"We ought to ask indeed our fathers that have more experience and knowledge than we, of God's will; but no more to allow them, than we perceive they agree with the Scripture." Fathers may be asked, but not followed further than they follow the Scriptures.

Worcester:—"You will be a contentious man, I see well; and St. Paul saith, that neither we, nor the church of God, have any such custom."

Philpot:—"I am not contentious but for the verity of my faith, in the which I ought to contend with all such as do impugn the same without any just objection."

Worcester:—"Let us rise, my lord, for I see we shall do no good."

Bonner:—"Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge." And after he had recited them, they arose, and after standing, they reasoned with me awhile.

Worcester:—"Master Philpot, I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with any yet in my diocese, but after once communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good—as you may if you list. For as I understand you were archdeacon of Winchester (which is the eye of the bishop); and you may do much good in that country, if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church."

Philpot:—"Wherewithal you so soon persuaded them to your will, I see not. Error, that I know, I hold none: of the catholic church I am sure I am."

Worcester:—"The catholic church doth acknowledge a real presence of Christ in the sacrament,[2] and so will not you."

Philpot:—"That is not so: for I acknowledge a very essential presence in the duly using of the sacrament."

Worcester:—"What! a real presence?"

Philpot:—"Yea, a real presence by the Spirit of God in the right administration."

Worcester:—"That is well said: and do you agree with the catholic church also?"

Philpot:—"I do agree with the true catholic church."

Worcester:—"My lord of London, this man speaketh reasonably now."

Bonner:—"You do agree in generalities; but when it shall come to the particularities, you will far disagree."

Worcester:—"Well, keep yourself here, and you shall have other learned bishops to commune further with you, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chichester, whom, I hear say, you do like well."

Philpot:—"I do like them as I do all others that speak the truth. I have once already spoken with them, and they found no fault with me."

Worcester:—"Pray, in the mean season, for grace to God."

Philpot:—"Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I feel in my trouble, and my conscience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of heresy."

Worcester:—"We will bid you farewell for this time."

(1) "Interroga patres."

(2) Note, he saith not 'in the sacrament,' but 'in the administration' of the sacrament.

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Another Talk the same day.

After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I answered, that I would not go from that I had said.

After dinner Philpot called again.

Worcester:—"You said, at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burn you, we should burn a catholic man. Will you be a catholic man? and stand to the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"I will stand to the true catholic church."

Worcester:—"Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?"[1]

Philpot:—"If you can prove the same to be the catholic church, I will be one thereof."

Worcester:—"Did not Christ say unto Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?'[2] which doth signify that he gave him a more authority than the rest."

The words of Christ, "Feed my sheep," opened. The pope is no feeder.

Philpot:—"That saying pertaineth nothing to the authority of Peter above others, but declareth what Christ requireth of his beloved apostles, that they should with all diligence preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation; and that doth the iteration of feeding, spoken to Peter, only signify. But the bishop of Rome little regardeth the spiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an easier way to make himself lord of the whole world, yea and of God's word too, and doth not feed Christ's flock, as Peter did."

Worcester:—"How can you tell that?"

Philpot:—"Yes, I have been there, and I could not learn of all his countrymen, that ever he preacheth."

Worcester:—"Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth another, by procuring good order for the church to be kept in."

Philpot:—"I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaveth that he is commanded of Christ, and setteth forth his own decrees to deface the gospel."

Worcester:—"It is the evil living that you have seen at Rome, that causeth you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further of the matter. How say you to the real presence of the sacrament? will you stand to that?"

Philpot:—"I do acknowledge (as I have said) a real[3] presence of the sacrament, in the due administration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God."

Worcester:—"You add now a great many more words than you did before: and yet you say more of the sacrament, than a great many will do."

Talk with Dr. Chedsey, and Dr. Wright and others.

Thus they departed, and after them came in to me Dr. Chedsey, and Dr. Wright archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more. "Master Philpot," said Chedsey, "here is master archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel, I pray hear him."

Philpot:—"I will refuse to hear none, that will counsel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will stick thereunto."

Wright:—"I would wish you, master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit. You see a great many of learned men against you."

Philpot:—"I am, master doctor, of the unfeigned catholic church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the same."

Wright:—"I came not to dispute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I, that can inform you better than I."

Chedsey:—"What proof would you have? I will prove unto you, our church to have its being and foundation by the Scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors."[4]

Philpot:—"Give me your hand, master doctor; prove that, and have with you."

(1) To stand to the catholic church, is not enough with these men, except you be in the church of Rome.
(2) "Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos." (3) By "really" he meaneth "truly."
(4) You promise more, Chedsey, than you can prove.

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Chedsey:—"If I had my books here, I could soon prove it. I will go fetch some." And with that he went and fetched his book of Annotations, saying, "I cannot bring my books well, therefore I have brought my book of Annotations;" and turned there to a commonplace of the sacrament, asking me whether the catholic church did allow the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or no? "I hear say you do confess a real presence: but I will be hanged, if you will abide by it: you will deny it by and by."

Dr. Chedsey fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Philpot:—"That I have said, I cannot deny; neither intend, whatsoever you say."

Chedsey:—"If there be a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ; which thing you will not grant, I am sure."

Philpot:—"I deny the argument, for I do not grant in the sacrament, by transubstantiation, any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers."

Whether evil men receive the body of Christ.

Chedsey:—"I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by St. Austin here."—And in the beginning of his text St. Austin seemeth to approve his assertion; but I bade him read out to the end, and there St. Austin declareth most evidently that it was "quodammodo,"[1] after a certain manner, the evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really, or in deed, as the good do. "And thus all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you, if ye did rightly weigh them."

"Quodammodo."

Chedsey:—"By God, you are a subtle fellow. See how he would writhe St. Augustine's words."

Dr. Chedsey fainteth in his proof.

Philpot:—"See who of us writheth St. Austin more, you, or I which take his meaning by his own express words. And seeing you charge me of subtlety, what subtlety is this of you, to say that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promising to show your books therein; and, when it cometh to the showing, you are able to show none, and, for want of proof, slip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof? Afore God you are but bare in your religion."

Chedsey:—"You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no."

Philpot:—"Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence."

The Thirteenth Examination of Master Philpot, before the Archbishop of York, and divers other Bishops.

The Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester, being first come, began to talk with me.

Chichester:—"I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to will you to instruct your own judgment, and to learn first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them."

Philpot:—"We must all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both for your years and great exercise do excel therein. But faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which God's word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your lordship, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word), the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth please you to take pains herein."

Faith consists not in learning but in believing.

Chichester:—"You take the first alleged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?"

Philpot:—"St. Paul saith, 'he learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ:' which is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only."

The authority of the church.

(1) See Birkbeck's "Protestant's Evidence," London, 1657, p. 174.—Ed.

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Chichester:—"St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto."

Philpot:—"Nay he speaketh of the gospel generally, 'which cometh not from man but from God;' and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts."

The place of Augustine.

Chichester:—"Doth not St. Augustine say, 'I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me thereto?"

The word is the foundation of the church, and not the church of the word.

Philpot:—"I grant that the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe: but yet the church giveth not the word its authority; for the word hath its authority only from God, and not of men; men be but the disposers thereof. For first, the word hath its being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church; and first is the foundation sure, before the building thereon can be stedfast."

Chichester:—"I perceive you mistake me; I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church, we have all knowledge of the gospel."

Philpot:—"I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation."

Talk between the archbishop of York and Philpot.

Here came in the bishop of York and the bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed awhile together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying, "Sir, we, hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters; for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, 'On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?' Now if you will so be, we will be glad to travail with you."

Philpot:—"I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me."

York:—"What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?"

Philpot:—"My lord, if it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church."

York:—"Indeed that is the head we need to begin at; for the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in the particular things."

Philpot:—"If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it shall do much to persuade me toward that you would have me incline unto."

York:—"Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?"

The church defined.

Philpot:—"It is a congregation of people dispersed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same."

York:—"Your definition is of many words to no purpose."

Philpot:—"I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is."

The church both visible and invisible.

York:—"Is the church visible or invisible?"

Philpot:—"It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word."

York:—"The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world, which this word catholic doth well express; for what is catholic else? doth it not signify universal?"

Catholic defined by St. Augustine.

Philpot:—"The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this wise:[1] 'The church is called therefore catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.'"

Catholic defined by the papists.

York:—"Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received of all christian nations for the most part."

Philpot:—"The church was catholic in the apostles' time, yet was it not

(1) "Ecclesia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia universalitèr perfecta est, et in nullo claudicat."

universally received of the world. But because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same, to be counted the catholic church. And St. Augustine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

York:—"If you will learn, I will show you St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists,[1] that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which are, universality and succession of bishops in one apostolical see from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument. Universality and succession.

"The church of Rome is universal and hath her succession of bishops from time to time. Ergo, It is the catholic church. How answer you to this argument?"[2]

Philpot:—"I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops."

York:—"I will prove it." And with that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his commonplaces therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Augustine, and specially out of his epistle written against the Donatists; where St. Augustine manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they had no succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality; "and the same force hath St. Augustine's argument against you."[3]

Philpot:—"My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me, neither cometh it to your purpose; for I will stand to the trial of St. Augustine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Augustine speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the see of Rome now, as St. Augustine might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force: otherwise not." Universality always to be joined with verity.

York:—"St. Augustine proveth the catholic church principally[4] by succession of bishops, and therefore you understand not St. Augustine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote? can you tell? What country were they of?

Philpot:—"They were a certain sect of men, affirming among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacraments depended upon the worthiness of the minister; so that if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not."

Chichester:—"That was their error, and they had none other but that." And he read another authority of St. Augustine out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was. The error of the Donatists.

Philpot:—"I challenge St. Augustine to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another."

Chichester:—"If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?"

Philpot:—"I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all controversies the word ought to be judge." The church may be certain, and yet not tied to one place.

Chichester:—But what if I take it one way, and you another; how then?"

Philpot:—"St. Augustine showeth a remedy for that, and willeth, 'that one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more.'"[5]

York:—"How answer you to this argument?—

'Rome hath known succession of bishops; which your church hath not. Ergo, That is the catholic church, and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your church.'"[6]

Philpot:—"I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point

(1) "Contra Don. Epist. vulgo De Unitate Ecclesiæ," cap. 18. "Contra Crescon." lib. iii. cap. 18, tom. 9. Edit. Benedict; and tom. 2. Epist. 53. col. 121. "Contra Faust. Man." lib. xiii. § 5.—Ed.

(2) This consequence being reduced into a syllogism of the first figure, will ground upon a false major.

Da- Universality and succession make a true church.
ri- The church of Rome hath universal succession.
i. Ergo, The church of Rome is the true church.

(3) To this he sufficiently answereth before: look in the latter end of the seventh examination.

(4) Not principally, by your leave, my lord.

(5) "Quòd unus locus per plura intelligi debebat." August. de Doctrinâ Christianâ.

(6) Argument. A causâ non sufficiente et non totali.

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to know the church by: for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But, if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine withal (as St. Augustine doth), I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church: but a local succession only is nothing available."

The argument denied.

Local succession without succession of doctrine nothing avails.

York:—"You will have no church then, I see well."

Philpot:—"Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true."

Chichester:—"Why, are there two catholic churches then?"

Philpot:—"No. I know there is but one catholic church, but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which be not so indeed, as it is written, 'There be they that call themselves apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan and liars.'[1] And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child."[2]

The mother church of Rome compared to the woman in Solomon's time, that falsely challenged the true mother's child from her.

Chichester:—"What a babbling is here with you now? I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn."

Philpot:—"My lords, I must desire you to bear with my hasty speech; it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speak is to learn by. I would you did understand all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better authority."

Chichester:—"My lord, if it please your grace, turn the argument upon him, which you have made, and let him show the succession of the bishops of his church, as we can do. How say you, can you show the succession of bishops in your church from time to time? I tell you, this argument troubled Dr. Ridley so sore,[3] that he could never answer it: yet he was a man well learned; I dare say you will say so."

Philpot:—"He was a man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his books for learning."

Chichester:—"I promise you he was never able to answer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in prison, and conferred with me."

Succession of bishops alone is no sufficient point to prove the catholic church.

Philpot:—"I wonder, my lord, you should make this argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make bishop Ridley so ignorant that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denied you, that local succession of bishops in one place is a necessary point alone to prove the catholic church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reason that you should put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude against me?"

Chichester:—"I see, my lords, we do but lose our labours to reason with him; he taketh himself to be better learned than we."

Philpot:—"I take upon me the name of no learning. I boast of no knowledge, but of faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do."

Chichester:—"These heretics take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in.[4] You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ; than that you be sure thereof."

Philpot:—"Let him doubt of his faith that listeth; God giveth me always grace to believe that I am sure of true faith and favour in Christ."

Bath:—"How will you be able to answer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?"[5]

Philpot:—"I am able to answer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the same."

Chichester:—"How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare not say so."

Philpot:—"My lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the truth's

(1) Rev. ii. (2) 1 Kings iii.
(3) So ye say now, when ye would give him no leave nor time when he was alive, to make his answers.
(4) Leave your reviling terms, my lord, and go to the matter.
(5) Note how these men ground their faith, not upon God's word, but upon the determination of their own church.

side, and I speak somewhat by experience that I have had with heretics; and I know the Arians be the subtlest that ever were, and yet I have manifest scriptures to beat them down withal."

Chichester:—"I perceive now you are the same manner of man I have heard of, which will not be satisfied by learning."

Philpot:—"Alas, my lord! why do you say so? I do desire most humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I should learn, and hitherto you have showed me no better: therefore I pray your lordship not to mis-judge without a cause."

Bath:—"If you be the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained."

Philpot:—"And I, my lord, with the true church do hold the same in the due ministration of the sacrament. But I desire you, my lord, there may be a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest." In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help forth his cause.[1]

York:—"I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Augustine, 'De simplicitate credendi.'"[2]

Chichester:—"It is but folly, my lord, that your grace do read him any more places, for he esteemeth them not."

Philpot falsely reported to deny doctors.

Philpot:—"I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of force, as your lordship doth hear me deny no doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be proved."

Four points out of St. Augustine.

York:—"I will read him the place, and so make an end." After he had read the sentence, he said, that by four special points here St. Augustine proveth the catholic church. The first is, by the consent of all nations; the second, by the apostolic see; the third, by universality; and the fourth, by this word catholic.

Chichester:—"That is a notable place indeed, if it please your grace."

Philpot:—"I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Augustine write the same? of Rome, or not?"

York.—"Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome."

Philpot:—"I will lay with your lordship as much as I can make, it is not so; and let the book be seen."

Bath:—"What art thou able to lay? thou hast nothing."

York:—"Doth he not make mention here of the apostolic see, whereby he meaneth Rome?"

Answer to the archbishop's four points.

Philpot:—"That is very straitly interpreted, my lord, as though the apostolic see had been nowhere else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Augustine doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the apostolic see, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth, hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches, which the apostles planted, almost in all things."

York:—"Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality; and how can you show your church to be universal fifty or a hundred years ago?"

Philpot:—"That is not material, neither any thing against St. Augustine: for my church (whereof I am) should be accounted universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the apostles did universally plant."[3]

York:—"I perceive you are an obstinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught:[4] wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer. You are a member to be cut off."

(1) My lord of York is here driven to seek his books.

(2) As there is no treatise of Augustine with this title, it is probable that the bishop meant to refer to the "Liber contra Epist. Fundament." § 5, where these reasons for attachment to the catholic church occur.—Ed.

(3) Christ's church ceaseth not to be his church, albeit in time of persecution it be hid sometimes in corners.

(4) First answer to his reason, and call him obstinate afterward.

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Chichester :—"I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you that I have heard."

Philpot :—"I trust you see no evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on, and if you show me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well."

Chichester :—"Thou art as impudent a fellow as I have communed withal."[1]

Philpot :—"That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove."

Chichester :—"Why? thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man."

Philpot :—"Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to a man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay it unto me, for speaking freely the truth afore God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors, and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth."

Chichester :—"Have we this thank for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?"

"Veritas odium parit." The free heart of Philpot in telling truth.

Philpot :—"My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause: and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God, and to hypocrisy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands, in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I: I pass not, I thank God, for all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent." And so they departed.

Another Talk the same Day.

Another calling of Philpot before the bishop.

The same day at night before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Dr. Chedsey, and other his chaplains, and his servants; at what time he said, "Master Philpot, I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly stand."

Philpot :—"I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, whereon I stand chiefly, requiring a sure probation of the church whereunto you call me."

Harpsfield :—"St. Austin writing against the Donatists, declareth four special notes[2] to know the church by: the consent of many nations, the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity, succession of bishops, and universality."

London :—"I pray you, master archdeacon, fetch the book hither: it is a notable place, let him see it." And the book was brought, and the bishop read it, demanding how I could answer the same.

Philpot :—"My lord, I like St. Augustine's four points for the trial of the catholic church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together; which yours cannot do."

Harpsfield :—"Have not we succession of bishops in the see and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?"

Philpot :—"St. Augustine doth not put succession of bishops only to be sufficient, but he addeth the use of the sacraments according to antiquity and doctrine universally taught and received of most nations from the beginning of the primitive church, the which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours; therefore, by St. Augustine's judgment, which you here bring, mine is the catholic church, and not yours."

Harpsfield and Chedsey :—"It is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him, for he is irrecoverable."[3]

Philpot :—"That is a good shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not see it when it is laid to your face."

(1) Because, my lord, you be not able to answer him.
(2) Concerning these four points, he answered sufficiently before.
(3) It is best for you to say so, when you have no other way to shift off his arguments.

Thus have I at large set forth as many of the said John Philpot's examinations and privy conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the consistory at Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house; yet what was there said is not yet sufficiently known, either because master Philpot was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise than as the bishop's registrar hath noted, whose handling of such matters because it is (either for fear or favour of his Lord and Master) very slender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the answerer: howbeit, such as it is, such thought I good to put forth; requiring the reader to judge hereof according to his answers in his former examinations. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

THE EXAMINATIONS OF MASTER PHILPOT IN OPEN JUDGMENT, BY BISHOP BONNER, IN THE CONSISTORY AT PAUL'S, ON THE 13TH AND 14TH OF DECEMBER.

The bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the 13th and 14th days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the 11th day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to master Philpot, said:— Philpot called into open judgment.

"Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?" Three special articles laid to master Philpot.

Philpot:—"Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same.[1] And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, as in the reign of good king Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, 'quia teneor reddere Domino jura-

(1) Here either the registrar belieth master Philpot, or else he meant as not offending the law, thereby to be accused: for, otherwise, all his former examinations do declare that he spake against the sacrament of the altar.

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mentum.' But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner then, not able with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Bonner with all his doctors not able to satisfy Philpot.

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the 16th day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

The last Examination of Master John Philpot; Dec. 16th.

At which day and time, master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner bishop of London began to talk in this manner.

London:—"My lords, Stokesley my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: 'Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christianâ professione censentur, et illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin." To which master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Bishop Stokesley's prayer when he gave sentence upon any.

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name;" Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name (meaning Christ's name), and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

Bishop Bonner prayeth against himself.

London:—"Whom do you mean?"

Philpot:—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the bishops), and all their doings, which be contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

London:—"Because I am bishop of London."

Bonner hath no authority to proceed against master Philpot.

Philpot:—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

London:—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

Philpot:—"That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is written in the law, 'A judice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.'"[1]

(1) The law seemeth either blindly compared of the bishop, or else not rightly collected of his registrar.

Philpot:—"My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law: for, if ye did, ye would not bring in that text."

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, "No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain antichrist: you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing."

Bonner noted to be ignorant in the law.

London and other Bishops:—"With what can you charge us?"

Philpot:—"You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity."

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither sir William Garret knight, then mayor of London, sir Martin Bowes knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriffs of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth: "Philpot, before the coming of my lord mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic."

The lord mayor, with the sheriffs, assistant to bishop Bonner against master Philpot.

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, "Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could show unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same."

The three articles against John Philpot again repeated.

This being spoken, the bisbop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's Exhortation to John Philpot.

"Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic (as ye be indeed). Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably."[1]

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said; "To you, my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I speak: I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that the authority

(1) Ita est quod dicit Edm. Bonner Episc. London.

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which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the fellows of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masquing. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

Philpot is of the catholic, not of the Babylonical, church.

Philpot speaketh not against the true sacrifice, but against the sacrifice set upon the altar, used in private masses.

Philpot denieth not the sacrament of the altar of the cross, but the sacrament of the stone he defieth.

"Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church (which ye shall never do), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen."

Dr. Banes bishop of Coventry speaketh.

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

Philpot:—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church."

Coventry:—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles,[1] evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

Philpot:—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

Coventry:—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

The church of England in king Edward's time.

Philpot:—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is una, catholica, et apostolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days, was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?"

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said:

Bonner chargeth him with false surmises.

"My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal; for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it

(1) How can the apostles be of that church where their doctrine is against it!

and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is." *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Philpot:—"Ah, my lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a catholic church?" etc.[1]

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in king Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to master Philpot's charge two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

Articles concluded in Oxford and Cambridge. The catechism. The book of report of the disputation in the convocation-house.

A Letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some Friend of Master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Master Green in Bishop Bonner's House at London.

You shall understand that master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received: for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown), that he in no case should be examined; before which, master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: "To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord), yet let me have such books as I shall require; and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you." Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the Scripture and godly fathers, that since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This master Fecknam reported, saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill,[2] I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his. Your own, etc.

Bonner breaketh promise.

Master Green strong in Scriptures and doctors.

Fecknam's report of Green.

The Copy of another Letter written by the faithful and christian-hearted Lady, the Lady Vane, to Master Philpot, exhibited likewise by Bishop Bonner.

Hearty thanks rendered unto you my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the

(1) Philpot had a knife brought him under a pig: ergo, the church of Rome is a catholic church!
(2) This bill was a supplication to be offered up in the parliament.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

burdens of reproof. And so, in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, "All things here have their time;" you to-day, and I to-morrow, and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to show yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Over and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue as followeth:

To the King and Queen's Majesty's Highnesses, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled.

In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the King's Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience, which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, ex officio, examine every man's conscience. And for that your said orator hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw), and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said bishop, to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or

The strait handling of Philpot in the bishop's coal-house.

offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

THE CONDEMNATION OF THE WORTHY MARTYR OF GOD, JOHN PHILPOT.

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation,"[1] etc. were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting-forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of master Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you), whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic.[2] "Well," quoth master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

Sentence of condemnation read against Philpot.

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable stedfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, "Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impœnitentem," etc. master Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic, out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

His words in reading it.

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said (full like himself), "O let him alone;" and so read forth the sentence.

Philpot delivered to the sheriffs.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Then master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

Philpot brought to Newgate: his man permitted to enter with him.

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day." And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master

(1) Of this book of Disputation in the convocation, read before, [Vol. vi. p. 395. Ed.]
(2) Ah, my lord, what needed this question, when no reasonable answer could be allowed?

Mary. A. D. 1555. Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Talk between Philpot and Alexander the keeper.

Then the under-keeper said to master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him; and master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said master Philpot, "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Good Philpot loaden with irons because he would not recant at Alexander's bidding.

Alexander taketh Philpot's tokens from his man.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant: "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But good master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said four pound was his fees. "Ah," said master Philpot, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then," said Alexander? "Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage. For the time is not long (I am sure), that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon dispatched."

Alexander the cruel keeper requireth four pounds of Philpot for his irons.

Philpot had into limbo.

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore master Philpot said to his man, "Go to master sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire master sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MASTER JOHN PHILPOT, WITH THE MANNER OF HIS KNEELING AND PRAYING AT THE STAKE.

And when they came to master sheriff (which was master Macham), and showed him how master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that master sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters."[1] Yet at ten of the clock he went in to master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Master Macham, sheriff, a good man, sendeth his ring to take off Philpot's irons, and to restore the man's tokens.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

Philpot warned by the sheriffs to prepare him against the next day to the fire.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

Philpot brought to the place of martyrdom.

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th Psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Philpot's words going to the stake.

Philpot's prayers.

He giveth the officers money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and

The writings and examinations of John Philpot, by the Providence of Almighty God, preserved.

(1) Note the spitefulness of this keeper.

Mary. A.D. 1555. searched in the prison, of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A Prayer to be said at the Stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

A godly prayer to be said at the time of martyrdom.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit! which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins), that now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy Majesty, contemning thy daily calls—yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy Name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy Name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea even before the world was made; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore world without end, Amen.

He praeth for restoring of the gospel and peace in England.

LETTERS OF MASTER PHILPOT.

A Letter which he sent to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists, and to serve God after his Word.

It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their

own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof.[1] If that earth be cursed of God, which, eftsoons, receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same? If the Lord will require in the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life), if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession?[2] God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.[3] *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare, what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans,[4] "The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, "Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil: because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits."[5] So that the person which knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.[6] And "Not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father.[7] And "Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me," saith Christ, "and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father."[8] After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God, upon the rock and not on the sand;[9] and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us,[10] "The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome."

Wisdom of the flesh not to be hearkened unto.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for ensample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.[11]

Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, "Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God."[12] "Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me?"[13] For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion.[14] Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Death for righteousness bringeth felicity.

Now since the time is come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught,

(1) Heb. vi. (2) Matt. xxv. (3) Matt. v. (4) Rom. x.
(5) Matt. xii. (6) Luke xii. (7) Matt. vii. (8) Luke ix.
(9) Matt. vii. (10) Haggai ii. (11) Rom. viii. 1 Cor. vi. Matt. xvi.
(12) Matt. xvi. (13) Ibid. (14) Heb. xi. Psal. xvi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in the which, through knowledge, we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him.[1] For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not.[2] As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions;[3] for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

Godly counsel.

God will not be served after man's imagination, but as himself prescribeth.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians.[4] Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church.[5] But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, "I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked."[6] In the Apocalypse the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos.[8] Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy.[9] May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, be said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ), and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and advoutry?

Not lawful for a true Christian to come to the mass

Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that

Not enough to confess God in heart, but in mouth also.

(1) Luke xviii. 1 Kings xviii. (2) Rev. iii. (3) 2 Kings xxxi. (4) Eph. ii.
(5) Psal. xxii. (6) Psal. xxvi. (7) Rev. ii. (8) Amos v. (9) 1 Cor. iii.

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we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance,[1] against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unseparably to the Gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

A lesson for large consciences. Reasons proving that true Christians ought in no wise to participate with Papists.

St. Paul to the Hebrews[2] saith, If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, "that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life."[3] St. John in the Apocalypse,[4] telleth us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands; that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians[5] affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing;[6] which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward; that with a clean spirit and rectified body, we might serve God justly, in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

Finally in the Apocalypse,[7] God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians[8] commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the papists in their phantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God), which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is to the devil; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites,), with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end.[9] But yet many will say, for their vain excuse, "God is merciful, and his mercy is over all." But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, "The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him."[10] Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

The place of Matthew expounded.

A cursed thing to sin upon hope of forgiveness.

Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God,[11] and with St. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word;[12] otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death there-for, as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates, as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, "Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather than God."[13]

Obedience to magistrates what and how far.

Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured,

(1) Mark viii. (2) Heb. x. (3) Ephes. v. (4) Rev. xiii. (5) Phil. ii. Ephes. v.
(6) 2 Cor. vi. (7) Rev. xviii. (8) 2 Thess. iii. (9) Matt. xxiv.
(10) Psal. ciii. cxlvi. (11) Luke xx. (12) 1 Pet. ii. (13) Acts iv.

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than to obey the king's wicked commandments.[1] If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.[2] There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment; although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith.[3] God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation, according to God's word, and not set cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to true knowledge: for so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, "that God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight."[4]

Against such as sin willingly upon hope of election.

Therefore St. Peter willeth us, through good works, to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves,[5] which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel: and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.[6]

Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares.[7] The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light.[8] God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh! that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.[9]

Large conscience.

But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called "conscientia," which soundeth by interpretation, as much as, with knowledge.

And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness saying, "Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified." And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments: a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby.[10] The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation, Amen.

Charity. Pure heart. Faith unfeigned. Good conscience.

John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench,
For the testimony of the truth. 1555.

(1) Daniel vi. (2) Matt. xv. (3) Rom. iii. (4) Ephes. i.
(5) 2 Pet. i. (6) Prov. xxiv. (7) John xii. (8) John iii.
(9) Heb. vi. x. (10) 1 Cor. iv. 1 Tim. i.

To his dear Friend in the Lord, John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

Mary. A.D. 1555.

My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

Experience of the Lord's comfort in trouble.

You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you, in these cruel days, in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ: but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God, of his mercy, make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

Example of Christ's comfort, to be taken by Philpot.

Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his prest money a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom.[1] Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation! Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, master Mering, master Crooch, with the rest, and specially master Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness showed unto me. Farewell my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

Out of the coal-house, by your brother, John Philpot.

Another Letter to John Careless, profitable to be read of all them which mourn in repentance for their sins.[2]

The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all

(1) Rev. xxi.

(2) To this letter Careless maketh a very godly answer, which you shall see afterward in his story. [This letter Philpot wrote to Careless "out of the coal-hole of darkness; whereby he giveth light and heavenly comfort to his heavy and troubled mind." See Letters of the Martyrs. Edit. 1837, p. 173.—Ed.]

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the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice, to behold the lively mark of the children of God whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God:[1] O that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalen wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow, laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: "Blessed be they," saith Christ, "that mourn, for they shall be comforted."[2] "They went forth and wept," saith the prophet: "such shall come again, having their gripes[3] full of gladness."[4] And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God,[5] whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more,[6] yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope.[7] Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness.[8] For God, to this end, by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven.[9] Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is sorry for his sins.

Sorrow in a christian man ought to be moderate.

But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit, Satan, layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detestable darnel of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours; yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

Satan's practice to bring the godly repentance of a sinner to desperation.

Be not discomforted that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares, but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

God's children fall. The devil's children lie still.

This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliath hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted.[10] But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's

Strife against sin is a token of God's child.

(1) Psalm li. (2) Matt. v. (3) "Gripes" or grasp.—Ed. (4) Psalm cxxvi.
(5) Psalm li. (6) Luke vii. (7) 1 Thess. iv. (8) 2 Cor. vii.
(9) Rom. v. (10) Luke xi.

promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, "Resist the devil, and he will fly from thee."[1] It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven.[2] Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require. *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be Care*less*, why do you make yourself care*ful?* Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his Name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to master F., and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. True Christians, how they ought to be careless in their careful estate.

Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ, John Philpot.

Another Letter, to certain godly Women, forsaking their own Country for the Gospel, full of fruitful Precepts and Lessons for all good Women.

The Spirit of Truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had showed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them show unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and

(1) James iv. (2) Ezek. iii.

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that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you, my loving sisters in Christ, who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willed you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he, with his holy martyrs, hath gone on before.

Wholesome and godly precepts of life.

God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land! God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts: let there be no decrease of any virtue which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven, may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same), but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ! and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for ever, John Philpot.

An Exhortation to his own Sister, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

Spiritual consanguinity and natural, compared.

I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to show yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eftsoons testified being absent, as also by presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other; and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea to Christ himself, who voucheth you in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you, than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do show yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted,[1] that through fear of sharp troubles, we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which are prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, "To prepare themselves to suffer temptations."[2]

The sieve of afflictions.

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand, this, Christ our first-begotten Brother looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith, through afflictions, to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church, here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God), ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh, and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

Christ our first-born brother.

A christianman's back should always be ready to bear Christ's cross.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David,[3] "Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience: but, because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another, I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory.[4] None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth;[5] the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

Ungodly fellowship to be eschewed.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you, by all means you can to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged:[6] therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look

(1) Luke xxii. (2) Eccles. ii. (3) Psalm xxxv. (4) 2 Tim. ii. (5) Rev. iv.
(6) This was for the first-fruits of his archdeaconry, whereof all the time of his imprisonment he had no commodity, and yet his sureties were compelled to pay the same.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

for daily; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live.

The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother as well in faith as in body, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Exhortation to certain godly Brethren.

The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

He commendeth their faithful zeal to God's word.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; who do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church.

He exhorteth them to continue and to stand fast.

Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel: "Blessed are they that persevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same.[1] God, in the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth;[2] from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

The word of patience.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us,[3] now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews showeth us,[4] that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle is written, "My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth," etc. Christ, in the Gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, "In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy."[5] And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, "for your redemption," saith he, "is at hand." And in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, "You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom."

The fruit that cometh by bearing of the cross.

Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame

(1) Matt. x. (2) Rev. iii. (3) 1 Pet. i. (4) Heb. ii. (5) John xvi.

as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, "It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness." Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly ensamples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

The delights of the world nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be showed unto us.

Consideration of joys to come.

Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him, saying, "I am he whom ye seek." It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we may fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life (as our Saviour said to Peter), and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompense here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God,[1] as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundred-fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), ten-thousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

The note of a true Christian.

How a christian man gaineth a hundred-fold in this life.

A comparison between the loss and gain that cometh by following of Christ.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to

The lack of God's peace a thing most miserable.

(1) Phil. iv.

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make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, "If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny us.[1]

O that we would enter into the veil of God's promises. Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ.[2] God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

He exhorteth to be joyful in afflictions.

To be patient, and not to murmur in affliction.

I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job horribly afflicted, cause us to say, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord![3] Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass." If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy;[4] who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

How to sacrifice our Isaac to God.

Remedies against the temptations of the devil and the world.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands and goods, to live on still), ye must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Christ's temptations mystically applied.

Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

(1) 2 Tim. ii. (2) Phil. v. (3) Job i. (4) Gen. xxii.

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, "Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only." *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will, the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity.

John Philpot, Anno 1555.

To his Friend and faithful Brother in the Lord, Master Robert Harrington.

Gentle master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of others our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

Me thinketh I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not.[1] Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to show himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. O what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us? *Reward greater than the price.*

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the price. *Godly matrimony how to be used.*

Since you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for an usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

Commend me to master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own: commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall,

(1) John xxi.

Mary. A.D. 1555. certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them that though my lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful, than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother.—Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen. John Philpot.

Here followeth another letter of master Philpot to the lady Vane: which, because for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialties thereout as followeth.

The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ, Amen.

O happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy), by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire; by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise. By this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end!

He bewaileth the state of England.

Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that after so great light, is stepped into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England. O that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nebuchadnezzar was), that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites) as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Plagues prophesied to England though the gospel be restored again.

Good luck foreshowed in restoring again the gospel.

Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me

to so good and gracious a general of the field, to so victorious a captain, and to so favourable a marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no sparkle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to show our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen!

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Philpot's scarf.

The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

Experience of God's comfort in the time of affliction.

Persecutors when they prison men's bodies, they set their souls at liberty.

God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord! to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, "Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world," etc.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy, because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of our merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort; hold out your buckler of faith—for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The 10th of December, 1555.

Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

John Philpot.

Another Letter written to the same Lady, being a great supporter of him.

I cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition), condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that

Against faint-hearted gospellers.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many), can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." I that am under the cross with you (thanks be given to God therefore), have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, "In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction."[1] Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Perfect joy considered.

O that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, no body can take it away from us; to the which joy all other joys, being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil?

Comparison between the joy in God, and the joy in this world.

God's saints shall be as judges against their adversaries.

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's silly people, according to his expectation!

The gospel triumpheth by the death of martyrs.

Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the King's Bench.

Yours, with heart in Christ, John Philpot.

Another Letter to the godly Lady Vane.

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

(1) John xvi.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth "a draught of water in the name of a disciple," as Christ promised, "shall lose his reward?"[1] Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

Lady Vane a liberal benefactor to God's saints.

Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

I would I were able to do any thing that might show condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, "I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[2] This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

A perfect christian man, how he is known.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gospellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to show our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred fold: if we die,

The time of tribulation better for a christian than the time of joy.

(1) Mark vii. (2) Rom. viii.

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we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The 20th day of August.

By yours, with all his power in the Lord, John Philpot.

Another Letter full of Spiritual Consolation to the said Lady.

The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

As your good ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness), where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

Experience of Christ, comforting his saints in their persecution.

Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh how do I rejoice, your ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Me thinketh I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle[1] of this body. Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle!

(1) "Habitacle," i. e. "habitaculum," a dwelling place.—Ed.

Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us: let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself (as my last letters did signify), for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me: wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

Out of my lord of London's coal-house, the last of October,

Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter to the said Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the Dissimulation and Perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expresseth his Joy in his Afflictions.

I cannot but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib:[1] since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked." God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation (and that of such as do know the truth) do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him: if we die with him, we shall live with him."

Wherefore, mine own dear bowels! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I, on whom he should show this great mercy? To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory there-for, Amen.

He expresseth the great joy which God's prisoners feel in their sufferings.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised there-for for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

Philpot never so merry in all his life before.

(1) By this Sennacherib, he meaneth the death of the bishop of Winchester.

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Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But, touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

Your own lover, John Philpot.

A Letter to a Friend of his, Prisoner the same time in Newgate; wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of Infants to be Baptized.

The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yesternight from you, dear brother, saint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

A vision revealed to Philpot upon a letter to be answered.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it vaded away.

The vision expounded.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God."[1] And, the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house." And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: "As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee." And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by

The primitive example for us to follow.

(1) Psalm lxvii.

the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth. *Mary.* A. D. 1555.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers: for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, "and they shall teach thee," saith the Lord, "and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts."[1] And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother.[2] The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St. Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."[3]

Hitherto I have showed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt. Proof by testimonies and Scriptures.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arians' sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that

Baptism of infants of old antiquity in the church. Every thing abused in the pope's church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be searched and to be reduced again to the same.

(1) Job viii. (2) Prov. vi. (3) 1 Cor. xi.

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he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: "I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee."[1] To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them.[2] Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants (that is, of such as yet believed not), "Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."[3] Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish."[4] Also, "He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me." "Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face."[5] And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Arguments proving the baptism of children to be of God, and that the apostles baptized children.

Another argument.

Another argument.

Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations:[6] therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, "all nations." Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean."[7] But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized,[8] among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize:"[9] not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?"[10] Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

In sacraments two things to be considered.

Another reason.

None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?[11]

Another reason.

The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me."[12] Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they

(1) Gen. xvii. (2) Matt. v. (3) Matt. x. (4) Matt. xix.
(5) Matt. xviii. (6) Matt. xxviii. (7) Acts x. (8) 1 Cor. i.
(9) 1 Cor. i. (10) Acts x. (11) Rom. viii. (12) Matt. x.

now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord; and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, "Why then did not Christ baptize them?" because it is written, "Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples."[1] Objection.

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism.[2] Behold Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise;[3] but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament; therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children: because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women in the holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children; and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Another reason. Another reason. Another reason. Another reason.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen,[4] upon the declaration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter, saith, "that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople,[5] in his first book against Julian, chap. ii.; and he again, writing to St. Jerome,[6] saith, "that St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized."[7] The place of Cyprian[8] is to be seen in his Epistle to Fidus. Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists,[9] saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

Arguments of example and of antiquity. Augustine. Cyprian.

Cyril, upon Leviticus,[10] approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment. Cyril.

(1) John iv. (2) Col. ii. (3) Josh. v. (4) Origen was two hundred years after Christ.
(5) St. Augustine and St. Jerome were four hundred years after Christ. (6) Epist. 28.
(7) Verba Johannis Constantinopol. Heb. xi.: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παιδία βαπτίζομεν, καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα οὐκ ἔχοντα.
(8) Cyprian was two hundred and fifty years after Christ. (9) In book iv. chap. 23 and 24.
(10) Levit. viii.

Mary. A. D. 1555.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned," etc.

To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea."[1] Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

Righteousness and acceptation, is only by imputation and mere grace.

And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St. Mark we read,[2] that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: "All power is given me," saith the Lord, "in heaven and in earth, therefore, going forth, *μαθητεύσατε*,"[3] that is, "disciple ye" (as I may express the signification of the word), that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, "baptizing them and teaching:" by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[4] Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess, that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour must not eat;" but who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

"He that believeth and is baptized" opened.

The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations—unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that

(1) Matt. xviii. (2) Mark i. (3) Matt. xxviii. (4) Ibid.

was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.[1] *Mary.* A.D. 1555.

Why children of christian parents be received to baptism.

Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized: when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house." Semblably we read in the acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called 'catechumeni,'[2] they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called), to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days, might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets.[3] One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.[4]

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith. John Philpot.

Divers other letters were written by master Philpot to divers, but these as most principal I have excerpted and inserted: amongst which I thought here, not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller (whose name in her writing doth not appear), who, in defending and commending the quarrel of this master John Philpot, Christ's most famous and

(1) In the first converting of infidels, believing ought to go before baptizing: but where faith is received, God's grace and sacraments go not by age, but as well be children of the faithful received, as the fathers.

(2) "Catechumeni," is as much to say, as young novices and beginners in Christ's faith.

(3) I Cor. xiv.

(4) Concerning the party to whom this letter was written, note that he was converted, and afterward died in the same faith as this letter did persuade him.

Mary A. D. 1556. worthy martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before bishop Bonner; and therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself, indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this letter here following.

A godly Letter addressed to Bishop Bonner, reproving his cruelty.

'Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds" of England, "that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool. The best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-casts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them." Ezek. xxxiv.

Forasmuch, my lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod, according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceiving your lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who, to destroy Christ, killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more at you: for I see that you are set all in a rage, like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can; especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly: and therefore let them lie still, and die for hunger. Therefore, my lord, I thought it good to tarry a time until your lordship's stomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows. But yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordship's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choaked; and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my lord, that some of the butcherly curs came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning, and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more. Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance, with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse; and not doubting but your lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle, or rather cruel, demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good master John Philpot, I will answer your lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall

come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he, as a very man of God, died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my lord, I do verily believe and know that your lordship hath committed a horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him; and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your lordship doth believe,[1] and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your lordship's dishonour and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese, nor had offended any of your lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows—bite-sheep bishops, I would say; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, "Bloody Bonner is bishop of London;" and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Paternoster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire, and famished in prison: they say, the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long agone, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than a heathen, Turk, or infidel. This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your lordship; therefore I thought to be bold so with your lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for.

Finally, my lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious nard contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordship's commandments) showed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly avenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great antichrist of Rome. The measure of your iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I,

(1) Your deeds declare and bear witness to the same.

Mary. A. D. 1556.

when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with cow-dung (saving your lordship's reverence, I should have said *first*)—Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion; the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory. Amen.

I signify also unto your lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher showed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday against the dear servant of God, good master Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! Full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder. For those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ, for he hath said, "Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and surcease from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did; for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long. Therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do: for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.

It is found very true that one holy doctor saith, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise for him." And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people showed unto good master Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would bear men in hand: but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same; for Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, "The truth shall have victory." You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick. The Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God), who of his great mercy shortly convert your lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you. Amen!

Your lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556.

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SEVEN GODLY MARTYRS SUFFERING AT ONE FIRE IN SMITHFIELD.

The Story of Seven Martyrs suffering together at London, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel. Jan. 27, Anno 1556.

Mary. A. D. 1556.

The catholic prelates of the pope's band, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church (whereof there were now very few which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their popish rage, compelled to fly their natural country), continued still this next year also, which was anno 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness), having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear. Wherefore, as the first fruits thereof, to begin this year withal, about the 27th day of January were burned in Smithfield at London these seven persons hereafter following, to wit: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse (some more abounding in knowledge than others), their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter following. And therefore, for the better understanding hereof, I will first (by the leave of the Lord), passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house, set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there ministered unto them; with their answers also unto the same, according as they all agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the articles, and their answers underwritten, may appear.

THE FORM AND WORDS OF BONNER'S ARTICLES MINISTERED TO THE SEVEN PERSONS ABOVE-MENTIONED IN HIS CONSISTORY, WITH THEIR ANSWERS.

And first, to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to terrify the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the pontifical phrase of this bishop, beginning in this sort:—

The within written articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, Bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, etc. of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the church, and also of other pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

1. First, that thou, N., hast firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a catholic church; in the which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained, of all faithful and true christian people.

Mary. A. D. 1556.

2. Item, That thou, the said N., in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept and retained.

Séven sacraments. The godfathers.

3. Item, That thou, the said N., wast in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother, the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works; and was by the said sacrament of baptism incorporate to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

Faith.

4. Item, That thou, the said N., coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession and faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same faith or doings; but didst, like a faithful christian person, abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

Sacrifice of the mass.

5. Item, That thou, the said N., notwithstanding the premises, hast of late (that is to say, within these two years last past), within the city and diocese of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

See of Rome.

6. Item, That thou, the said N., hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present, to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

7. Item, That thou, the said N., misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly; but hast affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in nowise in the said sacrament of the altar.

The sacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That thou, the said N., being convented before certain judges or commissioners for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London; and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convented: and also by me to be punished and reformed.

Here follow likewise their answers, in general, made to the articles above rehearsed.

Answers to Bonner's Articles.

Answer to the first article.

And first, concerning the first article, on believing there is a catholic church —to the *first* article they, altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: John Tudson, and Thomas Browne, further adding, that the church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true catholic church.

Second article.

Concerning the *second* article, that there be in the church seven sacraments— they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord: John Went and Tudson affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.

Third article.

Concerning the *third* article, that they were first baptized in the faith of the catholic church, professing by their godfathers the profession of the same, &c.— they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of king Edward the sixth, they, hearing the gospel preached, and the truth

opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said king Edward. *Mary.* A.D. 1556.

Concerning the *fourth* article, that they for the space of certain years did ratify or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church—to this fourth article they granted also and agreed: John Went adding moreover, that about seven years past, he (then being about twenty years of age) began to mislike certain things used in the church of England, as the ministration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church: and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmother promised for him the contrary. Fourth article.

John Tudson added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past (being about eighteen years of age), he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, saving in king Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. And further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaketh of.

Isabel Foster with other granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion, as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of king Edward the sixth: at which time she, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth.[1]

Concerning the *fifth* article, that they of late years have swerved and gone away, misliked and spoken against the profession of the same church, at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the church of Rome—they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome. Fifth article.

Joan Lashford (alias Joan Warne), granting with the other the said article, addeth moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion. But saith, that from the time she was eleven years of age, she hath misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

Bartlet Green, answering with the other to this article, addeth and saith, that he swerved not from the catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome, &c.[2]

Concerning the *sixth* article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said church of Rome—they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine, therein set forth and taught, disagreeth from the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, etc. Sixth article. The catholic church, and the church of Rome, are two things.

Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not of the church of Rome.

In like manner added also John Went.

Concerning the *seventh* article, that they refuse to come to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol, etc.—they answer, and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing: for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, etc. Seventh article. The mass dissonant from the word of the gospel, and full of idolatry.

John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believeth no less but the mass which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far

(1) The faith which they were baptized in, was in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, believing the articles of the creed, with promise made to abrenounce the devil, the flesh, and the world, of the which faith their godfathers and godmothers were sureties for them, and in this faith they continue still. As for other ceremonies and abuses of the church, they never made any promise in their baptism.

(2) To swerve from the corruptions of the see of Rome, and sacrifice of the mass, is not to go from the catholic church of Christ.

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as he seeth it. Howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation, by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

Isabel Foster also, answering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since queen Mary's reign she hath not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for she knoweth no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith, that there is but only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she hath been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of king Edward, whom she believeth to have preached the truth in that behalf.

Eighth article.

Concerning the *eighth* article, that they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned—they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so: Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was, sent him up to the bishop there present.

Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein articulate.

John Went said, that Dr. Story, queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament; and because he denied the real presence, he [Dr. Story] presented this examinate to the bishop.

John Tudson likewise examined by master Cholmley and Dr. Story, upon the same matters, and for not coming to the church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the bishop.

Thomas Brown also said, that he, for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the constable to the bishop, etc.

Joan Warne[1] confessed that she was sent by Dr. Story to the bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago; since which time she hath continued with the said bishop.

Ninth article.

Concerning the *ninth* article—they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of London.

And thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the stories and handling of all the seven aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with Thomas Whittle.

The Story of all these seven Martyrs, particularly described, in order here followeth;

AND FIRST OF THOMAS WHITTLE, WHO, FIRST RECANTING, THEN RETURNING AGAIN, WITH GREAT CONSTANCY AND FORTITUDE STOOD TO THE DEFENCE OF CHRIST'S DOCTRINE AGAINST THE PAPISTS, TO THE FIRE.

In the story of master Philpot, mention was made before, of a married priest, whom he found in the coal-house at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in king Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex; and thus lieth his story. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expulsed from the place in Essex where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was ministered, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender for his proffered service was highly checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man

Thomas Whittle, martyr.

Edmund Alablaster, after a promoter and persecutor.

(1) Of this Joan Warne read before.

unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him: "Hence," quoth he, "out of my sight, thou varlet! what dost thou trouble me with such matters?" The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what an evil mess of handling this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop all-to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter sent unto his friend, manifestly may appear:—

Whittle reporteth of the manner of his handling with bishop Bonner.

"Upon Thursday, which was the 10th of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning, if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, 'but to your mass,' said I, 'I have small affection.' At which answer he was displeased sore, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear.[1] And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

Beaten on the face by Bonner.

Conventged before Dr. Harpsfield.

"Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he, going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the registrar pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly."

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands we have hereunto adjoined; written and conceived in their own words, as followeth to be seen.

The Bill of Submission, offered to Thomas Whittle to subscribe unto.

I, Thomas Whittle, priest, of the diocese of London, acknowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you, reverend father in God, Edmund bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church, which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the catholic church: and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, observe, and keep, in all points the catholic faith and belief of Christ's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the said catholic church, doth now profess and keep; and in no wise to swerve, decline, or go from the said faith, during my natural life, submitting myself fully and wholly to you, reverend father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times.—In witness whereof I the said Thomas Whittle, priest, have hereunto subscribed my name, written, etc.

Through infirmity, subscribeth to the bill.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do;[2] and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof: for by and by my mind and conscience told me

Compunected in conscience, for forsaking of the cross of Christ.

(1) "Episcopum non percussorem esse oportet." Tit. i.

(2) A good warning for all faithful Christians not to fall into the crafty hands of the papists.

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by God's word that I had done evil, by such a sleighty means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ; for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, 'A righteous man though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.' For I, for my part, have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present help and comfort in time of need, I thank him there-for.

Comfort against despair.

He repenteth his recantation.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more; being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I, through evil counsel and advisement, had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the registrar with him, I told him that I was not well at ease; but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: 'and therefore I pray you, master Harpsfield,' said I, 'let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it.' So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

Experience of God's providence, suffering his people to fall, but not to be lost.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand; of the which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, are quiet in Christ; and I, by his grace, am very well willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

Peace of conscience a great treasure.

"By me, Thomas Whittle, minister.'

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and tearing his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the letters both of the said Harpsfield, and also of Johnson the registrar, being then present thereat, and reporters of the same unto the bishop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be seen.

The Copy of Nicholas Harpsfield's Letter, written to Bonner, Bishop of London, declaring how Thomas Whittle rent his Subscription out of the Bishop's Register.

Pleaseth your good lordship to understand, that yesterday I dined with my lord of Exeter, who soon after my first coming to him, asked me what news? I answered, none but good, that I had heard. "No!" saith he: "why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-morrow the queen's grace will take her journey towards the king." I answered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretics. "Yea, and further," saith he, "there is a report made abroad of my lord your master, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come unto him." When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: so that my lord (who before was

very sad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your lordship, and desired me to have his hearty commendations to your lordship. *Mary.* A. D. 1556.

One of my lord of Pembroke's retinue, a very handsome man, and as far as I can yet learn a catholic, is a suitor to your lordship to have license to erect a school; and the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in this printed paper, which I send herein enclosed to your lordship. I would be glad, for my lord of Pembroke's sake, that he understood, that upon my motion your lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Master Johnson and I have travailed with the priest, and he hath subscribed his name to this draft which is herein enclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your lordship.

When I had written thus much, suddenly came tidings to me, that Jordanis conversus est retrorsum.[1] Cluney coming to the priest, found him lying prostrate, and groaning as though he should have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and set him upon a stool, and came to me, and told me of this revel. It chanced that master Johnson was with me, and we went to this fond heretic, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I caused Thomas More and Cluney to set him on the stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned; and weeping he prayed master Johnson and me, to see the bill whereunto he subscribed; and when he saw it, he tore out his name, è libro scilicet viventium. Me thinketh by him, he will needs burn a faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman.[2]

I have inquired of the two persons which sue to have a license to eat flesh. And the woman of Christ's church is indeed very much diseased, and hath been long diseased, and she and her husband both catholic: of the other, yet, I can learn nothing.—Thus Jesus evermore preserve your good lordship, and my mistress your lordship's sister, with all yours.—This present Saturday.

Your lordship's most bounden servant,

Nicholas Harpsfield.

Here followeth another letter of Robert Johnson, registrar, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Bonner bishop of London.

My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your lordship to understand, that this last Friday in the afternoon, master archdeacon of London did diligently travail with sir Thomas Whittle. I being present, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, devised this submission, and he being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now, this Saturday morning, master archdeacon and I, upon Cluney's report, declaring that he feigned himself to be distracted of his senses, went unto him, to whom he declared that Satan in the night time appeared unto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his conscience in subscribing to the said submission; with other like words, etc. And then master archdeacon, at his earnest request, delivered unto him the submission. And thereupon the said Whittle did tear out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as your lordship shall perceive by the submission sent now unto your lordship by master archdeacon; wherewith the said Whittle was somewhat quieted.

And as touching Joan Lashford, master archdeacon did likewise travail with her, and showing her sir Thomas's submission, which I read unto her two times, demanded if she could be content to make the like submission, and she desired respite until this morning. And being now eftsoons demanded, in like wise saith, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any sign thereunto. Master archdeacon and I intend this afternoon to examine the said sir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing against him, as knoweth almighty God, who preserve your good lordship in prosperity long with honour to endure! From London this Saturday, Joan Lashford.

By your lordship's daily beads-man, and bounden servant,

Robert Johnson.

(1) He meaneth of the return again of T. Whittle.

(2) This young woman was Joan Warne, otherwise named Joan Lashford, who was burned also with the same Whittle.

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THE CONDEMNATION, MARTYRDOM, AND DEATH OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

Concerning the words and answers of the said Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, upon the 14th day of January,[1] the year above-expressed, Bonner, with other his fellow Bonnerlings, sitting in his consistory at afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: "Because ye be a priest," saith he, "as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto others." And then the said Bonner in further communication did charge him, that whereas in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said, that at such time as he so said mass, he was then ignorant, etc.: adding moreover, that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

Elevation of the sacrament cause of idolatry.

After this the bishop, making haste to the articles (which in all his examinations ever he harped upon, came to this article, "That thou wast in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church."[2]

To this the said Whittle inferred again, "I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forsake the church of Rome. And ye, my lord, do call these heresies, that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies; and ye ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," etc.

Then the said victorious soldier and servant of our Saviour, constant in the verity received and professed, was again admonished, and with persuasions entreated by the bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerkly habit. The order and manner of which their popish and most vain degradation, before, in the story of bishop Hooper, is to be seen. Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them, "Paul and Titus had not so much ado with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to the bishop, he said unto him, "My lord, your religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

Whittle degraded.

Whittle's words to Bonner.

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed and formal proceedings, assayed him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion: who then denying so to do, said, "As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word."

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle answered and said, "It is not used according to Christ's

(1) The "Letters of the Martyrs," edit. 1837, p. 376, state that he "stood to the defence of the truth unto the fire, the 12th of January."—Ed.

(2) Bonner's argument: He was baptized in the faith of the catholic church: ergo, he was baptized in the faith of Rome!

institution, in that it is privately and not openly done: and also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture." *Mary.* A.D. 1556.

"Well," quoth Bonner, "my lords here and other learned men have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power," etc. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so, in few days after, brought to the fire with the other six aforenamed, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for the witness of the truth. Jan. 27.

LETTERS OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

A Letter to John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The peace of God in Christ be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Christ, with the assistance of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of those things which may comfort and edify his church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increase of your joy and solace of soul in this life, and also your reward in heaven with Christ our captain, whose faithful soldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoiced, my dear heart, with thanks to God for you, since I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his saints, with a most godly ardent zeal to the virtue of Christ's doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but specially by the declaring of that valiant captain in Christ's church, that stout champion in God's cause, that spectacle to the world, I mean our good brother Philpot, who now lieth under the altar, and sweetly enjoyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my condemned fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepness of our trouble (after the flesh) sent unto us to the consolation of us all, but most specially to me, most sinful miser, on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through God's loving kindness in Christ showed unto me; who suffered me to faint and fail through human infirmity, by the working of the arch-enemy in his sworn soldiers the bishops and priests. In whom so lively appeareth the very visage and shape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to God's word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate, as I by experience do speak. Wherefore, whoso shall for conscience-matters come in their hands, had need of the wiliness of the serpent to save his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he consenteth to their wicked writings, or setteth his hand to their conveyances. *His judgment and experience of popish prelates.*

So did they assault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And, alas, something they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and false papistical religion, or else doubted of the truth wherein I stand, but only the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me, desiring liberty by an unlawful means: God lay it not to my charge at that day! and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, showing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast nor rejoice in myself, but only in the Lord; who when he had led me to hell in my conscience, through the respect of his fearful judgments against me for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters (in the which agony and distress I found this old verse true, "Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus"), yet he brought me from

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thence again to the magnifying of his name, suspecting of flesh and blood, and consolation of mine own soul; or else that I might feel disprofit in offending the congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulness in my doctrine and religion, than of human imbecility.

The burden of a troubled conscience.

Well, of the importune burden of a troubled conscience for denying or dissembling the known verity, I by experience could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: for now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Christ's cause: God's name be praised, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our course with joy, and at your appointed time you shall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, so will he preserve your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and convince these ungodly contentions and controversies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is dishonoured, the church disquieted, and occasion to speak evil of the gospel ministered to our adversaries. But such is the subtlety of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross idolatry in open religion, them he seeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profession. But here I will abruptly leave, lest with my rude and simple vein I should be tedious unto you, desiring you, my loving brother, if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you have leisure, and we time to the same.

He writeth for the examinations of Philpot.

Provide me master Philpot's nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I shall pay you there-for, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and trieth the faith of his saints through many tribulations, that being found constant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whither I trust to go before, looking for you to follow, my faithful friend, that we may sing perpetual praise to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and sin, won for us by Jesus Christ, God and Man, our only and sufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewell, and pray in faith.

Yours, Thomas Whittle, minister, and now condemned to die for the gospel's sake, 1556, Jan. 21.

All my fellows salute you. Salute all our faithful brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother John Went,[1] and other his Prison-fellows in Lollards' Tower.

He that preserved Joseph prisoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the lions' den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the apostles out of prison,[2] vouchsafe of his goodness to keep, feed, and deliver you, my good brother Went, with the other our fellow-soldiers your prison-fellows, as may be most to his glory, to your consolation, and the edification of his church.

I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I hear of your constancy in the faith, and joy in the cross of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with many other good members of Christ, which is a token that by Christ you are counted worthy the kingdom of God, as Paul saith.[3] And though the world counteth the yoke and cross of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have tasted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoice in this persecution as touching ourselves;[4] inasmuch as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lord's cause and not ours, at whose hand if we endure to the end, we shall receive, through his liberal promise in Christ, not only a great reward in heaven, but also the kingdom of heaven itself, and also in the mean season be sure to be defended and cared for, so that we shall lack no necessary things, neither a hair of our heads shall perish without his knowledge.[5] O what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly serve so loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forsake him and put their trust in man! But how blessed are they that for his love and for his holy word's sake, in these troublesome days, do commit their souls and bodies into his hands with well doing,[6] counting it greater happiness and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his church, than to enjoy the pleasures of this life for a little short season![7] This cross that we

(1) He is called also Thomas Went in the Letters of the Martyrs.—Ed. (2) Acts xvi. (3) 2 Thess. i. (4) 1 Pet. ii. (5) Matt. x. (6) 1 Pet. iv. (7) Heb. xi.

now bear, hath been common to all the faithful from Abel hitherto, and shall be to the end; because the devil, having great wrath against God and his Christ,[1] cannot abide that he should for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and believed upon for our only sufficient Redeemer, Saviour, and Advocate: and therefore, because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with our faith, but openly protest and profess the same before the world, he seeketh by all means to stir up his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians; as St. John saith, "The devil shall cast some of you into prison."[2] And David saith, "I believed, and therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled."[3] This notwithstanding, go forward, dear brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's battle, considering Christ the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and also highly reward your pains. Consider to your comfort the notable and chief shepherds and soldiers of Christ, which are gone before us in these days; I mean those learned and godly bishops, doctors, and other ministers of God's word, whose faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as St. Paul saith: "Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whose conversation see that ye look upon, and follow their faith."[4] The grace and blessing of God, with the ministry of his holy angels, be with you for ever; Amen. All my prison-fellows greet you.

Mary. A.D. 1556.

Satan cannot abide Christ to be received for our only Saviour, and thereof ariseth all this persecution.

From the Coal-house,[5] this 4th of December; by your poor brother Thomas Whittle, an unworthy minister of Christ, now his prisoner for the gospel's sake. Amen.

To all the true professors and lovers of God's holy Gospel within the City of London.

The same faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of London, for ever and ever; Amen.[6]

Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passion; that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, etc. Out of these words of St. Peter, I gather most specially these four notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christ's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole world through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a church and people upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death, shall be able to separate them from the love of him.[7] And thus was Abraham tried and Job tempted,[8] that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be so steadfast and strong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy, could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies' hands; Joseph out of the hands of his brethren and out of prison: Paul from his enemies in Damascus; and the apostles out of the stocks and prison.[9]

Four notes.

These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, and John Baptist, with many others by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good presidents, and examples to us and

(1) Rev. xii. (2) Rev. ii. (3) Psalm cxv. (4) Heb. xiii.

(5) In reference to this "Coal-house," it may be remarked, that this abode of so much misery, and the scene of so many prayers, formed part of the palace of the bishop of London, which stood at the north-west corner of the church-yard, the present site of London-House Yard, and extended itself to the walls of the old cathedral. Along the north side of the church-yard were a cloister, a burying-ground, a library, a charnel-house, and several chapels which had been partly destroyed in king Edward's days. Between Cannon-alley and Cheapside stood Paul's Cross; the Convocation House stood on the south side, and Lollards' Tower was over St. Gregory's church, which was attached to the cathedral on the south-west corner, about the place where the clock tower now stands. The "Coal-house" was at the back of the palace in Paternoster Row, near the alley which passes from thence to St. Paul's Churchyard.—Ed.

(6) Rom. iv. Luke i. (7) Rom. viii. (8) Gen. xxii. Job i.

(9) Rom. ix. 2 Cor. xi. Acts xvi. Gen. iv. 2 Macc. vi. Acts vi. Matt. xvii.

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all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as St. James saith, "Take, my brethren," saith he, "the prophets for an ensample of suffering adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the name of the Lord. Behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful.[1] Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy nor ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with Peter, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with David, "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak. O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed."[2]

Of this opening of the heart by persecution, spake holy Simeon to Mary, Christ's mother, when he said, "The sword (that is, the cross of persecution) shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened."[3] For like as a king that should go to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we, by persecutions, have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the cross, that if we be rich in these treasures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want these things, we might with all speed cry and call upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, the cross trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and hypocrites, and also cleanseth and scoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the flesh and the spirit. And even as iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty; so except our sinful hearts and flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us, as the wise man saith, that "as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adversity."[4] Abide the trial, dear friends, that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in heaven hereafter.

The cross trieth the good people from the bad.

As ye are called Christians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear. Suffer with him and for his gospel's sake, rather than to deny him or to defile your faith and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

Take up your cross, my dear hearts, now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers (if God call you thereto), and they will anon send you to Calvary; from whence (dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives), your souls, I warrant you, through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and the body shall come after at the last day; and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, as Christ's people in this Jewish England now do; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven! O my beloved, set your minds on this kingdom where Christ our Head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth, so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, because his conversation should be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul saith, "Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is."[5] And again he saith, "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body."[6] Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal kingdom through Christ Jesus our Lord; Amen.

The second note.

The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is, for which of the prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's sake? Cain killed Abel, Isaac was persecuted of Ishmael,

(1) James iv. (2) Psalm v. (3) Luke ii. (4) Sirach ii. (5) Col. iii. (6) Phil. iii.

Jacob was hated of Esau, Joseph was prisoned and set in the stocks, the prophet Isaiah was cut in two with a saw, Jeremiah was stoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was sore persecuted, Eleazar and the woman with her seven sons were cruelly killed.[1] What Christ and the apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul saith)[2] we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Christ, and his apostles, suffered such afflictions—not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking of the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ. *Mary.* A.D. 1556.

This is the ordinance of God, my friends, this is the high-way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, "He that heareth my words and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life."[3] Let us never fear death, which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever, as Paul saith, "There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."[4] And again Paul saith, "Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ."[5]

Besides this, ye have seen, and daily do see, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his sheep.[6] Good St. Paul saith, "Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith."[7] Example of God's martyrs.

The devil ever stirreth up false teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our souls with the false doctrine.[8] And when he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcases of the saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead bready Christ, and honour the same as Christ, God and man, contrary to God's commandment.[9]

This is the working of Satan, who, knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same: such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ with subtle temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his servants the bishops and Pharisees to kill his body, whereby notwithstanding the devil lost his title and interest which he had to man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the devil, death, and hell, to immortality and life everlasting. And so when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Christ, he lost all. And so shall he do in us, if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end.[10] God grant it for his mercy's sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen. When Satan could not bring Christ to fall down and worship him, he set the Pharisees to kill him.

Wherefore, my heartily beloved brethren and sisters, be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. "Resist the devil, and he will, as James saith, "flee from you."[11] "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees."[12] Touch not pitch, lest you be defiled therewith; eat no swine's flesh, for it is against the law: I mean, defile not yourselves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked religion of antichrist; for it is nothing else but pitch, and swine's flesh. Beware of the beast's mark, lest ye drink of the cup of God's wrath.[13] If God have given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as John biddeth you,[14] and touch no unclean thing, but separate yourselves from the company of the ungodly, as Paul commandeth you.[15] Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption."[16]

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foresaid words of Peter, The third note.

(1) 2 Mac. vi. vii. (2) Acts xiv. (3) John v. (4) Rom. viii. (5) 1 Cor. xv.. (6) John x. (7) Heb. xiii. (8) 2 Pet. ii. 1 Tim. iv. 2 Tim. iii. Jude. (9) Exod. x. (10) 1 John v. 2 Cor. x. Matt. iv. (11) James ii, (12) Matt. xvi. (13) Rev. xiii. xiv (14) Rev. viii. (15) 2 Cor. vi. (16) Psal. cxxx.

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is this, that he saith, "Rejoice because ye are partakers of Christ's passion." Our sufferings, my well-beloved, are Christ's sufferings; and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"[1] Therefore we ought to rejoice in our sufferings, as Paul writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as Peter saith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his elect must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost,[2] and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness' sake, according to his promise.[3] And therefore I say, my brethren, "rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice."[4] "Let us rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to it."[5]

The fourth note.

And why should we so greatly rejoice in the cross of Christ, which we now suffer? "Because," saith Peter, "when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad." And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written: wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment, when we shall be raised again. And then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy, as Christ saith, "Blessed are they that weep here; for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven."[6]

Wherefore, my dearly beloved, through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised (which joy is so great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think,[7] where we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celestial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as Paul saith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the spirits and souls of all faithful and just men[8]), rejoice and be glad. And seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and specially by suffering adversity for the gospel's sake:[9] for it is given us of God (saith Paul) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake.[10] Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Christ's disciples.[11] Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always. Amen.

For your liberality and kindness showed upon the prisoners and afflicted people of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded.[12] God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.[13]

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the gospel,

Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

The same faith for the which Abraham was accounted just, and Mary blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increase and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God, my heartily beloved brother, for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving letters, repenting me much that I, being so long so near you, did not enterprise to stir

(1) Acts ix. (2) Col. i. (3) Matt. v. (4) Phil. iii.
(5) Gal. vi. (6) Luke vi. (7) 1 Cor. ii. (8) Heb. xii.
(9) 2 Pet. i. (10) Phil. i. (11) John xiv. (12) Matt. x. (13) 2 Cor. viii.

up familiarity and communication between us by writing, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoice (where all things are transitory and vain, yea man himself, respecting this life), but, as David saith, "the saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in virtue?" (1) But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy, of faithful men and children of God (being as we now be in double bondage, the body within dry walls, and the soul within these frail earthly bodies), be so great and comfortable; how unspeakable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, where we shall be present together continually in our glorified bodies beholding the face of our Father presently (whom now we see but in the glass of faith), with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of angels and all faithful saved souls!

Oh the incomparable good things and heavenly treasures laid up for us in heaven by Christ Jesus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength; and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth still, as the preacher saith, when every one, "causa sua dormit, et causa sua requiescit." (2) For else, before the end, he suffereth his sometime to fall, but not finally to perish: as Peter sank upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Christ's holy apostles are taught to say, "Remitte nobis debita nostra." Yea, "though the righteous fall," saith David, "he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us, miserable sinners! He vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son! And thereto I pray you say, "Amen."

O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to see the spoil and havoc that Soul maketh with the congregation of Christ. But what remedy? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people shall here both be punished in the flesh and tried in their faith; as it is written, "Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all:" for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven! Therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christ's sake, for the profession of the same. Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our course with joyful gladness; for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you and all his people in our journey, that we may safely, through a short death, pass to that long lasting life.

Farewell, my dear and loving brother and fellow-soldier in Christ! farewell, I say in him, who receive our souls in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and grant us a joyful resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

Yours with my poor prayer; other pleasure can I do you none,

Thomas Whittle, minister.

To my dear Brethren Master Filles and Cutbert.

My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, master Filles and Cutbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul, is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this body-life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will

(1) Psalm xvi. (2) Eccles. xi.

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gladly take up their cross and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jesus Christ[1] (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth), against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and specially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's supper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to Paul's proceedings:[2] so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, a visible sign of invisible grace, when it is ministered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was of late years in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: "for Christ with one sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified."[3]

No sacrifice of the mass is to be made for sin.

Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the doctrine of his gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye be hated and accursed.[4] Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations.[5] Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which lead to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footsteps.[6] Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. "He that overcometh," saith St. John, "shall eat of the tree of life: he shall have a crown of life, and not to be hurt of the second death; he shall be clothed with white array, and not to be put out of the book of life:" "yea, I will confess his name," saith Christ "before my Father and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat."[7] And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake; to Christ I me betake;
And, for his gospel's sake, patiently death I take.
My body to the dust now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well, with my God it shall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another Letter written to a certain godly Woman.

O my dear and loving sister in Christ! be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, because it is never truly taught, but the cross and cruel persecution immediately and necessarily do follow the same; and therefore it is a manifest token of God's truth, and hath been here and is still abroad; and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their faith must be tried, that after trial and patient suffering the faithful may receive the crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my well-beloved! but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and assist you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his cross upon you for his gospel's sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous cross and torment of conscience, if you should dissemble and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of body. O how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake! Their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be showed upon us. O remember the godly women of the Old Testament and New, which lived in God's service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely Judith, Esther, Abigail, the mother of the seven sons, Mary, Elizabeth, Susanna, Lydia, and Phœbe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is set wide open: God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ. Amen!

To be strong against Satan, and not to fear persecution.

Good counsel, not to forsake the Lord for persecution.

Thomas Whittle.

(1) Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. (2) 2 Cor. xi. (3) Heb. ix. x.
(4) Luke xi. (5) Rev. xviii. (6) 1 Pet. iii. iv. (7) Rev. ii. iii.

Mary.

The Story of Master Bartlet Green, Gentleman and Lawyer, Martyr. A.D. 1556.

After the martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, next followeth in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who, the next day after the foresaid Whittle, was likewise condemned. This Green was of a good house, and had such parents as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same; who, after some entrance in other inferior schools, was by them sent unto the university of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent study he so profited, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry profane sciences, as also now, in his last years, unto the godly understanding of divinity; whereunto (through ignorance in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity lecture in the same university, so that thereby (as by God's instrument) he saw the true light of Christ's gospel. Whereof when he had once tasted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria, so as he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing unto everlasting life;[1] insomuch as when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel; wherein also he did not a little profit. Howbeit (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit), through the continual accompanying, and fellowship of such worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies, and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction) did sore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own testimony, notified and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

Jan. 27.

Bartlet Green student at Oxford.

Converted by the lectures of Peter Martyr.

Student in the Temple at London.

The Writing of Master Bartlet Green, in Master Bartram Calthorp's Book.

"Two things have very much troubled me whilst I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which, under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by prayer, earnest and without ceasing. And forsomuch as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer, to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be

A good note or lesson, for young lawyers to mark and follow.

What lewd company doth.

(1) John iv.

Mary. A. D. 1556. sober; 'For our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' And remember what Solomon saith, 'A patient man is better than a strong warrior, and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.'[1] "Bartlet Green."

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and steadfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell. At Newgate, Jan. 20, anno 1556.[2]

"Set sober love against hasty wrath,

"Bartlet Green."

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such means as perhaps they think least of, as he did here this his strayed sheep. And now therefore to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, master doctor Bartlet, who, during the time of Green's imprisonment, made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth, and gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those his persuasions (the Lord be therefore praised) took small effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except of the papists, who love none that love the truth); and so he well deserved, for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of faith; as appeared amongst other, by his friendly dealing with master Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas; with whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward; whom now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget: and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loss of his friend, and the other of body, in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of papists. The cause hereof was a letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which were cast abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he meant to have sent unto master Philpot, wherein he declareth his full usage before the bishop of London and others), as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto master Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

Large gifts offered Master Green by Bartlet to return to the church of Rome.

Friendship between Goodman and Green.

Occasion of apprehending of Green came by letters intercepted.

These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the said bearer, unto the hands of the king and queen's council; who, at their conve-

(1) "Melior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominatur animo expugnatore urbium."

(2) "Animorum in fide unio per charitatem aucta, firma est amicitia. Vale, mi Bertrame, mei memineris, ut semper simillimi efficiamur. Vale, apud Novam Portam, 20 Januarii, 1556."

nient leisure (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters), perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them espied this letter of master Green's, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words: "The queen is not yet dead." Which words were only written as an answer, to certify master Goodman of the truth of his former demand; howbeit (to some of the council) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loth to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the gospel), they then examined him upon his faith in religion; but upon what points it is not certainly known.

Green examined by the council of his faith.

Nevertheless (as it seemeth) his answers were such as little pleased them (especially the anointed sort); and therefore, after they had long detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Bonner bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law; as appeareth by their letters sent unto the bishop, with the said prisoner also, wherein it may appear, that sir John Bourne (then secretary to the queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea and an enticer of others of the council; who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness (if it be his good pleasure) and give them true repentance. Amen.

Sir John Bourne a stirrer of persecution.

A Letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, by the Queen's Council, dated the 11th Day of November, 1555; but not delivered until the 17th of the same Month.

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send to the same herewith the body of one Bartlet Green, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obstinate standing in matters against the catholic religion, whom the king's and queen's majesties' pleasures are (because he is of your lordship's diocese), ye shall cause to be ordered according to the laws in such cases provided. And thus we bid your lordship heartily farewell.

From St. James's, the 11th of November, 1555.

Your good lordship's loving friends,

Winchester, Pembroke, Thomas Ely,
William Haward, John Bourne, Thomas Wharton.

Postscript.—I, sir John Bourne, will wait upon your lordship, and signify further the king's and queen's majesties' pleasure herein.

Now that ye may the better understand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto Bonner's custody, I have thought it good to put forth his own letter, containing at large the discourse of the same; which letter he wrote, and did mean to have sent unto master Philpot, but was prevented belike either by Philpot's death, or else (and rather) by the wily watching of his keeper: for it came (by what means I know not certainly) unto the bishop's hands, and being delivered unto his registrar, was found in one of his books of record, the copy whereof here followeth.

Mary. A.D. 1556.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, written unto John Philpot, containing, besides other particular Matter betwixt him and Master Philpot, a brief Rehearsal of his Handling, and certain his Conferences with Bonner and others, at his first coming to the Bishops.

* I marvel[1] much that you will raise such slanders of me: for, what else is a slander than an untrue report of a man, to the hurt of a man? And though you will not seem to hurt me herein, nor did it there-for, yet, being a false report of me to the hurt of other men, methinketh I may count myself slandered therein. Is not the heart offended when the foot is slandered? is not the body troubled when the tongue is belied? is not the hand ready to revenge the dishonour of the head, or hurt of the least part of the body? are we not members all of one body? are we not members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones? If you think them not of one body with us, yet should you not have spoken evil of any man, yet should you not have slandered the rulers.[2] But you have sought my hurt ignorantly: remember you not what happened to Moses and Aaron at the waters of strife, because of the over-great estimation that the people had in them? Were not the people plagued by David, in whom they over-much gloried? quippe per quâ peccat' quis, per eadem punietur. None had such praise as had Josiah; and what was the end?[3] The people had Josiah in reverence, and he spake, and it came not to pass! Peter's boldness deserved a fall; Paul had the messenger of Satan sent him; to Peter, after the preferment was given him, were a foul fall and sharp rebuke; to the same, after the feeding of sheep;[4] Paul withstood him in the face. Let him that standeth take heed he fall not; for "if any man seem unto himself to be somewhat when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." Would God you saw my heart, and the sorrows that I sustained thereby; God knoweth whether it were with the desire to be revenged of such lies, or to be delivered from the occasion of vain-glory thereby (for I must say with David, "Delicta quis intelligit? ab occultis," etc.), that I had almost fallen on the other side, to have swerved from the truth thereby. And this say I in truth, coram Domino; for I am not ashamed to confess my own weakness, to the praise of the glory of God. Would God you were not carnal, to prefer your friend with lies, to esteem friendship above truth, yea, above God, the author of all truth. Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur: absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Christi, etc. Is this your friendship, O my friend?*

Green presented before Bonner.

That which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at the length getting some opportunity and leisure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock at afternoon, I was presented before my lord of London and other two bishops, master Deane, master Roper, master Welch, Dr. Harpsfield archdeacon of London, and other two or three, all sitting at one table. There were also present Dr. Dale, master George Mordant, master Dee.[5] Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was: to hear mine examination, whereunto he had authority by the council; and had provided master Welch, and another whose name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my lord, that I might hear the council's letters), to be there if any matters of the common law should arise, to discuss them: he entreated my lord to determine all controversies of Scriptures; and as for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take it on them. Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of mine imprisonment. I said, that the occasion of mine apprehension was a letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy unto the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet: but since heard I

Green committed first to the Fleet.

* (1) This portion of the letter, distinguished by asterisks, is thus placed in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments: it is omitted in later Editions, and seems, in fact, unconnected and unfinished; referring briefly to the "particular matter" mentioned in the title attached to the letter.—Ed. (2) Tit. iii. 2 Pet. ii. (3) 2 Chron. xxxv. (4) John xxi.

(5) Master Dee was yet under bond of recognizance for the good appearing and forthcoming till Christmas next after.

nothing thereof, after the commissioners had received my submission. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be any true witness, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf; so refused I no punishment, if they of their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my lord, affirming that there was another cause of mine imprisonment since, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Then desired I his lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would put me to answer to no new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long on that, master Welch answered, that it was procured that I should so do, right well. For albeit I were imprisoned for treason, if during the time of endurance I had maintained heresy, that were no sufficient allegation against the ordinary; neither, whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then, my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for heresy, and the other gentleman saying that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

Dr. Chedsey witnesseth against him.

Then Dr. Chedsey was sent for, who reported that in the presence of master Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass; and that I affirmed that their church was the church of antichrist.

Talk between Green and the commissioners.

"Is not this true?" quoth my lord. I said, "Yea." "Will you continue therein?" quoth he. "Yea," said I. "Wilt thou then maintain it by learning?" said he. "Therein," quoth I, "I should show myself to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my conscience was satisfied in the truth, which was sufficient to my salvation." "Conscience!" quoth master Roper; "so shall every Jew and Turk be saved."

We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and open air, much dulness of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what conscience was: and I said, "The certifying of the truth."

Persuasion of master Welch to him.

With that master Welch rose up, desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, said, that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I, being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning: I ought not to think mine own wit better than all men's, but should believe them that were learned. "I promise you," quoth he, "I have read all Peter Martyr's book,[1] and Cranmer's, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Roffensis, and the bishop of Winchester, etc., and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those that at any time severed from this unity, were answered, and answered again." This was the sum of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

His answer to Welch.

Modesty of Green.

Then spake I: "Forasmuch as it pleaseth your mastership to use me so familiarly (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal), I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good worth. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me! But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chooseth 'Infirma mundi, ut confunderet fortia,' neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: for, 'I will have compassion,' saith he, 'on whom I will show mercy.'[2] There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fisher or basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free

(1) Perhaps "Martyr. Tractatio de Sacrament. Eucharistiæ," Londini, 1549; or "Defensio Doctrinæ Vet. et Apost. de Eucharistiæ Sacrament.; Tiguri," 1562. The former was dedicated to archbp. Cranmer. The reason whereof that he gave, was, "Since he could not find a defender, both of evangelical truth and also of this eucharistical sacrament, *sanctior, doctior, et firmior*; i. e. more holy, more learned, and more steady, than he; and that his grace had so great knowledge concerning this controversy, as he (P. Martyr) well knew, that it was hard to find the like beside." See more in Strype's "Memorials of Edward VI.," book i. chap. 24. The "Tractatio" was translated into English by Nic. Udall. Dibdin. vol. iv. p. 314. See Jenkyns's Note, p. 102, in Cranmer's Works, vol. iv.—ED.

(2) Rom. ix.

Mary. A. D. 1556.

grace, to whom he list.[1] Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but steadfastly believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, 'Spiritus ubi vult spirat:' no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person and qualities of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myself to be a member, trusting to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy; and the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word and ministering of his sacraments. These marks were sealed by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, sore worn, and almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereto by him, as by an instrument[2] that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought it of him by continual prayer with tears. Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to speak: but one thing (I say) I wish of God with all my heart—that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing-stock: but I weigh it not a rush, for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him. Besides that, I care not for man's pleasure, or displeasure."

The Spirit of God addicted neither to person nor place.

The end of all controversies is to know the true church.

Marks of the true church.

Master Green seeking his knowledge of God with tears.

"No, master Green," quoth Welch, "think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers! or how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?"

Welch replieth to Green.

Then I said, "Sir, I have none authority to judge any man: nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me."

"Why then," said Welch, "do you suppose your own wit and learning better than all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the Scriptures and doctors."

"Sir," quoth I, "God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things—saving my faith. But concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly persuaded, I cannot submit myself to learn; unless it be, as your mastership said, that I perused the books on both sides. For so might I make myself an indifferent judge: otherwise I may be seduced."

And here we fell out again in a long talk of the church, wherein his learning and wit were much above mine: but in the end I told him I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

"Why then," quoth Welch, "what shall I report to my lord?"

"Even as pleaseth you," quoth I; "or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides."

So he going in, the bishops (even then risen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, "In faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn." Which words when they were taken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, "Yea, my lord, so that I may have books on both sides, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and such others." "Well," quoth my lord, "I will satisfy thy mind therein also." And they all were in great hope that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then was I brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were[3]), and there was put in a chamber with master Dee, who entreated me very friendly. That night I supped at my lord's table, and lay with master Dee in the chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentlemen; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordship's house: for my lodging and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so

Friendly entertainment of master Green in bishop Bonner's house for a time.

(1) James i. (2) By this instrument he meaneth Peter Martyr.
(3) Where Philpot was, he meaneth, to whom he wrote this letter.

much gentleness of my lord, and his chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this great cheer was often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations. *Mary.* A. D. 1556.

For, shortly after supper, the first Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these heresies. I said I was persuaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alleged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon 1 Cor. xi.,[1] while he entreated there on that place, "De cœnâ Domini," by the space of a month together. But then my lord enforced the plainness of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words. But I, having no lust to those matters, would have alleged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer and Œcolampadius: nevertheless when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking, by the circumstance, and by conférence of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he showed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

Green in private examinations before the bishop, urged with the words 'this is my body.' Causes moving Green from the literal sense.

Christ affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true:

Argument.

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, "Panis est corpus Christi," or "corpus Christi est panis," is neither identicâ, nor accidentalis, nor essentialis prædicatio. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the like sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body; and that for two causes.

Why the words of Christ of his body must be taken spiritually.

For whatsoever he showed, that was bread; for nought else was seen.

But that which he showed he affirmed to be his body:

Argument.

Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his body.

The second reason is; for that it was not changed before, seeing benedixit, is gratias egit, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter, there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, videlicet,—

"Eadem locutio poculi," i. e. the same phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

"Dicitur postea panis," i. e. it is called bread in the same place afterward.

"Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem," i. e. by the same reason as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

"Ascendit in cœlum," i. e. his body ascended into heaven.[2]

In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once:

Ergo, Neither his.

"Discipuli non stupebant," etc., i. e. his disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

THE LAST EXAMINATION AND CONDEMNATION OF MASTER GREEN.

Thus (as it seemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after, the bishop, perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains, could by the Scriptures refel, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is importable. And therefore, using laws as a cloak of his tyranny, the 27th day of Novem-

(1) These were read, it appears from Strype's "Memorials of Edward VI." Book i. ch. xv. upon the suggestion of the king, by Peter Martyr at Oxford, and by Bucer at Cambridge, as the fittest persons to inform the students in their notions and doctrines concerning religion. Some misrepresentations of the course adopted by the two professors are corrected by Strype in the book referred to, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

(2) "Corpore nobis factus est similis in omnibus post nativitatem. At nostrum corpus non potest esse in duobus locis. Ergo," etc.

Mary. A. D. 1556. ber, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of christian religion: whereunto, when he had answered, the bishop appointed the registrar (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession; which, being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions.—The tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Confession and Saying of Bartlet Green.[1]

Bartlet Green—born in the city of London, in the parish of Basing-hall, of the diocese of London, and of the age of twenty-five years,—being examined in the bishop's palace, the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.: that neither in the time of king Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary, after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's majesty he (the said Bartlet), two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline and with one Rimmer, Master of Arts of Magdalen College in Oxford. And this examinate also saith, that at both the said communions he, and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread, and sacramental wine, which, he saith, were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examinate saith, that the other aforenamed did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examinate saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse, to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this church of England, because he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same, and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning this sacrament of the altar, this examinate saith, that he heretofore, during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same as is now used in this church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and, besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examinate saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

Transubstantiation denied.

Green refuseth to hear mass.

The mass not maintainable by God's word.

Green against the sacrament of the altar.

Auricular confession refused.

Bartlet Green.

Green with the other six martyrs brought to the consistory.

Many other sundry conferences and public examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such, as against the which neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above-named, to be brought into the consistory in Paul's; where, being set in his judgment seat, accompanied with Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then, calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

"Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me that I

(1) Gathered by the bishop's registrar.

go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is, that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles. *Mary.* A. D. 1556.

Nine articles put to Green, etc.

Then he read the articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

Green not suffered to answer them.

But when master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently; and therefore the bishop proceeding said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. Whereunto Green answered and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them. Upon which words Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors. Green then said, that he was content to stand to the judgment of the doctors' judgment.

Doctors read with indifferent judgment, make more against the papists than with them.

"I will then propound unto you," quoth Fecknam, "the doctors, and interpret them yourself." So he alleged a place of Chrysostome, "Ad Populum Antiochiæ," which was this, "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up, took his flesh, and also left it behind him."[1] And he demanded Green, how he understood the place.

Then Green prayed him that he would confer the doctors' sayings together; and therefore alleged the same doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. x. "Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body?"[2] whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. x.

At last Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion: "for master Green," said he, "you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house; and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine." And Green confessed the same.

Green first a rank papist.

Then again he said, that Green told him, that the said Peter Martyr was a papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine that he professed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconstant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.[3]

Untrue report of Peter Martyr.

Green said that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did believe so because Martyr believed the same, but because that he had heard the scriptures, and the doctors of the church

(1) "Elias ascendens melotem suum post se reliquit: Christus vero ascendens carnem suam assumpsit, et eandem post se reliquit."

(2) "An non est panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nonne est calix," etc.

(3) This statement is accounted for and corrected in the portion of Strype before quoted.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1556. truly and wholesomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said master Peter say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a papist, read Chrysostome upon 1 Cor. x., nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture: "which thing," said Green, "if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and show you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that saith, 'Ask, and it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you,'" etc.

Martyr first turned from popery to the truth by prayer and reading the doctors.

Then Fecknam asked him, what he thought of this article, "Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam." And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

One holy catholic church.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church; and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church. Green answered, that this church did agree in verity of the true doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his sacraments.

True marks of the church.

Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controversy in their religion: "for," said he, "Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor Œcolampadius with Carolostadius, nor Carolostadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, etc., for Luther writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that 'In hoc pane, vel sub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus.' Zuinglius controlling him, said, "Sub signo panis corpus Domini accipimus.' And the other controlled him in like case."

Disagreement amongst professors of the gospel.

Then master Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not sound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

The gospellers in words seem to dissent, but in effect do agree with the word.

Then Fecknam desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my lord bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him respite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he should choose any learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house; and that he whom he would choose, would willingly take the pains to read and confer the doctors with him, and open the doctors' minds and meanings unto him.

Bonner forbiddeth Green to be called master.

Then Bonner said, that he was proud, and an obstinate boy; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more master Green: "for," said he, "you ought not to call a heretic master."

After this Dr. Pendleton alleged to him this text out of Luke xxii., "Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei." "Here," said he, "you must confess your opinion to be false; else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, 'I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom.' If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar; for he did eat bread after, with his disciples, before he

ascended. But if you say he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reason."[1] Then Green answered and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops,[2] (which is now dead) did say. *Mary* A.D. 1556.

Then Dr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case; "for," said he, "it is well known that the bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good christian man." To which words Green said, "I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man, to prove my saying to be true in this matter: but I do allege him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves, 'ignoto Deo.'"

These with many other words were between them, which I do overpass, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him, if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. "But my lord," said he, "in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such time as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, insomuch that St. Augustine wrote and commanded, that no man should be put to death for his opinion."[3] In the old time excommunication was the greatest penalty in matters of faith and conscience.

Then Bonner said, that when St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies also. "But," said Green, "he bade not put them to death." "He bade punish them," quoth Bonner. "Yea," said Green, "but not put them to death." "That they should be punished," quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother: which when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate. And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, minding belike to comfort this their persecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words, "Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into the which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer (whereunto he much gave himself), or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the 27th day of January, when he, with his other above-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often Sentence given against Green. The words of Green to his friends, by the way going to Newgate.

(1) Note the blind ignorance of Pendleton, as though the kingdom of Christ was not gotten at the death of Christ.
(2) This bishop belike was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.
(3) Contra Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 14.

Mary. repeating, as well by the way, as also at the stake, these Latin verses following—

A. D. 1556.

Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis:
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.

In English thus,

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health, besides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate, be thou my Guide alone.

During the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had access unto him, to whom he gave sundry godly exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the same his instructions, as also of his own good and godly person, they desired him to write somewhat in their books, which request he willingly granted, as in manner here ensueth.

These verses were written in a book of Master Hussey of the Temple:

Behold thyself by me; such one was I, as thou:
And thou in time shalt be, even dust as I am now.
Bartlet Green.

These verses were also written in a book of master William Fleetwood, of the same house:

My resting-road is found, vain hope and hap adieu:
Love whom you list with change, death shall me rid from you.
Bartlet Green.

The singular modesty and humble nature of Green.

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this good man, specially in him was to be noted such a modest nature, so humbly thinking of himself as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himself under that was in him, and ever seeming to be less than he was, so that nothing less he could abide, than to hear of his praise or commendation; as well declareth not only his letter written to master Philpot, wherein he doth earnestly expostulate with him, for slandering him with praise of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency; but also by his own speech and answers in his examination, wherein he casteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithstanding he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modesty grafted in the nature of him, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise; so neither did there appear in him any show or brag in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and scourged with rods by bishop Bonner (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth), and he greatly rejoiced in the same, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the same to one master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

His pitiful nature.

Moreover, to this rare and maidenly modesty in him was also adjoined the like nature of mercy and pitiful compassion; which affection though it seemeth to be little regarded of some, yet in my

mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man resembleth more truly the image of the high majesty of Almighty God, than this. And as in this respect of merciful tenderness, man only excelleth all other beasts; so almost no less may this man seem to pass many other men, whose customable property and exercise was to visit the poor prisoners with him in prison both with bodily relief, and also with spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and sorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but also by his letters require, yea as it were of duty in love did charge, his friends to travail for their deliverances; such was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and most true member of Christ's church, as appeareth by this letter here following.

To my very loving Friends and Masters, Master Goring, Master Fernham, Master Fleetwood, Master Russel, Master Bell, Master Hussey, Master Calthorp, Master Bowyer, and others my Masters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wisheth health of body and soul.

Very friends are they which are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increase in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be absent in body, yet are we present in the spirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that measureth his friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of sight, is thy friendship ended? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou cease to love him? if he be passed the seas, will you so forsake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby? On the one side we have the use of the fathers from the primitive church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other side, saith Horace, "Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt."

True friendship is not measured by distance of place or of persons.

What speak I of Horace? Saith not St. Paul the same thing? "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his blood, yea we are members one of another." Is the hand or arm, foot or leg, a member, when it is dissevered from the body? How can we be members, except we be joined together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finished in heaven, love endureth for ever: love (I say) that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or severing of bodies, is parted asunder. If love be the end or sum of the law, if heaven and earth shall perish, yet one jot of God's word shall not decay, why should we think that love lasteth not for ever?

Love only coupleth together. All other things fail, love only endureth for ever.

I need not to write much to you, my friends, neither can I have leisure now that the keepers are risen; but this I say: If we keep Christ's commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be everlasting. This friendship Paul felt when it moved him to say, that neither length nor breadth (meaning no distance of place), neither height nor depth, should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh well this place, and mete it with Paul's measures; so shall we find that if our love be unfeigned, it can never be ended. Now may you say, "Why writest thou this?" Certainly to the end that if our friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Love unfeigned never endeth.

Master Fleetwood, I beseech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two singular men amongst common prisoners; master Fernham and master Bell, with master Hussey (as I hope) will dispatch Calthorp and Richardson with his companions. I pray you, master Palmer, think on John Grove, an honest poor man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices: my cousin Thomas Witton, a scrivener in Lombard-street, hath promised to further their delivery: at the least he can instruct

The suit of Green for the saving of certain poor prisoners in Newgate.

Mary. A.D. 1556. you which way to work. I doubt not but that master Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for she is worthy to be holpen), and Berard the Frenchman. There be also divers other well disposed men, whose deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their relief, as you shall see cause: namely, of Henry Apprice, Launcelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (saving that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander, that may prove honest. For these and all other poor prisoners here I make this my humble suit and prayer to you all, my masters, and especial good friends, beseeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the causes of miserable captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the sorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together. Amen.—This present Monday when I look to die, and live for ever.

Yours as ever, Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of Master Green to Mistress Elizabeth Clark.

Would God (if it were his pleasure) that with this letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: so should I think it the best message, and happiest letter, that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet shall I not cease with continual prayer to labour for you,[1] desiring Almighty God to "increase that which he hath long since begun in you," of sober life and earnest zeal towards his religion. "In faith," as saith St. Paul, "she that is a true widow and friendless, putteth her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and prayer; but she that liveth in pleasure is dead, even yet alive."[2] And verily a true widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband; so ought the widow to give all her heart and soul, thoughts and words, studies and labours, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.[3]

Therefore St. Paul first instructeth a widow how to behave herself, that is, "not to live in pleasure." Then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our desires, steadfastly laying up all our trust in God, as David right well saith, "First eschew evil; then do good."[4] Of Anna the praise was written, that she never went out of the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day: so well had she espoused Christ.[5] Judith wore a smock of hair, continuing in fasting, and had good report of all men.[6]

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that she bring up her children and household godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord; whereof St. Paul saith, "If any have children or nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompense their elders."[7] The incontinency and covetousness of Phinehas and Hophni, corrected by Eli their father, provoked God's vengeance upon him and all his kindred;[8] the over-tender love of Absalom expelled David from his kingdom; the unrebuked sins of Ammon encouraged Absalom to slay his brother: most manifest examples against the parents, for the offences of their children.[9]

Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her son, whom she had brought up in the house of the Lord![10] What thanks might Tobias's wife give for her son Toby! How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan![11] But above all widows, thrice blessed was the happy mother of the seven sons, that so had instructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would shrink from the love of his truth."[12]

The office and exercise of christian widows in the primitive church.

Of the last part, St. Paul showeth that a widow should be chosen: "If she have nourished her children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, and if she have ministered to them in adversity." Herein it is evident how earnestly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the saints, and to gather for the poor: which use also

(1) 1 Cor. vii. (2) 1 Tim. v. (3) 1 Tim. v. (4) Psal. xxxiv.
(5) Luke ii. (6) Judith viii. (7) Eph. vi. 1 Tim. v. (8) 1 Sam. ii. 2 Sam. xv.
(9) 2 Sam. xv. (10) 2 Sam. xiii. (11) 1 Sam. i. (12) 2 Mac. vii.

continued almost throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers. *Mary.*

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good hospitality, by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved; but of the poor alms-houses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cause, some under the colour of religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private men's displeasure. Alas, that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen. A. D. 1556.

In times past men could bestow large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not St. Ambrose's example,[1] which sold the same for the relief of the poor, or Chrysostome's commandment, which willed first to deck and garnish the living temple of God? But alas, such is the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of the ancient fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written anything that serveth for sects and dissension, that will their charitable children embrace, publish, and maintain with sword, faggot, and fire. But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in despite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty persuasion, they may bring themselves into the haven of hell; yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilst the ship saileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of God's truth.

Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your children and family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed. Amen.

At Newgate the 20th of January, Anno 1556.

Your assured, Bartlet Green.

Another certain Writing of Master Bartlet Green.

"Better is the day of death," saith Solomon, "than the day of birth." "Man that is born of a woman, liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries;" but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travail, to live in misery: man through Christ doth die in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Strait as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate; strait as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him: after death no adversary may annoy him. Whilst he is here, he displeaseth God: when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin: in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in earth he is still purged: with joy unspeakable in heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour: there he liveth continually. Here is sin: there is righteousness. Here is time: there is eternity. Here is hatred: there is love. Here is pain: there is pleasure. Here is misery: there is felicity. Here is corruption: there is immortality. Here we see vanity: there shall we behold the majesty of God with triumphant and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

Yours in Christ, Bartlet Green.

Divers other letters and matters there were besides, which this servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profession was the temporal law; where I would to God he were not among the lawyers such a phœnix, that

(1) St. Ambrose took from the church, and gave to the poor: we take from the poor their tithes and impropriations, and give them to churches and ministers; where is nothing but singing and idleness.

Mary. A. D. 1556.

he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness doth spring up daily of the same profession, to such towardness and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly phœnix shall not fly alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his, out of the doctors, were taken from him by Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but last of them condemned, which was the 15th day of January, and afterward burned with the other martyrs, the 27th of the same month.

A commendation of lawyers.

Thomas Brown, Martyr.[1]

Brown presented by the constable of St. Bride's.

Thomas Brown, born in the parish of Histon within the diocese of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street, a married man, of the age of thirty-seven years; who, because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. As touching whose articles, whereupon he was examined by the said Bonner, with his answers also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham with the others there to be examined, was required upon Thursday, being the 26th day of September, to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he, refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the bishop, as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass; which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length, being produced to his last examination before the said bishop the 15th day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glosing promises to revoke his doctrine, to whom the foresaid bishop speaking these words, said, "Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report, that I go about to seek thy blood," etc. To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; "Yea, my lord," saith he, "indeed ye be a bloodsucker, and I would I had as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck."

Brown kneeleth among the trees at mass time.

Bonner's words to Brown.

Bonner charged to be a bloodsucker.

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions (as he called them), and return again unto the unity of the catholic faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, If they were heresies, he would forsake them. "They be heresies," quoth the bishop. "How will ye prove it?" said Brown, "for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which ye shall never do: for that which you call heresy, is no heresy." With that Bonner, not able, or else not disposed, to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the Scripture, went

The answer of Brown to Bonner.

(1) Ex Registro.

about with words and promise of pardon to allure him to renounce those his heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the catholic church, etc. To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as followeth: "Prove it," said he, "to be heresy, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such like innocents' blood, being the queen's true subjects; for which you shall answer, and that shortly." *Mary.* A.D. 1556.

After this being spoken, Bonner (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the sentence definitive against him: the copy and form of which sentence wherewith the papists were wont to condemn all the innocent saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be had away, and burned the 27th day of the said month of January, constantly abiding with the other the pope's torments, for the true confession of his christian faith. Sentence read against Brown.

John Tudson, Martyr.

The same day and time, when the foresaid Thomas Brown with his fellows was condemned (as is above rehearsed) being the 15th day of January, was also produced John Tudson, with the rest of the said company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, after that apprentice in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London, who, being complained of to sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination. Jan. 27.

The articles[1] and interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his answers also to the same annexed, etc. After this he was brought unto the open consistory; where the said blessed and true servant of the Lord, John Tudson, appearing before the said bishop and his complices, was moved with sundry persuasions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named heresy), and to persist in the unity of the church which they were of. But he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in king Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no heresy in his answers: "for I," said he, "defy all heresy." The bishop yet still used his old accustomed persuasions to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, etc. Then said Tudson, "Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return." Then said the bishop, "In your answers." "No," said Tudson again, "I have not therein offended: and ye, my lord, pretend charity; but nothing thereof appeareth in your works," Thus after a few words, the bishop did likewise promulgate against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with the others above named, the 27th day of January. The constant persisting of Tudson. Sentence read against him.

(1) Of these articles read before.

Mary.

A. D. 1556.

John Went, Martyr.

Jan. 27. John Went, born in Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-seven, and a shearman by occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before), by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Story did send him up to Bonner, bishop of London; who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, "No, I say as I have said," etc. Whereupon, being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs (whom that shameless shaveling at that time abused for his servile butchers), and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society of martyrs above named.

John Went, withstanding the bishop's persuasions, is condemned.

Isabel Foster, Martyr.

Jan. 27. With these five persons above recited and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster, the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

Isabel Foster constant in confessing Christ's gospel. This foresaid Isabel was born in Greystock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and afterwards married to one John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street, being of the age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the church, being sent unto Bonner, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory the 15th day of the said month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers; whereunto she gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not," saith she, "go from them, by God's grace:" and thereunto did adhere, neither being cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. Whereunto she said again in this wise, that she trusted she was never out of the catholic church, etc. And so persisting in the same, she continued constant till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, the 27th day of the foresaid month; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth (with the other five aforesaid), ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

Her words at her last examination.

Isabel Foster condemned.

Mary.

A. D. 1556.

Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, Martyr.

In a certain place of these Acts and Monuments heretofore,[1] mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John Warne (as is aforesaid) in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow Church-yard for being there at a communion; and both suffered for the same, first, the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of Dr. Story, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said parties, either in kindred or alliance: albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no kindred between them, but only that she was his servant. Yet, notwithstanding, the said Dr. Story (as it is above specified), before he was commissioner, made intercession for the parties to Dr. Martyn, then commissioner: but afterward, being placed in commission himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old servant, that he became no small procurer of their deaths. I will not here expostulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy, who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for three-score pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joined or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

Dr. Story first intercessor for Warne and his daughter, and afterward the chiefest persecutor against them.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little Allhallows in Thames-street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the foresaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who (as is said) was persecuted for the gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Lashford, her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, ministering to her father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story (as is above in her answers to the articles declared), and so committed to the Compter in the Poultry, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to Newgate, where she continued the space of certain months.

Joan Lashford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of the said Bonner, her confession was, being examined, that the whole twelve-month before, and more, she came unto no popish mass service in the church, neither would do, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; nor the mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture; but said that both the said sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damosel,

The confession of Joan Lashford before the bishop.

Superfluous and popish ceremonies.

(1) See this volume, page 77.—Ed.

Mary. A.D. 1556. feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the bishops, could turn her; but, being moved and exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, said boldly to him again, "If ye will leave off your abomination, so I will return; and otherwise, I will not."

The worthy constancy of a maid.

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them), if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the bishop, "Do as it pleaseth you; and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

Joan Lashford's last examination.

Her sentence and condemnation.

And thus she, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned, and committed unto the sheriffs, by whom the foresaid 27th day of January she with the rest being brought unto the stake, there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

Jan. 27.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs, afore specified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterbury, four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one Fire, all burned together.

Jan. 31.

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, the 31st day of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, whose names be these:—John Lomas, a young man; Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, widow; and Joan Sole, a wife.

John Lomas, Martyr.

The answer of Lomas at his examination.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, detected and presented of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in God's book and no more.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wednesday sevennight after, which was the 17th day of January, the said Lomas, examined whether he would be confessed of a priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book; neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really, under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration, or no, he answered that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered thereunto, that he believed so much as was written in God's book; and other answer than this he refused to give, etc.: whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18th day of

The sacrament of the altar denied.

Realty of Christ neither under form nor tressel.

Sentence against Lomas.

January. And so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the other four women here following. *Mary.* A. D. 1556.

Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion, was divers times examined before the Pharisaical fathers; who there, compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a priest: notwithstanding, she denied not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterward being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no, she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of their absolution was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and so suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared herself a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the 31st day of January.

Jan. 31.

Confession auricular refused.

The sacrament how to be received.

Penance denied to be a sacrament.

Agnes Snoth condemned and committed to the secular power.

Anne Albright, alias Champnes, Martyr.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession: whereunto she answered in these words saying, "that she would not be confessed of a priest;" and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, "You priests," said she, "are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." And likewise speaking unto the judge and his assistance, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

Auricular confession.

The words of Anne Albright.

And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same sacrament. Thus, persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said 18th day of the said month, with the others above mentioned; with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's religion.

She denieth the sacrament of the altar.

Her condemnation. Jan. 18.

Joan Sole.

In the like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned of the same Pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: who, after their Pharisaical sentence being promulgated, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

Condemnation of Joan Sole. Jan. 18.

Mary.

A. D. 1556.

Joan Catmer.

Jan. 31. The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hythe, wife (as it should seem) of George Catmer, burned before, who being asked what she said to confession made to a priest, denied to be confessed to any such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, that she believed not in that sacrament, as it was then used; for that it was made, said she, a very idol. In this her confession she, remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly of them condemned; and so suffered with the foresaid Thomas Lomas, and the other three fellow-martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes and one fire together, at Canterbury, as is before said: who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms. Whereat the good knight, sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof.

Persecutors. The judges and other assistants which sat upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the notary.

END OF VOL. VII.

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THE BURNING OF THOMAS TOMKIN'S HAND BY BISHOP BONNER, WHO, NOT LONG AFTERWARDS, BURNT ALSO HIS BODY.

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